

THE  
Historie of Eng-  
land, from the time that it  
was first inhabited, vntill  
the time that it was  
last conquered:

*Wherein the sundrie alte-  
rations of the state vnder for-  
ren people is declared; and  
other manifold obseruati-  
ons remembered:*

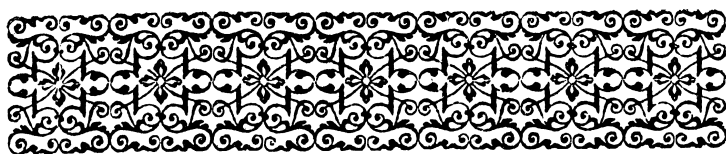
By RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

Now newlie read ouer, and  
diligentlie digested into bookes and  
chapters, with their seuerall argu-  
ments prefixed, containing an abridge-  
ment of the whole historie, for the  
helpe of the readers iudgement  
and memorie:

*With two tables of particulars,  
the one seruing the descrip-  
tion, the other the historie:*  
by Abr. Fleming.

Laus historię ex  
I. Lelando,

*Quod si aethereo pressas pulcherrimus orbi,  
Historia humanis vñbus hoc tribuit.*



## To the Readers studious in histories.



He order obserued in the description of Britaine, by reason of the necessarie diuision thereof into bookes and chapters growing out of the varietie of matters therein conteined, seemed (in my iudgement) so conuenient a course deuised by the writer, as I was easlie induced thereby to digest the historie of England immediatlie following into the like method: so that as in the one, so likewise in the other, by summarie contents foregoing euerie chapter, as also by certeine materiall titles added at the

head of euerie page of the said historie, it is a thing of no difficultie to comprehend what is discourfed and discussed in the same.

Wherein (sith histories are said to be the registers of memorie and the monuments of veritie) all louers of knowlege, speciallie historicall, are aduisedlie to marke (among other points) the seuerall and succesiue alterations of regiments in this land: whereof it was my meaning to haue made an abstract, but that the same is sufficientlie handled in the first booke and fourth chapter of the description of Britaine; whereto if the seuenth chapter of the same booke be also annexed, there is litle or no defect at all in that case wherof iustlie to make complaint.

*Pag. 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 28, 29, of the description and pag. 202 of the historie of England.*

Wherefore by remitting the readers to those, I reape this aduantage, namelie a discharge of a forethought & purposed labour, which as to reduce into some plausible forme was a worke both of time, paine and studie: so seeming vnlike to be comprised in few words (being a matter of necessarie and important obseruation) occasion of tediousnes is to and fro auoided; speciallie to the reader, who is further to be aduertised, that the computations of yeares here and there expressed, according to the indirect direction of the copies whense they were deriued and drawne, is not so absolute (in some mens opinion) as it might haue beene: howbeit iustificable by their originals.

Wherin hereafter (God prolonging peace in the church and common-welth that the vse of bookes may not be abridged) such diligent care shall be had, that in whatsoeuer the helpe of bookes will doo good, or conference with antiquaries auaille, there shall want no will to vse the one and the other. And yet it is not a worke for euerie common capacitie, naie it is a toile without head or taile euen for extraordinarie wits, to correct the accounts of former ages so many hundred yeares receiued, out of vncertainties to raise certainties, and to reconcile writers dissenting in opinion and report. But as this is vnpossible, so is no more to be looked for than may be performed: and further to inquire as it is against reason, so to vndertake more than may commendable be atchiued, were fowle follie.

*Abraham Fleming.*





# THE FIRST BOOKE of the historie of England.

Who inhabited this Iland before the comming of Brute: of Noah & his three sonnes, among whom the whole earth was diuided: and to which of their portions this Ile of Britaine befall.

## The first Chapter.



What manner of people did first inhabite this our country, which hath most generallie and of longest continuance bene knotone among all nations by the name of Britaine as yet is not certainly knotone, neither can it be decided fro whence

The originall of nations for the most part uncerteine.

whether Britaine were an Iland at the first. See comment. lib. 1. No Ilands at the first, as some conjecture.

In the first part of the ages of the English botanics. Britaine inhabited before the flood, Genesis 6.

the first inhabitants there of came, by reason of such diuersitie in iudgements as haue risen amongst the learned in this behalfe. But sith the originall in manner of all nations is doubtfull, and euen the same for the more part fabulous (that alwaies excepted which we find in the holic scriptures) I will not any man to leane to that which shall be here set downe as to an infallible truth, sith I doo but onlie shew other mens coniectures, grounded neuertheless by on likeliere reasons, concerning that matter whereof there is now left but little other certieintie, or rather none at all.

To seth therefore the matter from the farthest, and so to stretch it forward, it seemeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger that in the beginning, when God framed the world, and diuided the waters apart from the earth, this Ile was then a parcell of the continent, and ioined without any separation of sea to the maine land. But this opinion (as all other the like uncerteinties) I leaue to be discussed of by the learned; howbeit for the first inhabitation of this Ile with people, I haue thought good to set downe in part, what may be gathered out of such writers as haue touched that matter, and may seeme to giue some light vnto the knowledge thereof.

First therefore John Bale our countryman, who in his time greatlie travelled in the search of such antiquities, doth probable coniecture, that this land was inhabited and replenished with people long before the flood; at that time in the which the generation of mankind (as Moses writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuersall face of the earth: and therefore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabi-

ted with people long before the daies of Noah, as any the other countries and parts of the world beside. But when they had once forsaken the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new waies inuented of themselves, such losenesse of life ensued euerie where, as brought vpon them the great deluge and vniuersall flood, in the which perished as well the inhabitants of these quarters, as the residue of the race of mankind, generallie dispersed in euerie other part of the whole world, onelie Noah & his familie excepted, who by the providence and pleasure of almightie God was preferred from the rage of those waters, to recontinue and repaire the new generation of man vpon earth.

Berosus anti. lib. 1.

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After the flood (as Anniius de Viterbo recordeth) and reason also enforceth, Noah was the onlie monarck of all the world, and as the same Anniius gathereth by the account of Moses in the 100. yeare after the flood, Noah diuided the earth among his three sonnes; assigning to the possession of his eldest sonne all that portion of land which now is knotone by the name of Asia; to his second sonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called Africa: and to his third sonne Japhet was allotted all Europa, with all the Isles thereto belonging, where in among other was contained this our Ile of Britaine, with the other Isles thereto pertaining.

Japhet the third son of Noah, of some called Japetus, and of others, Atlas Maurus (because he departed this life in Mauritania) was the first (as Bodinus affirmeth by the authoritie and consent of the Hebrew, Greeke & Latine writers) that peopled the countries of Europe, which afterward he diuided among his sonnes: of whom Tuball (as Tarapha affirmeth) obtained the kingdome of Spaine. Homer had dominion ouer the Italians, and (as Berosus and diuers other authors agree) Samothres was the founder of Celtica, which contained in it (as Bale witnesseth) a great part of Europe, but speciallie those countries which now are called by the names of Gallia and Britannia.

Thus was this Iland inhabited and peopled with in 200 yeares after the flood by the children of Japhet the sonne of Noah: & this is not onlie proued by Anniius, waiting vpon Berosus, but also confirmed by Moses in the scripture, where he writeth, that of the offspring of Japhet, the Isles of the Gentiles (whereof Britain is one) were sorted into regions in the time of Phaleg the sonne of Hiber, who was borne at the time of the diuision of languages. Hereupon Theophilus hath these words: Cum prius temporibus pauci forent homines in Arabia & Chaldaea, post linguarum diuisionem aucti & multiplicati paulatim sunt: hinc quidam abierunt versus orientem, qui dam concessere ad partes maioris continentis, alij porro profecti sunt ad septentrionem sedes quasituri, nec prius deserunt terram ubi occupare, quam etiam Britannos in Arctois climatibus accesserint, &c. That is; When

Noah.

In comment. super 4. lib. Berosus de antiquit. lib. 1. Anniius ut supra.

Japhet and his sonnes.

Iohannes Bodinus ad fac. hist. cogn. Franciscus Tarapha.

Britaine inhabited shortly after the flood.

Theophilus episcopus Antioch. ad Amol. lib. 2. The words of Theophilus a doctor of the church, who lived an. Dom. 160.

When at the first there were not manie men in Arabia and Chaldaea; it came to passe, that after the diuision of tongs, they began somewhat better to increase and multiplie, by which occasion some of them went toward the east, and some toward the parts of the great maine land: diuers went also northwards to seeke them dwelling places, neither staid they to replenish the earth as they went, till they came vnto the Iles of Britaine, lieng vnder the north pole. Thus far Theophilus.

These things considered, Gildas the Britaine had great reason to thinke, that this countrie had bene inhabited from the beginning. And Polydor Virgil was with no lesse consideration hereby induced to confesse, that the Ile of Britaine had received inhabitants forthwith after the flood.

Of Samoths, Magus, Sarron,  
Druis, and Bardus, sue kings suc-  
ceeding each other in regiment  
ouer the Celts and Samotheans,  
and how manie hundred yeeres  
the Celts inhabited  
this Iland.

### The second Chapter.

Gen. 2.

De nig. gen.

Cont. 1.

Anti. lib. 1.

Bale script.  
Brit. cent. 1.Cesar comment.  
lib. 8.In epist.  
temp.  
De equiuocis  
contra Appia-  
nem.Lib. de Magic.  
success. lib. 22.Script. Brit.  
cent. 1.  
De ann. Cam.  
cent. lib. 1.  
This Ile cal-  
led Samo-  
thes.Magus  
the son of  
Samoths  
Lib. 9.

**S**amoths the first begot-  
ten sonne of Iaphet called by  
Apoles Apelch, by others  
Dis, receiued for his portion  
(according to the report of  
Wolfgangus Lazius) all the  
countrie lieng betwene the  
riuer of Rhene and the Py-  
renian mountains, where he founded the kingdome  
of Celtica ouer his people called Celts. Which name  
Bale affirmeth to haue bene indifferent to the inha-  
bitants both of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile of  
Britaine, & that he planted colonies of men (brought  
forth of the east parts) in either of them, first in the  
maine land, and after in the Iland. He is reported by  
Berofus to haue excelled all men of that age in lear-  
ning and knowledge: and also is thought by Bale to  
haue imparted the same among his people; name-  
lie, the vnderstanding of the sundrie courses of the  
starres, the order of inferiour things, with manie o-  
ther matters incident to the morall and politike go-  
uernment of mans life: and to haue deliuered the  
same in the Phenician letters: out of which the  
Greekes (according to the opinion of Archilochus)  
deniued & deriued the Greeke charaders, inso much  
that Xenophon and Iosephus doe constantlie report  
(although Diogenes Laertius be against it) that both  
the Greekes and other nations receiued their letters  
and learning first from these countries. Of this king  
and his learning arose a sea of philosophers (saith An-  
nius) first in Britaine, and after in Gallia, the which  
of his name were called Samothei. They (as Aristot-  
le and Secion write) were passing skilfull both in the  
law of God and man: and for that cause exceeding-  
lie giuen to religion, especiallie the inhabitants of  
this Ile of Britaine, inso much that the whole nation  
did not onelie take the name of them, but the Iland  
it selfe (as Bale and doctor Caius agree) came to be  
called Samothea, which was the first peculiar name  
that euer it had, and by the which it was especiallie  
knowne before the arriual of Albion.

Magus the sonne of Samoths, after the death  
of his father, was the second king of Celtica,  
by whome (as Berofus writteth) there were manie

totones builded among the Celts, which by the wit-  
nesse of Annus did beare the addition of their foun-  
der Magus: of which totones diuers are to be found  
in Ptolomie. And Antoninus a painfull surueto: of  
the world and searcher of cities, maketh mention of  
four of them here in Britaine, Sitomagus, Neo-  
magus, Piomagus, and Pouiomagus. Neomagus  
sir Thomas Eliot writteth to haue stood where the ci-  
tie of Chester now standeth; Piomagus, George

10 Lillie placeth where the towne of Buckingham is  
now remaining. Beside this, Bale doth so highlie  
commend the foresaid Magus for his learning re-  
nowned ouer all the world, that he would haue the  
Persians, and other nations of the south and west  
parts, to deriue the name of their diuines called Ma-  
gi from him. In deed Rauilius Textor, and sir Iohn  
Prise affirme, that in the daies of Plinie, the Britons  
were so expert in art magike, that they might be  
thought to haue first deliuered the same to the Per-  
sians. What the name of Magus importeth, and of  
what profession the Magi were, Tullie declareth at  
large, and Mantuan in briebe, after this maner:

*Ille penes Persas Magus est, qui sidera norit,  
Qui sinit herbarum vires cultumq; deorum,  
Persopolis facit ista Magos prudentia triplex.*

The Persians terme him Magus, that  
the course of starres dooth knowe,  
The power of herbs, and worship due  
to God that man dooth owe,

30 By threefold knowledge thus the name  
of Magus then dooth growe.

Sarron the third king of the Celts succeeded his  
father Magus in gouernment of the countrie of  
Gallia, and the Ile Samothea, wherein as (D. Caius  
writteth) he founded certaine publike places for them  
that professed learning, which Berofus affirmeth to  
be done, to the intent to restrain the wilfull outrage  
of men, being as then but rath and void of all ciu-  
lilie. Also it is thought by Annus, that he was the  
first autho: of those kind of philosophers, which were  
called Sarronides, of whom Diodorus Siculus writ-  
teth in this sort: There are (saith he) among the Celts  
certaine diuines and philosophers called Sarronides,  
whom aboue all other they haue in great estimation.  
For it is the manner among them, not without a  
philosopher to make anie sacrifice: sith they are of be-  
leefe, that sacrifices ought onelie to be made by such  
as are skilfull in the diuine mysteries, as of those  
who are nearest vnto God, by whose intercession they  
thinke all god things are to be required of God, and  
whose aduise they vse and folloio, as well in warre  
as in peace.

Druis, whom Seneca calleth Dypus, being the  
sonne of Sarron, was after his father establi-  
shed the fourth king of Celtica, indifferentlie reig-  
ning as wel ouer the Celts as Britons, or rather (as  
the inhabitants of this Ile were then called) Samo-  
theans. This prince is commended by Berofus to  
be so plentifullie indued with wisedome and lear-  
ning, that Annus taketh him to be the vndoubted  
autho: of the beginning and name of the philosophers  
called Druides, whome Caesar and all other ancient  
Greeke and Latine writers doe affirme to haue had  
their beginning in Britaine, and to haue bin brought  
from thence into Gallia, inso much that when there  
arose any doubt in that countrie touching any point  
of their discipline, they did repaire to be resolued  
therein into Britaine, where, speciallie in the Ile of  
Anglesey (as Humfrey Llloyd writteth) they made  
their principall abode. Touching their vsages many  
things are written by Aristotle, Secion, Plinie, La-  
ertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in  
briebe, and set downe as followeth. They had (as Ca-  
sar saith) the charge of common & priuate sacrifices,  
the

Annus in co-  
men. super  
dem. Crog.De diu. lib. 1.  
De fastis lib. 5.

H.F.

Sarron  
the sonne  
of Magus,  
De ann. Cam.  
lib. 1.  
Bale script.  
Brit. cent. 1.

Lib. 6.

De

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Hist. m. lib. 1.

De lib. lib. 1.

Hist. Scyth. lib. 1.

De migr. gent.

Menc. lib. 1.

Anna. Rob. lib. 1.

De ant. Brit.

Bardus  
the sonne  
of Drui.Basil. ant.  
lib. 1.  
Annus in com.  
men. super em.  
dem.Ant. Cant. lib. 1.  
script. Britan.  
cent. 1.Nonius  
Marcell.  
Scriba.  
Diodor. Sicul.  
lib. 6.  
Cass. Steph.  
in d. Thiff.  
Ede.  
John Prijs.

Luce. lib. 1.

R. f.

the discussing of points of religion, the bying up of youth, the determining of matters in variance, with full power to interdict so manie from the sacrifice of their gods and the compaignie of men; as disobeied their award. Polydore affirmeth, how they taught, that mens soules could not die, but departed from one bodie to another, and that to the intent to make men valiant and dready of death. Tullie writeth, that partie by tokens, and partie by surmises they would foretell things to come. And by the report of Hector Boetius, some of them were not ignorant of the immortalitye of the one and everlasting God. All these things they had written in the Greeke tong, insomuch that Wolf. Lazius (upon the report of Marcellinus) declareth how the Greeke letters were first brought to Athens by Timagenes from the Druides. And herebyon it cometh also to passe, that the British tong hath in it remaining at this day some linacke of the Greeke. Among other abuses of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one custome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and dismembryng of them, to divine of things to come: for the which and other wicked practices, their sect was first condemned for abominable (as some have written) and dissolved in Gallia (as Auentinus witnesseth) by Tiberius and Claudius the emperours; and lastlie abolished here in Britaine (by the report of Caius) when the gospel of Christ by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receiued among the Brittaines, under Lucius king of Britaine, about the yeare of our saviour, 179.

Bardus the sonne of Drui succeeded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, and was the first king over the Celtes and Samotheans, amongst whom he was highly renowned (as appeareth by Berolus) for inuention of ditties and musicke, wherein Annus of Viterbo writeth, that he trained his people: and of such as excelled in this knowledge, he made an order of philosophicall poets or heraulds, calling them by his owne name Bardi. And it should seeme by doctor Caius and master Bale, that Caesar found some of them here at his arrivall in this Ile, and reported that they had also their first beginning in the same. The possession and blages of these Bardi, Nonnius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale, and sir John Prijs, are in effect reported after this sort. They did use to record the noble exploits of the ancient captives, and to praise the pedergrés and genealogies of such as were living. They would frame pleasant ditties and songs, learne the same by heart, and sing them to instruments at solemne feasts and assemblies of noble men and gentlemen. Wherefore they were had in so high estimation, that if two hostes had bene readie ranged to ioine in battell, and that any of them had fortune to enter among them, both the hostes (as well the enimies as the friends) would haue holden their hands, given eare unto them, and ceased from fight, untill these Wards had gone out of the battell. Of these Wards Lucane saith,

*Pas quoq; qui fortes animas belloq; peremptas,  
Laudans in longum vates dimittit ævum,  
Plurima secum fuditis carmina Bardis*

And you o poet Bards from danger void that ditties found,  
Of hostles of dreadlesse men, whom rage  
Of battell would confound,  
And make their lasting praise to time  
Of later age rebound.

Because the names of these poets were neither discrepant from the civillitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Christians, they (of all the other sects before specified) were suffered onlie to continue unabolsished in all ages, insomuch that

there flourished of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Christ. Plinius and Dionysius: after Christ (as Prijs recounteth) Phalestine, and the two Sperkins, Spelkiri, Claskirion, and others: and of late daies among the Welshmen, Dauld Die, Jollo Gough, Dauld ap William, with an infinite number more. And in Wales there are sundrie of them (as Caius reporteth) remaining unto this day, where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Also by the witnes of Humphrey Llloyd, there is an Iland nere unto Wales, called *Insula Bardorum*, and Bardley, whereof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or old English, signifieth the Iland of the Wards or Barthes.

*Thow farre the government of the Celts in this Ile.*

An appendix to the former chapter.

After Bardus, the Celts (as Bale saith) loathing the strict ordinances of their ancient kings, and betaking themselves to pleasure and idleness, were in short time, and with small labour brought under the subiection of the giant Albion, the sonne of Neptune, who altering the state of things in this Iland, streited the name of Celtica and the Celts within the bounds of Gallia, from whence they came first to inhabit this land under the conduct of Samothés, as before ye have heard, accordingly as Annus hath gathered out of Berolus the Chaldean, who therein agreeth also with the scripture, the saying of Theophilus the doctor, and the generall consent of all writers, which fullie consent, that the first inhabitants of this Ile came out of the parties of Gallia, although some of them dissent about the time and manner of their coming. Sir Brian Tuke thinketh it to be ment of the arrivall of Brutus, when he came out of those countries into this Ile. Caesar and Tacitus seeme to be of opinion, that those Celts which first inhabited here, came over to view the countrey for trade of merchandize. Bodinus would have them to come in (a Gods name) from Languedoc, and so to name this land Albion, of a citie in Languedoc named Albie. Beda, and likewise Polydore (who followeth him) affirme that they came from the coasts of Armorica, which is now called little Britaine.

But that the authorities afore recited are sufficient to prove the time that this Iland was first inhabited by the Celts, the old possessors of Gallia; not onelie the nearnesse of the regions, but the congruence of languages, two great arguments of originals do fullie confirme the same. Bodinus writeth upon report, that the British and Celtike language was all one. But whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, because the Celtike tong is long since growne whole out of use. Whomebeit some such Celtike words as remaine in the writings of old authours may be perceived to agree with the Welsh tong, being the uncorrupted speech of the ancient Britains. In deed Paulanias the Grecian maketh mention how the Celts in their language called a horse *Marc*: and by that name do the Welshmen call a horse to this day: and the word *Trimarc* in Paulanias, signifieth in the Celtike tong, three horses.

Thus it appeareth by the authoritie of writers, by situation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this Iland was first found and inhabited by the Celts, that there name from Samothés to Albion continued here the space of 310 yeares or thereabouts. And finally it is likelie, that aswell the progenie as the speech of them is partly remaining in this Ile among the inhabitants, and speciallie the British, even unto this day.

John Bale  
script. Britan.  
cent. 2.  
John Prijs deserv.  
Caius de ant.  
Cant. lib. 1.  
John Leland  
syllab. ant. diff.  
Hum. Lloyd  
de Mona insula.

Bale.

Annius.

Theophilus.

Sir Brian Tuke

Caesar.  
Tacitus.  
Bodinus.Beda.  
Polydore.

Bodinus.

Paulanias.

John Bale.

Of the giant Albion, of his comming  
into this Iland, diuers opinions why it  
was called Albion: why Albion and  
Bergion were slaine by Hercules:  
of Danaus and of his  
50 daughters.

### The third Chapter.



**N**eptunus called by Ho-  
les (as some take it) Neptu-  
m, the first sonne of Oceanus,  
after the account of Annius,  
and the brother of Hercules,  
had appointed him of his fa-  
ther (as Diodorus writeth) the  
gouernement of the ocean  
sea: therefore he furnished

himselfe of sundrie light ships for the more reddie pas-  
sage by water, which in the end grew to the number  
of a full nauie: & so by continuall exercise he became  
so skilfull, and therewith so mightie vpon the wa-  
ters (as Higinus & Pictonius doe write) that he was  
not onelie called the king, but also esteemed the  
god of the seas. He had to wife a ladie called Am-  
phitrita, who was also honozed as goddess of the  
seas, of whose bodie he begat sundrie children: and  
(as Bale reporteth) he made euerie one of them king  
of an Iland. In the Ile of Britaine he landed his  
fourth son called Albion the giant, who brought the  
same vnder his subiection. And herevpon it relecth,  
that Iohn Textor, and Polydor Virgil made men-  
tion, that light shippes were first inuented in the  
Brittish seas, and that the same were couered round  
with the hides of beastes, for defending them from  
the furies and waues of the water.

This Albion being put by his father in possession  
of this Ile of Britaine, within short time subdued  
the Samotheans, the first inhabitantes thereof,  
without finding any great resistance, for that (as be-  
fore we haue heard) they had giuen ouer the practise  
of all warlike and other painefull exercises, and  
through vse of effeminate pleasures, whereunto they  
had giuen themselues ouer, they were become now  
vnapt to withstand the force of their enemies: and so  
(by the testimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus  
Phileus, Aristotle, and Humfrey Llloyd, with  
diuers other, both foraine & home-writers) this I-  
land was first called by the name of Albion, hauing  
at one time both the name and inhabitants changed  
from the line of Iaphet vnto the accursed race of  
Cham.

This Albion (that thus changed the name of this  
Ile) and his companie, are called giants, which sig-  
nifieth none other than a tall kind of men, of that vir-  
rump stature and highnesse naturallie incident to  
the first age (which Berofus also seemeth to allowe,  
where he writeth, that Noah was one of the gi-  
ants) and were not so called only of their monstrous  
greatnesse, as the common people thinke (although  
in deed they exceeded the vsuall stature of men now  
in these daies) but also for that they took their name  
of the soile where they were borne: for Gigantes signi-  
fifieth the sons of the earth: the *Aboigines*, or (as Ce-  
sar calleth them) *Indigene*; that is, borne and bred  
out of the earth where they inhabited.

Thus some thinke, but verelie although that their  
opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which  
maintaine that there should be any Aboigines, or o-  
ther kind of men than those of Adams line; yet that  
there haue bene men of far greater stature than are  
now to be found, is sufficientlie proued by the huge  
bones of those that haue bene found in our time, or

lately before: whereof here to make further relation  
it shall not need, sith in the description of Britaine  
ye shall find it sufficientlie declared.

But now to our purpose. As Albion held Britaine  
in subiection, so his brother Bergion kept Ireland  
and the Orkenies vnder his rule and dominion, and  
hearing that their cosine Hercules Lybicus ha-  
uing finished his conquests in Spaine, meant to  
passe through Gallia into Italie, against their bro-  
ther Lelegio that oppressed Italie, vnder subiection  
of him & other of his brethren the sons also of Neptu-  
ne; as well Albion as Bergion assembling their  
powres together, passed ouer into Gallia, to stoppe  
the passage of Hercules, whose intention was to  
vanquish and destroe those tyrants the sonnes of  
Neptune, & their complices that kept diuers coun-  
tries and regions vnder the painefull yoke of their  
heauie thraldome.

The cause that moued Hercules thus to pursue  
vpon those tyrants now reigning thus in the world,  
was, for that not long before, the greatest part of  
them had conspired together and slaine his father O-  
ceanus, not withstanding that they were nephues to  
the same Oceanus, as sonnes to his brother Neptune,  
and not contented with his slaughter, they diuided  
his carcase also amongst them, so that each of them  
got a peece in token of reioicing at their murtherous  
atchiued enterprife.

For this cause Hercules (whome Moses calleth  
Laabin) proclaimed warres against them all in re-  
uenge of his fathers death: and first he killed Tri-  
phon and Busiris in Aegypt, then Anteus in Pau-  
ritania, & the Cerions in Spaine, which enterprife  
atchiued, he led his armie towards Italie, and by  
the way passed through a part of Gallia, where Al-  
bion and Bergion hauing vniued their powres toge-  
ther, were readie to receiue him with battell: and  
so nere to the mouth of the riuer called Rhodanus, in  
Latine *Rhodanus*, they met & fought. At the first there  
was a right terrible and cruell conflict betwixt them.  
And albeit that Hercules had the greatest number  
of men, yet was it verie doubtfull a great while, to  
whether part the glorie of that daies worke would  
bend. Wherevpon when the victorie began outright  
to turke vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion,  
Hercules perceiuing the danger and likelihood of  
utter losse of that battell, speciallie for that his men  
had wasted their weapons, he caused those that stood  
still and were not otherwise occupied, to stoppe  
downe, and to gather by stones, whereof in that place  
there was great plentie, which by his commande-  
ment they bestowed so frelie vpon their enemies,  
that in the end he obtained the victorie, and did not  
only put his aduersaries to flight, but also slue Al-  
bion there in the field, together with his brother Ber-  
gion, and the most part of all their whole armie. This  
was the end of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by  
the valiant prowesse of Hercules, who as one ap-  
pointed by Gods prouidence to subdue the cruell &  
vnmmercifull tyrants, spent his time to the benefit  
of mankind, deliuering the oppressed from the hea-  
uie yoke of miserable thraldome, in euerie place  
where he came.

And by the order of this battell we may learne  
whereof the poets had their inuention, when they  
saie in their writings, that Jupiter holpe his sonne  
Hercules, by throwing downe stones from heauen  
in this battell against Albion and Bergion. Howe-  
ouer, from henceforth was this Ile of Britaine cal-  
led Albion (as before we haue said) after the name  
of the said Albion: because he was established chiefe  
ruler and king thereof both by his grandfather O-  
ceanus, and his father Neptune that cunning sailour  
reigning therein (as Bale saith) by the space of 44  
yeares,

Bale.

Annius de Vi-  
serbo.  
Diodorus Si-  
cilius.Pinnacles  
or gallies.Higinus.  
Pictonius.Scrip. Bri.  
cent. 1.Iohn Textor.  
Polydor.Nichol. Perot.  
Rigmanus  
Phileus.  
Aristotle.  
Hum. Lloyd.

Berofus.

what Gigantes  
signific.Against the o-  
pinion of the  
Aboigines.Bale.  
Bergion  
ther to  
Hercules  
Lybicus.The cause  
why Her-  
cules pursued  
his cosine.

Pomp. Mel.

Hercules  
comfited  
his enemies.Albion  
slaine.The occasion  
of the fable  
of Jupiters  
throwing  
stones  
from heauen  
in this  
battell  
against  
Albion  
and  
Bergion.  
John Bale.

yeares, till finally he was slaine in maner afoze remembred by his vnckle Hercules Libicus.

After that Hercules had thus vanquished and destroyed his enemies, hee passed to and fro thorough Gallia, suppressing the tyrants in euerie part where he came, and restoring the people vnto a reasonable kinde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours. This Hercules (as we find) builded the citie Alexia in Burgongne, now called Alize. Moreover, by Lilius Giraldus in the life of Hercules it is auouched, that the same Hercules came ouer hither into Britaine. And this doth Giraldus write by warrant of such Britons as (saith he) haue so written themselves, which thing peradventure he hath read in Gildas the ancient Briton poet: a booke that (as he confesseth in the 5. dialog of his histories of poets) he hath seen. The same thing also is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britaine called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomie ye may read, which is thought to take name of his arriual at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

But now, whereas it is not denied of anie, that this Ile was called ancientlie by the name of Albion: yet there be diuers opinions how it came by that name: for manie doe not allow of this historie of Albion the giant. But for so much as it appertaineth rather to the description than to the historie of this Ile, to rip vp and lay forth the secret misteries of such matters: and because I thinke that this opinion which is here auouched, how it took that name of the forsaide Albion, sonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie as some of the other, I here passe ouer the rest, & proceed with the historie.

When Albion chiefe captaine of the giants was slaine, the residue that remained at home in the Ile, continued without any rule or restraint of law, in so much that they fell to such a dissolute order of life, that they seemed little or nothing to differ from brute beasts: and those are they which our ancient chronicles call the giants, who were so named, as well for the huge proportion of their stature (sithens as before is said, that age brought forth far greater men than are now liuing) as also for that they were the first, or at the least the furthest in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrie. For this word Gigines, or Gegines, from whence our word giant (as some take it) is deriued, is a Greeke word, and signifieth, borne or bred of or in the earth, for our fore-elders, specially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were persuaded, that the first inhabitants of any countrie were bred out of the earth, and therefore when they could go no higher, reckoning the descents of their predecessors, they would name him *Terra filius*, that is, sonne of the earth: and so the giants whom the poets saie to haue fought to make battell against heauen are called the sonnes of the earth: and the first inhabitants generally of euery countrie were of the Greeces called Gigines, or Gegines, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indigenae*, that is, people borne of the earth from the beginning, and coming from no other countrie, but bred within the same.

These giants and first inhabitants of this Ile continued in their beastlie kind of life vnto the arriual of the ladies, which some of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Dioclesian the king of Assyria, whereas in deed they haue bene descended, in taking the word Danaus to be short written for Dioclesianus: and by the same meanes haue diuers words and names bene mistaken, both in our chronicles, and in diuers other ancient written works. But this is a fault that learned men should not so much trouble themselves about, considering the same hath bin already found by sundrie authors

ling sithens, as Hugh the Italian, Iohn Harding, Iohn Rouse of Marlowe, and others, specially by the helpe of Dauid Pencair a British historie, who rectifie the historie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters. And because we would not any man to thinke, that the historie of these daughters of Danaus is onelie of purpose deuised, and brought in place of Dioclesianus, to excuse the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was either no such historie (or at the least no such women that arriued in this Ile) the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be auouched, who wrote aboue 900. yeares past, and maketh mention of the arriual of such ladies.

To be short, the historie is thus. Belus the sonne of Epaphus, or (as some writers haue) of Neptune and Libes (whome Ihs after the death of Apis married) had issue two sonnes: the first Danaus, called also Arneus; and Aegyptus called also Rameles: these two were kings among the Aegyptians. Danaus the elder of the two, hauing in his rule the upper region of Aegypt, had by sundrie wiues 50. daughters, with whom his brother Aegyptus, gapping for the dominion of the whole, did instantlie labour, that his sonnes being also 50. in number, might match. But Danaus hauing knowledge by some prophesie or oracle, that a sonne in law of his should be his death, refused so to bestow his daughters. Whereupon grew warre betwixt the brethren, in the end whereof, Danaus being the weaker, was enforced to flee his countrie, and so prepared a nauie, embarked himselfe and his daughters, and with them passed ouer into Greece, where he found meanes to dispossesse Celenos (sonne to Stenelas king of Argos) of his rightfull inheritance, driving him out of his countrie, and reigned in his place by the assistance of the Argiues that had conceiued an hatred towardes Celenos, and a great liking towardes Danaus, who in verie deed did so farre excell the kings that had reigned there before him, that the Greeces in remembrance of him were after called Danae.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking great disdaine for that he and his sonnes were in such sort despised of Danaus, sent his sonnes with a great armie to make warre against their vnckle, giuing them in charge not to returne, till they had either slaine Danaus, or obtained his daughters in marriage. The young gentlemen according to their fathers commandement, being arriued in Greece, made such warre against Danaus, that in the end he was constrained to giue vnto those his 50. nephues his 50. daughters, to ioine with them in marriage, and so they were. But as the proverbe saith, In trust appeared treacherie. For on the first night of the marriage, Danaus deliuered to each of his daughters a sword, charging them that when their husbands after their banquetts and pastimes were once brought into a sound sleepe, each of them should slea hir husband, menacing them with death vlesse they fulfilled his commandement. They all therefore obeyed the will of their father, Hypermetra onely excepted, with whom preuailed more the loue of kindred and wedlocke, than the feare of hir fathers displeasure: for shee alone spared the life of hir husband Lynceus, waking him out of his sleepe, and warning him to depart and flee into Aegypt to his father. He therefore hauing all the wicked practises reuealed to him by his wife, followed hir aduice, and so escaped.

Now when Danaus perceiued how all his daughters had accomplished his commandement, sauing onely Hypermetra, he caused hir to be brought forth into iudgement, for disobeying him in a matter wherein both the safetie and losse of his life rested: but she was acquitted by the Argiues, & discharged

Hugh the Italian.  
Iohn Harding.  
Iohn Rouse out of Dauid Pencair.

Nennius.

Belus pifcus.  
Dictionarium poeticum.

Danaus.  
Aegyptus.  
Higius.

Diuers opinions why this Ile was called Albion, for more hereof in the description.

Terra filius what it signifieth.

Aborigines, Indigenae.

The mistaking of the name of Dioclesianus for Danaus.

Pausanias.



discharged. Whobeyt his father kept him in prison, and seeking to find out other husbands for his other daughters that had obeyed his pleasure in fleeing their first husbands, long it was yet he could find any to match with them: for the heinous offense committed in the slaughter of their late husbands, was yet too fresh in memorie, and their blood not wiped out of mind. Neuerthelesse, to bring his purpose the better to passe, he made proclamation, that his daughters should demand no iointures, and euery sister should take his choise without respect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choise, but so as first come best serued, according to their owne phantasies and likings. Whobeyt when this policie also failed, & would not serue his turne, he deuised a game of running, ordeining therewith, that whosoever got the best price should haue the first choise among all the sisters; and he that got the second, should chose next to the first; and so forth, each one after an other, according to the triall of their swiftnesse of foote.

How much this practise auailed, I know not: but certaine it is, diuers of them were bestowed, either by this or some other meanes, for we find that Autonome was married to Architeles, Chrysanta or (as Pausanias saith) Seeca was matched with Archandrus, Amaome with Perptunus Equestris, on whom he begat Pausilius.

Higinus.

Pausanias.

But now to returne vnto Lynceus, whom his wife Hypermetra preferred, as before ye haue heard. After he was once got out of the reach and danger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue knowledg thereof to his wife, in raising a fire on heighth beaonwise, accordingly as she had requested him to do at his departure from him: and this was at a place which afterwards toke name of him, and was called Lyncea. Upon his returne into Aegypt, he gaue his father to vnderstand the whole circumstance of the trecherous crueltie vsed by his vnckle and his daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himselfe had escaped death out of his vnckles handes. Whereupon at time conuenient he was furnished forth with men and ships by his father, for the speedie reuenge of that heinous, vnnaturall and most disolall murder, in which enterprise he sped him forth with such diligence, that in short time he found meanes to dispatch his vnckle Danaus, set his wife Hypermetra at libertie, and subdued the whole kingdome of the Argines.

This done, he caused the daughters of Danaus (so many as remained within the limits of his dominion) to be sent for, whom he thought not worthe to liue, because of the cruell murder which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wiues sisters, he would not put them to death, but commanded them to be thrust into a ship, without maister, mate or mariner, and so to be turned into the maine ocean sea, and to take and abide such fortune as should chance vnto them. These ladies thus imbarked and left to the mercy of the seas, by hap were brought to the coasts of this Ile then called Albion, where they toke land, and in seeking to prouide themselves of victuals by pursuit of wilde beastes, met with no other inhabitants, than the rude and sauage giants mentioned before, whom our historiens for their beastle kind of life doe call diuells. With these monsters did these ladies (finding none other to satiffie the motions of their sensuall lust) ioine in the act of venerie, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begat them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peradventure ye will thinke that I haue forgotten my selfe, in rehearsing this historie of the

ladies arrivall here, because I make no mention of Albina, which should be the eldest of the sisters, of whom this land should also take the name of Albion. To this we answer, that as the name of their father hath bene mistaken, so likewise hath the whole course of the historie in this behalfe. For though we shall admit that to be true which is rehearsed (in manner as before ye haue heard) of the arrivall here of those ladies; yet certaine it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whom this land might be called Albion. For further assurance whereof, if any man be desirous to know all their names, we haue thought good here to rehearse them as they be found in Higinus, Pausanias, and others. 1 Seeca, 2 Philomela, 3 Scillo, 4 Phicomene, 5 Enippe, 6 Demoditas, 7 Hypale, 8 Trite, 9 Damone, 10 Hypothoe, 11 Pirridone, 12 Euridice, 13 Chleo, 14 Aranta, 15 Cleopatra, 16 Phylea, 17 Hypareta, 18 Hypothemmis, 19 Heranta, 20 Armoasse, 21 Danaes, 22 Seeca, 23 Glaucippe, 24 Demophile, 25 Antodice, 26 Polyrena, 27 Hecate, 28 Achamantis, 29 Arsalte, 30 Sponulle, 31 Antinone, 32 Helice, 33 Amaome, 34 Polybe, 35 Helice, 36 Electra, 37 Eubule, 38 Daphildice, 39 Hero, 40 Europomene, 41 Critomedia, 42 Pyrene, 43 Eupheno, 44 Themistagora, 45 Paleno, 46 Crato, 47 Antonomes, 48 Itea, 49 Chrysanta, 50 Hypermetra. These were the names of those ladies the daughters of Danaus: howbeit, which they were that should arrive in this Ile, we can not say: but it sufficeth to vnderstand, that none of them hight Albina. So that, whether the historie of their landing here should be true or not, it is all one for the matter concerning the name of this Ile, which vndoubtedly was called Albion, either of Albion the giant (as before I haue said) or by some other occasion.

Higinus.  
The names of  
the daughters  
of Danaus.

And thus much for the ladies, whose strange aduenture of their arrivall here, as it may seeme to manie (with good cause) incredible, so without further auouching it for truth, I leaue it to the consideration of the reader, to thinke thereof as reason shall moue him; with this I see not how either in this, or in other things of such antiquitie, we cannot haue sufficient warrant otherwise than by likeliest coniectures. Which as in this historie of the ladies they are not most probable, yet haue we shewed the likeliest, that (as we thinke) may be deemed to agree with those authors that haue written of their coming into this Ile. But as for an assured proofe that this Ile was inhabited with people before the coming of Brutus, I trust it may suffice which before is recited out of Annii de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although much more might be said: as of the coming hither of Britis, as well as in the other parties of the world: and likewise of Ulysses his being here, who in performing some bow which he either then did make, or before had made, erected an altar in that part of Scotland which was ancientlie called Calidonia, as Iulius Solinus Polyhistor in plaine words doth record.

See more in  
the description.Ulysses in  
Britaine.

Iulius Solinus.

¶ Upon these considerations I haue no doubt to deliver vnto the reader, the opinion of those that thinke this land to haue bene inhabited before the arrivall here of Brutus, trusting it may be taken in good part, with we haue but shewed the coniectures of others, till time that some sufficient learned man shall take vpon him to decipher the doubts of all these matters. Neuerthelesse, I thinke good to aduertise the reader that these stories of Samothres, Pagus, Saron, Druis, and Bardus, doe relie onelie vpon the authority of Berosus, whom most diligent antiquaries doe reiect as a fabulous and counterfet author, and Vacerius hath laboured to proue the same by a speciall treatise lately published at Rome.

Harding and  
John Rous out  
of David Pen-  
cair.



# THE SECOND BOOKE

## of the Historie of England.

Of Brute and his descent, how  
he slue his father in hunting, his  
banishment, his letter to king Pan-  
drasus, against whom he wagheth  
battell, taketh him prisoner,  
and concludeth peace upon  
conditions.

### The first Chapter.



Hitherto haue we  
spoken of the inha-  
bitants of this Ile  
before the com-  
ming of Brute, al-  
though some will  
needs haue it, that  
he was the first  
which inhabited the  
same with his peo-  
ple descended of  
the Troians, some  
sew giants onelie  
excepted whom he bitterlie destroyed, and left not one  
of them aline through the whole Ile. But as we shall  
not doubt of Brutes comming hither, so may we  
assuredly thinke, that he found the Ile peopled either  
with the generation of those which Albion the giant  
had placed here, or some other kind of people whom  
he did subdue, and so reigned as well ouer them as o-  
uer those which he brought with him.

Humfr. Lloyd.

Harding,  
Alex. Neuil,  
W. Har.

This Brutus, or Byrrinus [for this letter (Y) hath  
of ancient time had the sounds both of V and I] (as  
the authoꝝ of the booke which Geoffrey of Monmouth  
translated doth affirme) was the sonne of Silvius,  
the sonne of Alcanius, the sonne of Aeneas the Troi-  
an, begotten of his wife Creusa, & borne in Troie,  
before the citie was destroyed. But as other do take  
it, the authoꝝ of that booke (what soeuer he was) and  
such other as follow him, are deceived onelie in this  
point, mistaking the matter, in that Posthumus the  
sonne of Aeneas (begotten of his wife Lavinia, and  
borne after his fathers deceasse in Italie) was called  
Alcanius, who had issue a sonne named Julius, who  
(as these other do coniecture) was the father of  
Brute, that noble chieftaine and aduenturous lea-  
der of those people, which being descended (for the  
more part in the fourth generation) from those Troi-  
ans that escaped with life, when that roiall citie was  
destroyed by the Grekes, got possession of this tow-  
ne and most famous Ile.

To this opinion Giouan Villani a Florentine  
in his vniuersall historie, speaking of Aeneas and  
his offspring kings in Italie, seemeth to agree, where

he saith: Silvius (the sonne of Aeneas by his wife  
Lavinia) fell in loue with a neece of his mother La-  
uinia, and by hir had a sonne, of whom she died in tra-  
uell, and therefore was called Brutus, who after as  
he grew in some stature, and hunting in a forrest slue  
his father inuoluntaries, and thereupon for feare of his  
grandfather Silvius Posthumus he fled the coun-  
trie, and with a retinue of such as followed him, pas-  
sing through diuers seas, at length he arrived in the

10 Ile of Britaine.

Concerning therefore our Brute, whether his fa-  
ther Julius was sonne to Alcanius the sonne of Ae-  
neas by his wife Creusa, or sonne to Posthumus  
called also Alcanius, and sonne to Aeneas by his  
wife Lavinia, we will not further stand. But this, we  
find, that when he came to the age of 15. yeeres, so  
that he was now able to ride abroad with his father  
into the forrests and chales, he fortun'd (either by  
misthap, or by Gods pꝛouidence) to strike his father  
with an arrow, in shooting at a deere, of which wound  
he also died. His grandfather (whether the same was  
Posthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this  
great misfortune that had chanced to his sonne Sil-  
uius, liued not long after, but died for verie griefe  
and sorrow (as is supposed) which he conceiued thereof.  
And the yong gentleman, immediatlie after he had  
slaine his father (in maner before alledged) was ba-  
nished his countrie, and thereupon got him into  
Grecia, where tranelling the countrie, he lighted by  
chance among some of the Trojan offspring, and asso-  
ciating himselfe with them, grew by meanes of the  
linage (whereof he was descended) in pꝛoces of time  
into great reputation among them: chieftie by rea-  
son there were yet diuers of the Trojan race, and  
that of great authoritie in that countrie. For Byr-  
rus the sonne of Achilles, hauing no issue by his  
wife Hermione, married Andromache, late wife vnto  
Hector: and by hir had thre sonnes, Pololius, Pile-  
us, and Pergamus, who in their time grew to be of  
great power in those places and countries, and their  
offspring likewise: whereby Brutus or Byrrinus wan-  
ted no friendship. For euen at his first comming  
thither, diuers of the Troians that remained in ser-  
uitude, being desirous of libertie, by flocks resorted  
vnto him. And amongst other, Alaracus was one,  
whom Brute intertain'd, receiuing at his hands the  
possession of sundrie forts and places of defense, be-  
fore that the king of those parties could haue vnder-  
standing or knowledge of any such thing. Here with  
also such as were readie to make the aduenture with  
him, repaired to him on ech side, whereupon he first  
placed garisons in those towne which had bene thus  
deliuered vnto him, and afterwards with Alaracus  
and the residue of the multitude he withdrew into  
the mountains nere adjoining. And thus being  
made strong with such assistance, by consultation  
had with them that were of most authoritie about  
him,

Brute killed  
his father.

Paulanias.

him, wrote vnto the king of that countrie called Pandarus, in forme as followeth.

A letter of Brute to Pandarus, as I  
find it set downe in Galfride  
Monumetenfis.

**B**Rute leader of the remnant of the Trojan people, to Pandarus king of the Greekes, sendeth greeting. Because it hath bene thought a thing vnworthie, that the people descended of the noble lineage of Dardanus should be otherwise dealt with than the honour of their nobilitie dooth require: they haue withdrawne themselves within the close couert of the woods. For they haue chosen rather (after the maner of wild beasts) to liue on flesh and herbs in libertie, than furnished with all the riches in the world to continue vnder the yoke of seruite thraldome. But if this their dooing offend thy mightie highnesse, they are not to be blamed, but rather in this behalfe to be pardoned, sith euerie captiue prisoner is desirous to be restored vnto his former estate and dignitie. You therefore pitieng their case, vouchsafe to grant them their abridged libertie, and suffer them to remaine in quiet within these woods which they haue got into their possession: if not so, yet giue them licence to depart forth of this countrie into some other parts.

The sight of these letters, and request in them contained, made Pandarus at the first somewhat amazed, howbeit deliberating further of the matter, and considering their small number, he made no great account of them, but determined out of hand to suppress them by force, before they should grow to a greater multitude. And to vying his intention the better to passe, he passed by a towne called Sparatium, & marching toward the woods where he thought to haue found his enemies, he was suddenlie assailed by Brute, who with three thousand men came forth of the woods, and fiercelie setting vpon his enemies, made great slaughter of them, so that they were utterlie discomfited, & sought by flight to saue themselves in passing a riuer nere hand called Ahalon. Brute with his men following fast vpon the aduersaries, caused them to plunge into the water at aduenture, so that manie of them were drowned. Howbeit Antigonus the brother of Pandarus did what he could to stay the Grecians from fleeing, and calling them backe againe did get some of them together, placed them in order, and began a new field: but it nothing auailed, for the Troians prealing vpon him, toke him prisoner, slue and scattred his companie, and ceased not till they had rid the fields of all their aduersaries.

This done, Brute entering the towne, furnished it with six hundred able souldiours, and afterwards went backe to the residue of his people that were incamped in the woods, where he was receiued with vnpraisable ioy for this prosperous atchieued enterprise. But although this euill successe at the first beginning sore troubled Pandarus, as well for the losse of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kindled in desire to seeke reuenge, than otherwise discouraged. And therefore assembling his people againe together that were scattered here and there, he came the next day before the towne of Sparatium, where he thought to haue found Brute inclosed together with the prisoners, and therefore he thewed his whole endeavour by hard siege and

fierce assaults to force them within to yield.

To conclude, so long he continued the siege, till victuals began to waie scant within, so that there was no way but to yield, if present succour came not to remoue the siege: whereupon they signified their necessitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power sufficient to fight with the enemies in open field, he ment to giue them a camisado in the night season, and so ordered his businesse, that inslitting a prisoner (named Anacletus whom he had taken in the last battell) to tell his turne, by confreining him to take an oth (which he durst not for conscience sake breake) he found means to encounter with his enemies vpon the aduantage, that he did not onelie ouerthrowe their whole power, but also toke Pandarus prisoner, whereby all the trouble was ended: and shortly after a perfect peace concluded, vpon these conditions following.

First, that Pandarus should giue his daughter Innogen vnto Brute in marriage, with a competent summe of gold and siluer for hir dowrie.

Secondlie, to furnish him and his people with a nauie of ships, and to store the same with victuals and all other necessaries.

Thirdlie, that Brute with his people should haue licence to depart the countrie, to seeke adventures whither so euer it should please them to direct their course, without let, impeachment, or trouble to be offered anie waies by the Greeks.

To all these conditions (because they touched not the prerogative of his kingdome) Pandarus did willingly agree, and likewise performed.

Brute and his wife Innogen arriue in Leogitia, they aske counsell of an oracle where they shall inhabit, he meeteth with a remnant of Troians on the coasts nere the shooting downe of the Pyrene hills into the sea.

## The second Chapter.

**A** things being thus brought to passe according to Brutes desire, wind also and weather seruing the purpose, he with his wife Innogen and his people imbarked, and hoisting vp sailes departed from the coasts of Grecia. Now after two daies and a nights sailing, they arriued at Leogitia (in some old written booke of the British historie noted downe Lergetia) an Island, where they consulted with an oracle. Brute himselfe kneeling before the idoll, and holding in his right hand a boll prepared for sacrifice full of wine, and the blond of a white hinde, spake in this maner as here followeth:

*Diuus potens nemorum, terror syluestribus apri,  
Cui licet anfractus ire per aethereos,  
Inferasq; domos, terroresq; iura resoluere,  
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:  
Dic certam sedem qua te venerabor in ausum,  
Qua tibi virginis templa dicabo choris.*

These verses (as Ponticus Virumnius and others also doe gesse) were written by Gildas Cambrius in his booke intituled *Cambreidos*, and may thus be Englished:

Thou goddesse that doost rule  
the woods and Forrests greene,  
And chafest foming boares  
that flee thine awfull sight,  
Thou that maist passe aloft  
in aerie skies so sheene,

And

Pandarus  
prepareth an  
armie to sup-  
presse the  
Troian of-  
fending.  
Sparatium.

Peraduenture  
Skelous

Antigonus,  
the brother of  
Pandarus.

He is taken  
prisoner.

Brute en-  
treth into  
Sparatium.

Pandarus  
taken prisoner

The contin-  
ous of the a-  
gement be-  
tweene Brute  
& Pandarus

40

50

60

And walke eke vnder earth  
in places void of light,  
Discover earthlie states,  
direct our course aright,  
And shew where we shall dwell,  
according to thy will,  
In seats of lure abode,  
where temples we may dight  
For virgins that shall sound  
thy laud with voices shrill.

After this praier and ceremonie done, according  
to the pagane rite and custome, Brute abiding his  
answer, fell asleepe: in which sleepe appeared to him  
the said goddesse uttering this answer in the verses  
following exprested.

*Brute, sub occasum solis trans Gallica regna,  
Insula in oceano est, undiq; clausa mari,  
Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantum olim,  
Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:  
Hanc pete, namq; tibi sedes erit illa perennis,  
Eliciet natus altera Troia tuus:  
Hic de prole tua reges nascentur, & ipsi  
Totius terrae subditus orbis erit.*

Brute, farre by-west beyond the Gal-  
like land is found,  
An Ile which with the ocean seas  
inclosed is about,  
Where giants dwelt sometime,  
but now is desert ground,  
Most meet where thou maist plant  
thy selfe with all thy rout:  
Make thitherwards with speed,  
for there thou shalt find out  
An euerdure seat,  
and Troie shall rise anew,  
Vnto thy race, of whom  
shall kings be borne no dout,  
That with their mightie power  
the world shall whole subdew.

After he awaked out of sleepe, and had called his  
dreame to remembrance, he first doubted whether it  
were a verie dreame, or a true vision, the goddes ha-  
ving spoken to him with liuelie voice. Whereupon  
calling such of his companie vnto him as he thought  
 requisite in such a case, he declared vnto them the  
 whole matter with the circumstances, whereat they  
 greatlie reioicing, caused mightie bonfires to be  
 made, in the which they cast wine, milke, and other li-  
 quors, with diuers gums and spices of most sweet  
 smell and fauour, as in the pagan religion was ac-  
 customed. Which obseruances and ceremonies per-  
 formed and brought to end, they returned straight-  
 waies to their ships, and as soone as the wind ser-  
 ued, passed forward on their iourne with great ioy  
 and gladnesse, as men put in comfort to find out the  
 wished seats for their firme and sure habitations.  
 From hence therefore they cast about, and making  
 westward, first arrived in Affrica, and after keeping  
 on their course, they passed the straits of Gibalter-  
 ra, and coasting alongst the shore on the right hand,  
 they found another companie that were likewise  
 descended of the Troian progenie, on the coasts  
 nere where the Pyrene hills shot downe to the sea,  
 whereof the same sea by good reason (as some sup-  
 pose) was named in those daies *Mare Pyrenaum*, al-  
 though hitherto by fault of writers & copiers of the  
 British historie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrrhe-  
 num*, was slightlie put downe in stead of *Pyrenaum*.

The offspring of these Troians, with whom Brute  
 and his companie thus did meet, were a remnant of  
 them that came away with Antenor. Their capteine  
 hight Corineus, a man of great modestie and ap-  
 proved wisdom, and thereto of incomparable  
 strength and boldnesse.

Brute and the said Troians with their  
 capteine Corineus doo associat, they take  
 landing within the dominion of king Gof-  
 farus, he raiseth an armie against Brute and  
 his power, but is discomfited: of the  
 cite of Tours: Brute arrivall in this  
 land with his companie.

### The third Chapter.



After that Brute and the  
 said Troians, by conference  
 interchangeablie had, under-  
 stood one anothers estates,  
 and how they were descen-  
 ded from one countrie and  
 progenie, they united them-  
 selues together, greatlie re-

ioising that they were so fortunallie met: and ho-  
 sing by their sailles, directed their course forward still,  
 till they arrived within the mouth of the riuer of  
 Loire, which divideth Aquitaine from Gall Celtike,  
 where they toke land within the dominion of a king  
 called Goffarius, surnamed Pictus, by reason he  
 was descended of the people *Agathyrsi*, otherwise  
 named Pictas, because they used to paint their faces  
 and bodics, in such sort that the richer a man was a-  
 mongst them, the more cost he bestowed in painting  
 himselfe, in commonlie the haire of their head was  
 red, or (as probable writers say) of skie colour. He-  
 rodotus calleth them *χρυσόφρεγες*, because they did  
 weare much gold about them. They used their wines  
 in common, and because they are all supposed to be  
 brethren, there is no strife nor discord among them.  
 Of these *Agathyrsi*, it is recorded by the said Hero-  
 dotus, that they refused to succour the Scythians a-  
 gainst Darius, giuing this reason of their refusall;  
 because they would not make warre against him  
 who had done them no wrong. And of this people  
 doth the poet make mention, saying,

*Cretesq; Dryopesq; fremunt pictiq; Agathyrsi.*

To paint their faces not for amiablenesse, but for  
 terriblenesse, the Britons in old time used, and that  
 with a kind of herbe like vnto plantine. In which re-  
 spect I see no reason why they also should not be cal-  
 led Picts, as well as the *Agathyrsi*; seeing the deno-  
 mination sprang of a vaine custome in them both.  
 And here by the way, sithens we haue touched this  
 folke in two severall people, let it not seeme tedious  
 to read this one trick of the Indians, among whom  
 there is great plentie of pretious stones, wherewith  
 they adorne the melues in this maner; namelie, in  
 certain hollow places which they make in their flesh,  
 they inclose and riuet in pretious stones, and that as  
 well in their foreheades as their cheekes, to none other  
 purpose, than the *Agathyrsi* in the vse of their pain-  
 ting.

The countrie of Poitou (as some hold) where the  
 said Goffarius reigned, toke name of this people:  
 likewise a part of this our Ile of Britaine now con-  
 tained within Scotland, which in ancient time was  
 called Hightland or Pictland, as elsewhere both in  
 this historie of England, and also of Scotland may  
 further appeare. But to our purpose.

When Goffarius the king of Poitou was aduer-  
 tised of the landing of these strangers within his  
 countrie, he sent first certeine of his people to under-  
 stand what they ment by their comming a land with-  
 in his dominion, without licence or leaue of him ob-  
 teined. They that were thus sent, came by chance to  
 a place where Corineus with two hundred of the  
 companie were come from the ships into a forrest  
 nere the sea side, to kill some benefon for their suste-  
 nance:

Brute and  
 Corineus  
 ioin their com-  
 panies toge-  
 ther.

They arrive  
 on the coasts  
 of Gallia, now  
 called France.  
 Goffarius  
 surnamed  
 Pictus.  
 Les annales  
 d'Aquitaine.  
 Agathyrsi,  
 otherwise cal-  
 led Pictas, of  
 painting their  
 bodics.

Marcellus.  
 Plinie.  
 Herodotus li.4.

Virg. Aencid.4.

Cæsar com.li.5

P. Mart. com.  
 part.2. lict.60.

Hightland  
 or Pictland,

Goffarius  
 sendeth vnto  
 Brute.

Brute with  
 his companie  
 landed in Af-  
 frica.

The mista-  
 king of those  
 that haue co-  
 pied the Bri-  
 tish historie  
 calling Mare  
 Pyrenaum, for  
 Tyrrhenum.

Coineus an-  
swereth the  
messenger.  
Jmbert.

Jmbert is  
kaine by Co-  
rineus.

Goffarius  
raiserh an  
armie.

Goffarius is  
discomfited.

Goffarius se-  
kerh aid a-  
gainst Brute.

Brute spot-  
teth the coun-  
trie.

Turonium oꝝ  
Tours built  
by Brute.

Goffarius ha-  
ning renewed  
his forces,  
fighteth ef-  
fionen with  
Brute.

Theuer.

3374

Brute in doubt  
what to doo.

nance: and being rebuled with some disdainfull speech of those Poitounis, he shapeth them a round answer: inso much that one of them whose name was Jmbert, let dye an arrow at Coineus: but he auoiding the danger thereof, shot againe at Jmbert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue his head in sunder. The rest of the Poitounis fled therevpon, and brought word to Goffarius what had happened: who immediatlie with a mightie armie made forward to encounter with the Troians, and coming to ioine with them in battell, after a sharpe and sore conflict, in the end Brute with his armie obtained a triumphant victorie, speciallie through the noble prowesse of Coineus.

Goffarius escaping from the field, fled into the inner parts of Gallia, making sute for assistance vnto such kings as in those daies reigned in diuers prouinces of that land, who promised to aid him with all their forces, and to expell out of the coasts of Aquitaine, such strangers as without his licence were thus entred the countrie. But Brute in the meane time passed forward, and with fire and sword made hauocke in places where he came: and gathering great spoiles, fraught his ships with plentie of riches. At length he came to the place, where afterwards he built a citie named Turonium, that is, Tours.

Here Goffarius with such Galles as were assembled to his aid, gaue battell againe vnto the Troians that were incamped to abide his coming. Where after they had fought a long time with singular manhood on both parties: the Troians in fine oppressed with multitudes of aduersaries (euen thirtie times as manie as the Troians) were constrained to retire into their campe, within the which the Galles kept them as besieged, lodging round about them, and purposing by famine to compell them to yeild themselves vnto their mercie. But Coineus taking counsell with Brute, deuised to depart in the darke of the night out of the campe, to lodge himselfe with three thousand chosen souldiers secretlie in a wood, and there to remaine in couert till the morning that Brute should come forth and giue a charge vpon the enimies, wherewith Coineus should breake forth and assaile the Galles on the backes.

This policie was put in practise, and toke such effect as the deuisers themselves wished: for the Galles being sharplie assailed on the front by Brute and his companie, were now with the sudden coming of Coineus (who set vpon them behind on their backes) brought into such a feare, that incontinentlie they toke them to flight, whom the Troians egerlie pursued, making no small slaughter of them as they did ouertake them. In this battell Brute lost manie of his men, and amongst other one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had shewed marvellous prouise of his manhood. Of him (as some haue written) the foresaid citie of Tours toke the name, and was called Turonium, because the said Turinus was there buried.

Andrew Theuer affirmeth the contrarie, and mainteineth that one Taurus the nephue of Hyantball was the first that inclosed it about with a pale of wood (as the manner of those daies was of fencing their towne) in the yeare of the world 3374. and before the birth of our sauour 197.

But to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obtained so famous a victorie, albeit there was good cause for him to reioise, yet it soze troubled him to consider that his numbers daillie decayed, and his enimies still increased, and grew stronger: whereupon resting doubtfull what to do, whether to proceed against the Galles, or returne to his ships

to seeke the Ile that was appointed him by oracle, at length he chose the surest and best way, as he toke it, and as it proued. For whilst the greater part of his armie was yet left alieue, and that the victorie remained on his side, he drew to his nauie, and lading his ships with exceeding great store of riches which his people had got abroad in the countrie, he toke the seas againe. After a few daies sailing they landed at the haven now called Totnesse, the yeare of the world 2850, after the destruction of Troy 66, after the deliuerance of the Israelites from the captiuitie of Babylon 397, almost ended; in the 18 yeare of the reign of Lineas king of Babylon, 13 of Pelau thus king of Athens, before the building of Rome 368, which was before the natiuitie of our Sauour Christ 1116, almost ended, and before the reign of Alexander the great 783.

Brute discouereth the commodities of  
this fland, mightie giants withstand him,  
Gogmagog and Corineus wrestle together  
at a place beside Douer: he buildeth the ci-  
tie of Trinouant now termed London,  
calleth this fland by the name of Bri-  
taine, and diuideth it into three  
parts among his three sonnes.

### The fourth Chapter.

Brute had entred this land, immediatlie after his arrivall (as writers doe record) he searched the countrie from side to side, and from end to end, finding it in most places verie fertile and plentious of wood and grasse, and full of pleasant springs and faire riuers. As he thus trauelled to discouer the state and commodities of the fland, he was encountered by diuers strong and mightie giants, whome he destroyed and slue, or rather subdued, with all such other people as he found in the fland, which were more in number than by report of some authoꝝ it should appeare there were. Among these giants (as Geoffrey of Monmouth writeth) there was one of passing strength and great estimation, named Gogmagog, with whome Brute caused Coineus to wrestle at a place beside Douer, where it chanced that the giant brake a rib in the side of Coineus while they strove to claspe, and the one to ouerthrow the other: wherewith Coineus being soze chafed and stirred to wrath, did so double his force that he got the upper hand of the giant, and cast him downe headlong from one of the rocks there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched him: by reason whereof the place was named long after, The fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterward it was called The fall of Douer. For this valiant deed, and other the like seruices first and last atchiued, Brute gaue vnto Coineus the whole countrie of Cornuall. To be brieue, after that Brute had destroyed such as stood against him, and brought such people vnder his subjection as he found in the Ile, and searched the land from the one end to the other: he was desirous to build a citie, that the same might be the seate roiall of his empire or kingdome. Whereupon he chose a plot of ground lieng on the north side of the riuer of Thames, which by good consideration seemed to be most pleasant and conuenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, as well for holsonnesse of aire, godnesse of soile, plentie of woods, and commoditie of the riuer, seruing as well to bring in as to carrie out all kinds of merchandize and things necessarie for the gaine, soze, and vse of them that there should inhabit.

Brute  
his name  
of Trinouant  
arrived  
the  
Anno mccc  
2850.

1116

Brute  
countreth  
the giants

Coineus  
wrestled  
with Gog-

Gogmagog  
slane.

Cornwall  
uen to Co-  
neus.



inhabit.

Here therefore he began to build and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth or (as other thinke) in the second yeare after his arrivall, which he named (saith Gal. Mon.) Troinouant, or (as Hum. Lihoyd saith) Troinewith, that is, new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy from whence he and his people were for the greater part descended.

When Brutus had builded this citie, and brought the Island fullie under his subiection, he by the advice of his nobles commanded this Ile (which before hight Albion) to be called Britaine, and the inhabitants Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the first bringer of them into the land. In this meane while also he had by his wife, iij. sonnes, the first named Loctrinus or Loctrine, the second Canbrius or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. Now when the time of his death drew nere, to the first he bequeathed the government of that part of the land now knowne by the name of England: so that the same was long after called Loegria, or Logiers, of the said Loctrinus. To the second he appointed the countrie of Wales, which of him was first named Cambria, divided from Loegria by the river of Suerne. To his third sonne Albanact he deliuered all the north part of the Ile, afterward called Albania, after the name of the said Albanact: which portion of the said Ile lieth beyond the Humber northward. Thus when Brutus had divided the Ile of Britaine (as before is mentioned) into 3. parts, and had governed the same by the space of 15. yeares, he died in the 24. yeare after his arrivall (as Harison noteth) and was buried at Troinouant or London: although the place of his said buriall there be now growne out of memorie.

In the times of this our Brites Emile and Samuill governed Ile. 1011.

Of Loctrine the eldest sonne of Brute, of Albanact his yongest sonne, and his death: of Madan, Mempricius, Ebranke, Brute Greemesheeld, Leill, Ludhurdibras, Baldud, and Leir, the nine rulers of Britaine succeeded fellic after Brute.

### The fifth Chapter.

Loctrine the second ruler of Britain

Gal. Mon. Mar. West. Flout of G. de Co. Gal. Mon. Mar. West.

It should seeme that he was come over the Humber.

Gal. Mon.

**L**octrinus or Loctrine the first begotten sonne of Brute began to reigne over the countrie called Logiers, in the yeare of the world 1874. and held to his part the countrie that reached from the south sea unto the river of Humber. While this Loctrinus governed Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, where in fine he was slaine in a battell by a king of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, who invaded that part of Britaine, and got possession thereof, till Loctrinus with his brother Camber, in reuenge of their other brothers death, and for the recouerie of the kingdom, gathered their powers together, and coming against the said king of the Hunnes, by the valiance of their people they discomfited him in battell, and chased him so egerlie, that he himselfe and a great number of his men were drowned in the gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after toke name of the said king, and was called Humber, and so continueth unto this daie.

Whereouer in this battell against the Hunnes were three yong damels taken of excellent beautie, specially one of them, whose name was Estrild, daughter to a certaine king of Scythia. With this Estrild

king Loctrine fell so farre in loue, notwithstanding a former contract made betwixt him and the ladie Guendolena, daughter to Cozincus duke of Cornwall, that he meant yet with all speed to marie the same Estrild. But being earnestlie called upon, and in manner forced thereto by Cozincus, he changed his purpose, and married Guendolena, keeping neuertheles the aforesaid Estrild as paramour still after a secret sort, during the life of Cozincus his father in law.

Now after that Cozincus was departed this world, Loctrine forsooke Guendolena, and married Estrild. Guendolena therefore being cast off by hir husband, got hir into Cornwall to hir friends and kindred, and there procured them to make warre against the said Loctrine hir husband, in the which warres hee was slaine, and a battell fought nere to the riuer of Sture, after he had reigned (as writers affirme) twentie yeares, & was buried by his father in the Citie of Troinouant, leaving behind him a yong sonne (begotten of his wife Guendolena) named Madan, as yet unmate to gouerne.

Mar. West.

Guendolena or Guendoline the wife of Loctrinus, and daughter of Cozincus duke of Cornwall, for so much as hir sonne Madan was not of yeeres sufficient to gouerne, was by common consent of the Britons made ruler of the Ile, in the yeere of the world 1894, and so hauing the administration in hir hands, she did right discretlie bte hir selfe therein, to the comfort of all hir subiects, till hir sonne Madan came to lawfull age, and then she gave ouer the rule and dominion to him, after she had governed by the space of fiftene yeares.

She is not numbered amongst those that reigned as rulers in this land by Mar. West.

Gal. Mon.

**M**adan the sonne of Loctrine and Guendoline mentred into the gouernement of Britaine in the 1909, of the world. There is little left in writing of his doings, saving that he bled great tyrannie amongst his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of 40. yeares, he was deuoured of wild beastes, as he was abroad in hunting. He left behind him two sonnes, Mempricius and Spanlius. He builded (as is reported) Spandancastre, now Dancastre, which retaineth still the later part of his name.

Madan the third ruler.

**M**empricius the eldest sonne of Madan began his reigne over the Britons in the yeare of the world 1949, he continued not long in peace. For his brother Spanlius upon an ambitious mind prouoked the Britons to rebell against him, so that sore and deadly warre continued long betwene them. But finallie, vnder colour of a treatie, Spanlius was slaine by his brother Mempricius, so that then he liued in more tranquillitie and rest. Howbeit, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into sloth, and so into vnlawfull lust of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters: and finallie became so beaustie, that he forsooke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable sinne of Sodomie. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odious to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was lost of his people, and destroyed of wild beastes, when he had reigned twentie yeares, leaving behind him a noble yong sonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Mempricius the fourth ruler.

Fabian. Spanlius is slaine.

Gal. Mon. Sloth engendred lecherie.

Mempricius is deuoured of beastes.

**E**branke the sonne of Mempricius began to rule ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 1969. He had as writers doo of him record, one and twentie wiues, on whom he begot 20. sonnes and 30. daughters, of the which the eldest hight Guales, or Guala. These daughters he sent to Alba Sylluius, which was the eleuenth king of Italie, or the first king of the Latines, to the end they might be married

Ebranke the fifth ruler.

Ebranke had 21. wiues: his thirte daughters sent into Italie.

Bergomas  
lib. 6.

The citie of  
Caerbyrhanke  
built.  
March. West.

Fortie yeares  
hath Bath.  
West. and  
Gal. Mon.  
time.

Brute  
Greene-  
shield the  
first ruler.  
Iacobus Lef.

Strabo lib. 4.

Leill the  
seuenth  
ruler.  
Caerleil built.  
ded.

Chester re-  
paired.

married to his noble men of the blood of Troians, because the Sabines refused to ioint their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the first prince of his land that euer inuaded France after Brute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many cities, both in his owne kingdome, and else where. His sonnes also vnder the conduct of Asaracus, one of their eldest brethren, returning out of Italie, after they had conducted their sisters thither, inuaded Germanie, being first molested by the people of that countrie in their rage, and by the helpe of the said Alba subdued a great part of that countrie, & there planted themselves. Our histories say, that Ebraucus their father married them in their returne, and aided them in their conquests, and that he builded the citie of Caerbyrhanke, now called Pothe, about the 14. yeare of his reigne. He builded also in Albania now called Scotland, the castle of Spadens, afterward called Edenburgh of Adian one of their kings. The citie of Alclud was builded likewise by him (as some write) now decayed. After which cities thus builded, he sailed ouer into Gallia, now called France, with a great armie, and subduing the Galles as is aforesaid, he returned home with great riches and triumph. Now when he had guided the land of Britaine in noble wise by the tearme of fortie yeares, he died, and was buried at Pothe.

Brute Greeneshield, the sonne of Ebraucus, was made gouernour of this land in the yeare of the world 3009, Asa reigning in Iuda, and Baasa in Israel. This prince bare alwaies in the field a greene shield, whereof he took his surname, and of him some foraine authors affirme, that he made an attempt to bring the whole realme of France vnder his subiection, which he performed, because his father sustained some dishonour and losse in his last voyage into that countrie. Whome they say, that when he came into Penand, Bincild a prince of that quarter gaue him also a great overthrow, and compelled him to retire home againe into his countrie. This Bincild out of William Harison, who in his chronologie toucheth the same at large, concluding in the end, that the said passage of this prince into France is verie likelie to be true, and that he named a parcell of Armorica lieng on the south, and in manner vpon the verie loine after his owne name, and also a citie which he builded there Britaine. For (saith he) it should seme by Strabo, lib. 4. that there was a noble citie of that name long before his time in the said countrie, whereof Plinie also speaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he ascribeth it vnto France after a disordered manner. More I find not of this foresaid Brute, sauing that he ruled the land a certaine time, his father yet living; and after his decess the tearme of twelue yeares, and then died, and was buried at Caerbyrhanke now called Pothe.

Leill the sonne of Brute Greeneshield, began to reigne in the yeare of the world 3021, the same time that Asa was reigning in Iuda, and Ambzi in Israel. He built the citie now called Carleil, which then after his owne name was called Caerleil, that is, Leill his citie, or the citie of Leill. He repaired also (as Henrie Bradshaw saith) the citie of Caerleon now called Chester, which (as in the same Bradshaw appeareth) was built before Brutus entrie into this land by a giant named Leon Cauer. But what authoritie he had to auauch this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higden in his worke intituled Polychronicon, saith in plaine wordes, that it is vnknewen who was the first founder of Chester, but that it took the name of the sojourning there of some Romaine legions, by whome also it is not vnlike that it might be first built by P. Orosius Scapula, who as we find, after he had subdued Caratacus king of the Dybonices that inhabited the countries now called Lancashire, Cheshire, and Salopshire, built in those parts, and among the Silures, certaine places of defense, for the better harbrough of his men of warre, and keeping downe of such Britaines as were still readie to moue rebellion.

But now to the purpose concerning Leill. We find it recorded that he was in the beginning of his reigne verie vpright, and desirous to see iustice executed, and aboue all thinges loued peace & quietnesse; but as yeares increased with him, so his vertues began to diminish, in so much that abandoning the care for the bodie of the commonwealth, he suffered his owne bodie to welter in all vice and voluptuousnesse, and so procuring the hatred of his subiects, caused malice and discord to rise amongst them, which during his life he was neuer able to appease. But leauing them so at variance, he departed this life, & was buried at Carleil, which as ye haue heard he had builded while he liued.

Idor Ludhurdib was the sonne of Leill began to gouerne in the yeare of the world 3046. In the beginning of his reigne, he sought to appease the debate that was raised in his fathers daies, and bring the realme to his former quietnesse, and after that he had brought it to good end, he builded the towne of Kaerkin now called Canterburie: also the towne of Caerguent now cleped Winchester, and mount Paladour now called Shaftsburie. About the building of which towne of Shaftsburie, Aquila a prophet of the British nation wrote his prophecies, of which some fragments remaine yet to be seene, translated into the Latine by some ancient writers. When this Idor had reigned 29. yeares, he died, and left a sonne behind him named Baldud.

Baldud the sonne of Ludhurdib was begun to rule ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3085. This man was well seene in the sciences of astronomie and nigromancie, by which (as the common report saith) he made the hot bathes in the citie of Caerbyrhan now called Bath. But William of Malmesburie is of a contrarie opinion, affirming that Julius Cesar made those bathes, or rather repaired them when he was here in England: which is not like to be true: for Julius Cesar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came so farre within the land that way forward. But of these bathes more shall be said in the description. Now to proceed. This Baldud took such pleasure in artificiall practises & magike, that he taught this art thoroughout all his realme. And to shew his cunning in other points, vpon a presumptuous pleasure which he had therein, he took vpon him to flie in the aire, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Troinuant, and there was some in pieces after he had ruled the Britaines by the space of 20. yeares.

Leir the sonne of Baldud was admitted ruler ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Joas reigned in Iuda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demeanour, gouerning his land and subiects in great wealth. He made the towne of Caerleir now called Leicester, which standeth vpon the riuer of Soze. It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other issue, whose names were Conoxilla, Regan, and Cordella, which daughters he greatly loued, but specially Cordella the yongest farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeeres, & began to wane in woldie through age, he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre him whome he best loued, to the succession ouer the kingdome. Where vpon he first asked

Lud or  
Ludhur-  
dib was  
the eight  
ruler.  
Caerbyrhanke  
is builded.  
Caerguent  
is builded.  
Paladour  
is builded.

Baldud  
or Bal-  
dud the  
ninth ru-  
ler.

Gal. Mon.  
The king  
Joas learned  
hot bathes.

Mat. West.  
The prince  
did flie.

Leir  
the 10.  
ruler.

Mat. West.  
Leicester  
is builded.

Gal. Mon.

A trial of  
him

asked Gonzilla the eldest, how well she loved him: who calling his gods to record, protested that she loved him more than his owne life, which by right and reason should be most due vnto him. With which answer the father being well pleased, turned to the second, and demanded of her how well she loved him: who answered (confirming her sayings with great othes) that she loved him more than tong could expresse, and farre above all other creatures of the world.

He answer  
of the young-  
est daugh-  
ter.

Then called he his yongest daughter Cordeilla before him, and asked of her what account she made of him, vnto whome she made this answer as folloiweth: knowing the great loue and fatherlie zeale that you haue alwaies borne towards me (for the which I maie not answer you otherwise than I thinke, and as my conscience leadeth me) I protest vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and will continuallye (while I liue) loue you as my naturall father. And if you would more vnderstand of the loue that I beare you, asseueraine your selfe, that so much as you haue, so much you are worth, and so much I loue you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this answer, married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Hennisus the duke of Cornewall, and the other vnto Maglanus the duke of Albania, betwixt whome he willed and ordeined that his land should be diuided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatlie should be assigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordeilla he reserved nothing.

The two  
eldest daugh-  
ters are mar-  
ried.  
The realm  
is promised  
to his two  
daughters.

Nevertheless it fortuned that one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whose name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhood, and good conditions of the said Cordeilla, desired to haue her in marriage, and sent ouer to his father, requiring that he might haue her to wife: to whome answer was made, that he might haue his daughter, but as for anie dower he could haue none, for all was promised and assured to his other sisters already. Aganippus notwithstanding this answer of deniall to receiue anie thing by way of dower with Cordeilla, took her to wife, onlie moued thereto (I saie) for respect of her person and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in those daies, as in the Britissh historie it is recorded. But to proceed.

He gouerned  
the third part  
of Gallia as  
Gal. Mon.  
saith.

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking it long yer the gouernment of the land did come to their hands, arose against him in armour, and rest from him the gouernance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, which in proceesse of time was diminished as well by Maglanus as by Hennisus. But the greatest griefe that Leir took, was to see the unkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the same being neuer so little: in so much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarce he they would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him.

In the end, such was the unkindnesse, or (as I maie saie) the unnaturalnesse which he found in his two daughters, notwithstanding their saie and pleasant words uttered in time past, that being constrained of necessity, he fled the land, & sailed into Gallia, there to take some comfort of his yongest daughter Cordeilla, whom before time he hated. The ladie Cordeilla hearing that he was arrived in poore estate, she first sent to him priuie a certaine summe of monie to apparell himselfe withall, and to retaine a certaine

number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as appertained to the estate which he had borne: and then so accompanied, she appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was so iustlie, honorablie, and louinglie receiued; both by his sorme in law Aganippus; and also by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no lesse honored, than if he had bene king of the whole countrie himselfe.

Now when he had informed his sorme in law and his daughter in what sort he had bene vsed by his other daughters, Aganippus caused a mightie armie to be put in a readinesse, and likewise a great nauie of ships to be rigged, to passe ouer into Britaine with Leir his father in law, to see him againe restored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leaue vnto him, as the rightfull inheritor: after his deceasse, notwithstanding any former grant made to his sisters or to their husbands in anie manner of wise.

Hereupon, when this armie and nauie of ships were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with her husband took the sea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enemies, and discomfited them in battell, in the which Maglanus and Hennisus were slaine: and then was Leir restored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the space of two yeres, and then died, fortye yeres after he first began to reigne. His bodie was buried at Leicester in a bawt vnder the chanell of the riuier of Soze beneath the towne.

Marth. West.

The gunarchie of queene Cordeilla,  
how she was vanquished, of hir im-  
sonment and selfe-murther: the con-  
sention betwene Cunedag and  
Margan nephewes for go-  
uernement, and the chil-  
end thereof.

### The sixt Chapter.



Cordeilla the yongest daughter of Leir was admitted Queene and supreme gouernesse of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3155, before the bylding of Rome 54, whia then reing in Iuda, and Ieroboam ouer Israel. This Cordeilla after her fathers deceasse ruled the land of Britaine right worthilie during the space of five yeres, in which meane time her husband died, and then about the end of those five yeres, her two nephewes Margan and Cunedag, sonnes to her aforesaid sisters, disdaining to be vnder the gouernment of a woman, leuied warre against her, and destroyed a great part of the land, and finallye took her prisoner, and laid her fast in ward, wherewith she took such griefe, being a woman of a manlie courage, and despairing to recouer libertie, there she slue herselfe, when she had reigned (as before is mentioned) the tearme of five yeres.

Queene  
Cordeil-  
la.

Cunedagus and Marganus nephewes to Cordeilla, hauing recovered the land out of her hands, diuided the same betwixt them, that is to saie, the countrie ouer and beyond Humber fell to Margan, as it stretcheth euen to Catnesse, and the other part lieng south and by-west, was assigned to Cunedagus. This partition chanced in the yere of the world 3170, before the bylding of Rome 47, whia as then reing in Iuda, and Ieroboam in Israel. After-  
wards

Cune-  
dag and  
Mar-  
gan.

wards, these two colins, Cunedag and Wargan, had not reigned thus past a two yeeres, but thorough some seditious persons, Wargan was perswaded to raise warre against Cunedag, telling him in his eare, how it was a shame for him being come of the elder sister, not to haue the rule of the whole Ile in his hand. Hereupon ouercome with pride, ambition, and couetousnesse, he raised an armie, and entering into the land of Cunedag, he burned and destroyed the countie before him in miserable manner.

Wargan in-  
nath his  
cousine Cune-  
dag.

Cunedag in all hast to resist his aduersarie, assembled also all the power he could make, and contending with the same against Wargan, gaue him battell, in the which he slue a great number of Wargans people, and put the residue to flight, and furthermore pursued him from countie to countie, till he came into Cambria, now called Wales, where the said Wargan gaue him selfe a new battell: but being too weake in number of men, he was there ouercome and slaine in the field, by reason whereof that countie toke name of him, being there slaine, and so is called to this daie Glau Wargan, which is to meane in our English tong, Wargans land. This was the end of that Wargan, after he had reigned with his brother two yeeres, or thereabouts.

Wargan is  
slaine.  
Marth. West.

Cunedag  
alone.

After the death of Wargan, Cunedag the sonne of Irenius and Magaie (middlemost daughter of Leir before mentioned) became ruler of all the whole land of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3172, before the building of Rome 45, Asia still reigning in Iuda, and Jeroboam in Israel. He gouerned this Ile well and honourable for the tearme of 33 yeeres, and then being, his bodie was buried at Troinouant or London. Whoseuer our writers doe report, that he builded three temples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercurie at Bangor, and the third to Apollo in Cornewall.

Of Riualus, Gurgustius, Syfillius, Iago, 40  
and Kinimacus, rulers of Britaine  
by succession, and of the accidents  
coincident with their times.

### The seventh Chapter.

Riualus  
the 13.  
ruler.

Riualus, the sonne of Cunedag, began to reigne ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3203, before the building of Rome 15, soa than as then being king of Iuda, and Phace a king of Israel. This Riual governed the Island in great wealth and prosperitie. In his time it rained blood by the space of three daies together; after which raine ensued such an exceeding number and multitude of flies, so noisome and contagious, that much people died by reason thereof. When he had reigned 46 yeeres he died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Powke. In the time of this Riuals reigne was the citie of Rome builded, after concordance of most part of writers. Perdur also a wizard, and a learned astrologian flourishd and wist his propheties, and herene also.

It rained  
blood.  
Marth. West.

Rome builded

Gurgusti-  
us the 14.  
ruler.

Gurgustius, the son of the before named Riual, began to gouerne the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3249, and after the first foundation of Rome 33, Ezechias reigning in Iuda. This Gurgustius in the chronicle of England, is called Gorbodan the sonne of Keignold, he reigned 37 yeeres, then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Powke) by his father.

Syfillius, after some writers Syllius, the brother of Gurgustius, was chosen to haue the gouernance of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3287, and after the building of Rome 71, Panastes still reigning in Iuda. This Syfillius in the English chronicle is named Scylli. He reigned 49 yeeres, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

Syfillius  
the 15.  
ruler.

Iago or Lago, the cousin of Gurgustius, as next inheritor to Syfillius, toke upon him the gouernment of Britaine; in the yeare of the world 3336, and after the building of Rome 120, in the time the citie of Ierusalem was taken by Iuduchodonoxar and the king of Iuda, Iathania, otherwise called Ezechias, being slaine. This Iago or Lago died without issue, when he had reigned 23 yeeres, and was buried at Powke.

Iago the  
16. ruler.

Kinimacus or Kinimarus the sonne of Syfillius as some write, or rather the brother of Iago, began to gouerne the land of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3364, and after the building of Rome 148, the Iewes as then being in the third yeare of their captiuitie of Babylon. This Kinimacus departed this life, after he had reigned 54 yeeres, and was buried at Powke.

Kinima-  
cus the 17  
ruler.

Of Gorbodug and his two sonnes Fer-  
rex and Porrex, one brother killeth ano-  
ther, the mother slaieth hir sonne, and how  
Britaine by ciuill warres (for lacke of issue  
legitimate to the gouernment) of a mo-  
narchie became a pentarchie: the end  
of Brutes line.

### The eight Chapter.

Gorbodug the sonne of Kinimacus began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare after the creation of the world 3418, from the building of the citie of Rome 202, the 58 of the Iewes captiuitie at Babylon. This Gorbodug by most likelihood to bring histories to accord, should reigne about the tearme of 62 yeeres, and then departing this world, was buried at London, leaving after him two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, or after some writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

Gorbodug  
the 18.  
ruler.

Ferrex with Porrex his brother began jointly to rule ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3476, after the building of Rome 260, at which time, the people of Rome forsoke their citie in their rebellious mood. These two brethren continued for a time in good friendship and amitie, till at length through couetousnesse, and desire of greater dominion, prouoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and discord, whereby Ferrex was constrained to flee into Gallia, and there purchased aid of a great duke called Gurnardus or Gwardus, and so returned into Britaine, thinking to puenale and obtaine the dominion of the whole Island. But his brother Porrex was ready to receiue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrex was slaine, with the more part of his people. The English chronicle saith, that Porrex was he that fled into France, & at his returne, was slaine, and that Ferrex suruiued. But Geoffrey of Monmouth & Polychronicon are of a contrarie opinion. Matthew Westmonasteriensis writeth, that Porrex deuising waies to kill Ferrex, attained his purpose and slue him. But whether of them so erer suruiued, the mother of them was so highly offended for the death of him that was slaine, whom the most

Ferrex  
the 19.  
ruler.

Ferrex fled  
into Gallia.

Marth. West.

The mother  
killeth her son.

intierlie loued, that setting apart all motherlie affection, she found the means to enter the chamber of him that furnished in the night season, and as he slept, she with the helpe of hir maidens slue him, and cut him into small peeces, as the writers doo affirme. Such was the end of these two brethren, after they had reigned by the space of foure or fve peares.

Powers Record

After this followed a troublous season, full of cruell warre, and seditious discord, whereby in the end, and for the space of fiftie peares, the monarchie or sole gouernement of the Island became a pentarchie, that is, it was diuided betwixt fve kings or rulers, till Duntwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Wute (according to the report of most writers) took an end: for after the death of the two foresaid brethren, no rightfull inheritor was left alive to succede them in the kingdome. The names of these fve kings are found in certeine old pedegrees: and although the same be much corrupted in diuers copies, yet these vndernamed are the most agreeable.

But of these fve kings or dukes, the English chro-

nicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewall for most rightfull heire. There appeareth not any time certeine by report of ancient authoers, how long this variance continued amongst the Britains: but (as some say) it lasted for the space of 51 peares, con-  
ring so much by that which is recorded in Polychron.  
who saith, who it endured euen till the beginning of the reigne of Mulmucius Duntwallon, who began to gouerne from the time that Wute first entered Britaine, about the space of 703 three peares.

Fabian.  
Ctull warres  
51 peares.

¶ Here ye must note, that there is difference amongst writers about the supputation and account of these peares, insomuch that some making their reckoning after certeine writers, and finding the same to varie about three C. peares, are brought in to further doubt of the truth of the whole historie: but whereas other haue by diligent search tried out the continuance of euerie gouernours reigne, and reduced the same to a likelihood of some conformitie, I haue thought best to follow the same, leauing the credit thereof with the first authoers.

The pentarchie.

1	Rudacus	} king of	Wales.
2	Clotenus		Cornewall.
3	Pinnor		Loegria.
4	Staterus		Albania.
5	Yewan		Northumberland.

The end of the second Booke.



## THE THIRD BOOKE

### of the Historie of England.

Of Mulmucius the first king  
of Britaine, who was crowned  
with a golden crowne, his lawes,  
his foundations, with other  
his acts and deeds.

The first Chapter.

Mul-  
mucius.  
Mant. West.  
Polyd.



Now to proceede with the aforesaid authoers, Mulmucius Duntwall, or as other late Duntwall Mulmucius, the sonne of Cloton (as testifieth the english chronicle and also Geoffrey of Monmouth) got the vpper hand of the other dukes or rulers: and after his fathers decesse began his reigne ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the peere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome

314, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 peere of Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fift king of the Persians. This Mulmucius Duntwall is named in the english chronicle Donebant, and proued a right worthy prince. He builded within the citie of London then called Troinouant, a temple, and named it the temple of peace: the which (as some hold opinion, I wrote not vpon what ground) was the same which now is called Blackwell hall, where the market for buieng and selling of cloths is kept. The chronicle of England affirmeth, that Mulmucius (whome the old booke nameth Holle) builded the two towines of Almesburie and the Wics. He also made manie god lawes, which were long after vsed, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out of the British spech into the Latine by Gildas Prifcus, and long time after translated out of latine into english by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his statutes. He moreover gaue priuileges to temples, to plowes, to cities, and to high waies leading to the same, so that whosoeuer fled to them, should be in safegard from bodilie harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrie he would, with indemnitie of his person. Some authoers write, that he began to make the foure great high waies of Britaine, the which were finished by his sonne Blinus, as after shall be declared.

Fabian.  
See more in  
the description.

Almesburie  
and the Wics  
built.  
Mant. West.  
Lawes made.

Caxton and  
Polychron.



red.

The first  
king that  
was crowned  
with a golden  
crown.

After he had established his land, and set his Britains in good and convenient order, he ordeined him by the aduise of his lordes a crowne of gold, & caused himselfe with great solemnitie to be crowned, according to the custome of the pagan lawes then in vse: & because he was the first that bare a crowne here in Britaine, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first king of Britaine, and all the other before rehearsed are named rulers, dukes, or gouernors.

Polyd.  
weights and  
measures.

The first pun-  
ished.  
Fabian.

Amongst other of his ordinances, he appointed weights and measures, with the which men should buy and sell. And further he deuised soze and streight orders for the punishing of theft. Finally, after he had guided the land by the space of forty yeres, he died, and was buried in the foresaid temple of peace which he had erected within the cite of Troinouant now called London, as before ye haue heard, appointing in his life time, that his kingdome should be diuided betwixt his two sonnes, Brennus and Belinus (as some men doe coniecture.)

The ioint-gouernment of Belinus and  
Brennus the two sonnes of Mulmucius,  
their discontentment, the stratagems of  
the one against the other, the expulsion  
of Brennus out of Britaine.

### The second Chapter.

Belinus and  
Brennus.

3574

March, West.

Polyd. saith.

Brennus not  
content with  
his portion.

Elising.

Gulthadus  
king of Den-  
marke.

**B**rennus and Belinus began to reigne iointlie as kings in Britaine, in the yere of the world 3574, after the building of the cite of Rome 355, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 142, which was about the seventh yere of Artaxerxes surnamed Mnemon, the seventh king of the Persians. Belinus held under his gouernment Loegria, Wales, and Cornwall: and Brennus all those countries ouer and beyond Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of six or seven yeres, after which time expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portion came to, first thought to purchase himselfe aid in foreine parties, & therefoze by the prouocation and counsell of yong vniquiet heads, sailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elsing or Elsing, as then duke or ruler of that countrie. Beline offended with his brother, that he should thus without his aduice marrie with a stranger, now in his absence seized all his lands, towne, and fortresses into his owne hands, placing garisons of men of warre where he thought convenient.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertised herof, assembled a great nauie of ships, well furnished with people and souldiers of the Norwegians, with the which he toke his course homewards, but in the waie he was encountered by Gulthadus king of Denmark, the which had laid long in wait for him, because of the yong ladie which Brenne had married, for whom he had bene a sutor to his father Elsing of long time. When these two fleets of the Danes and Norwegians met, there was a soze battell betwixt them, but finally the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and toke the ship wherein the new bride was conueied, and then was she brought aboard the ship of Gulthadus. Brenne escaped by flight as well as he might. But when Gulthadus had thus obtained the victorie and prey, suddenly thereupon

arose a soze tempest of wind and weather, which scattered the Danish fleet, and put the king in danger to haue bene lost: but finally within five daies after, being driuen by force of wind, he landed in Northumberland, with a few lucky ships as kept togither with him.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouiding for defense against his brother, upon knowledge of the king of Denmarkes arrivall, caused him to be staied. Shortly after, Brenne hauing recouered and gotten together the most part of his ships that were dispersed by the discomfiture, and then newlie rigged and furnished of all things necessarie, sent word to his brother Beline, both to restore unto him his wife wrongfullie rauished by Gulthadus, and also his lands iniuriouslie by him seized into his possession. These requests being plainlie and shortly denied, Brenne made no long delaie, but speedilie made toward Albania, and landing with his armie in a part thereof, incountred with his brother Beline nere unto a wood named as then Calater, where (after cruel fight, and mortall battell betwixt them) at length the victorie abode with the Britains, and the discomfiture & slaughter so on the Norwegians, that the most of them were wounded, slaine, and left dead upon the ground.

Whereby Brenne being forced to flee, made shift, and got ouer into Gallia, where after he had sued to this prince, at length he abode, and was well receiued of one Seguinus or Seginus duke of the people called then Allobroges (as Galfrid of Monmouth saith) or rather Armoica, which now is called Britaine, as Polychronicon, and the english historie printed by Caxton, more trulie make seme to asseme. But Beline hauing got the upper hand of his enemies, assembling his counsell at Caerbyrke, now called York, toke aduise what he should do with the king of Denmark: where it was ordeined, that he should be set at libertie, with condition and vnder couenant, to acknowledge himselfe by doing homage, to hold his land of the king of Britaine, and to paie him a yerelie tribute. These couenants being agreed vpon, and hostages taken for assurance, he was set at libertie, and so returned into his countrie. The tribute that he couenanted to paie, was a thousand pounds, as the English chronicle saith.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone possessed of all the land of Britaine, he first confirmed the lawes made by his father: and soz so much as the foure waies begun by his father were not brought to perfection, he therefore caused workmen to be called tozth and assembled, whom he set in hand to paue the said waies with stone, for the better passage and ease of all that should trauell through the countries from place to place, as occasion should require.

The first of these foure waies is named Fosse, and stretcheth from the south into the north, beginning at the corner of Cotnesse in Cornetwall, and so passing sozth by Devonshire, and Somersetshire, by Lutberie, on Cotteswold, and then forward beside Couentrie vnto Leicester, and from thence by wild plaines towards Dewarke, and endeth at the cite of Lincoln. The second waie was named Watling strate, the which stretcheth ouerthwart the Fosse, out of the southeast into the northeast, beginning at Dover, and passing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beside London, by-west of Westminster, as some haue thought, and so sozth by S. Albons, and by the west side of Dunstable, Stratford, Worcester, and Medon by-south of Lilleborne, by Atherston, Gilberts hill, that now is called the Watreken, and so sozth by Seuerne, passing beside Worcester, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and so vnto a place

Gulthadus  
landed in the  
north.

Calater  
wood is in  
Scotland.

Seguinus or  
Seginus  
duke of the  
Allobroges,  
now the  
phinat of  
Shawp.

The Danes  
tributarie to  
the Britains.

The foure  
high waies  
built.

The Fosse.

Watling str.

Ermingstræt

Erminestræt.

Privileges granted to the wailes.

place called Cardigan, at the Britis sea. The third way was named Ermingstræt, which stretched out of the west north-west, unto the east south-east, and beginning at Penecia, the which is in Saint Dauds land in west Wales, and so unto Southampton. The fourth and last waie hight Erminestræte, which leadeth by Worcester, Lincolne, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield, and by Poike, and so forth unto Tinnmouth. After he had caused these waies to be well and sufficientlie raised and made, he confirmed unto them all such privileges as were granted by his father.

Brennus marrieth with the duke of A-l-obrogs daughter, groweth into great honour, commeth into Britaine with an armie against his brother Beline, their mother reconcileth them, they ioine might & munition and haue great conquests, conflicts betweene the Galles and the Romans, the two brethren take Rome.

### The third Chapter.

**I**n the meane time that Beline was thus occupied about the necessarie affaires of his realme and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia onelie with 12 persons, because he was a goodlie gentleman, and desired to vnderstand what appertained to honour, grew shortly into fauour with Seginus the duke afore mentioned, and declaring unto him his aduersitie, and the whole circumstance of his mishap, at length was so highly cherished of the said Seginus, delighting in such worthie qualities as he saw in him daily appearing, that he gaue to him his daughter in marriage, with condition, that if he died without issue male, then should he inherit his estate & dukedome: and if it happened him to leaue any heire male behind him, then should he yet helpe him to recover his land and dominion in Britaine, bereft from him by his brother.

Brenne marries the duke of Alobrogs daughter.

These conditions well and surelie vpon the dukes part by the assent of the nobles of his land concluded, ratified, and assured, the said duke within the space of one yere after died. And then after a certeine time, being knowne that the dukes was not with child, all the lords of that countrie did homage to Brenne, receiving him as their lord and supreme gouernour, vpon whome he likewise for his part in recompense of their curtesie, bestowed a great portion of his treasure.

Brenne with an armie returneth into Britaine.

Brenne and Beline made friends by intercession of their mother.

Shortly after also, with their assent he gathered an armie, and with the same effronces came ouer into Britaine, to make new warre vpon his brother Beline. Of whose landing when Beline was informed, he assembled his people, and made himselfe ready to meete him: but as they were at point to haue ioined battell, by the intercession of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned herselfe in all motherlie order, and most loving manner towards them both, they fell to an agreement, and were made friends: and then they parted asunder.

After this they repaired to London, and there taking aduice together with their peres and counsellors, for the good order and quieting of the land, at length they accorded to passe with both their armies into Gallia, to subdue that whole countrie, and so following this determination, they took shipping

and sailed ouer into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and sword, they wrought such massacres, that within a short time (as saith Geoffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italie, and Germanie, and brought it to their subiection. In the end they took Rome by this occasion (as writers report) if these be the same that had the leading of those Galles, which in this season did so much hurt in Italie and other parts of the world.

They it is said Gallia and Italie.

After they had passed the mountaines, & were entered into Tuscan, they besieged the citie of Clussum, the citizens whereof being in great danger, sent to Rome for aid against their enemies. Whereupon the Romanes, considering with themselves that although they were not in any league of societie with the Clussumians, yet if they were overcome the danger of the next yere would be like to be theirs: with all speed they sent ambassadours to intreat betwixt the parties for some peace to be had.

Rome Clus.

Ambassadours sent from Rome.

They that were sent, required the captiuitie of the Galles, in the name of the senat and citizens of Rome, not to molest the friends of the Romanes. Whereunto answer was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were so that the Clussumians would be agreeable that the Galles might haue part of the countrie which they held, being more than they did already well occupie, for otherwise (said he) there could be no peace granted.

Brennus answered.

The Roman ambassadours being offended with these wordes, demanded what the Galles had to do in Tuscan, by reason of which and other the like ouerthwart wordes, the parties began to kindle in displeasure so farre, that their communication brake off, and so they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dint of sword.

The treatie of peace brake both off.

The Roman ambassadours also to the woe of what proouesse the Romanes were, contrarie to the law of nations (forbidding such as came in ambassage about any treatie of peace to take either one part or other) took weapon in hand, and ioined themselves with the Clussumians, wherewith the Galles were so much displeased, that incontinently with one voice, they required to haue the siege raised from Clussum, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good first to send messengers thither, to require the deliuerie of such as had broken the law, that punishment might be done on them accordinglie as they had deserved. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the ambassadours were not onelie not punished, but also chosen to be tribunes for the next yere.

The Galles then became in such a rage (because they saw there was nothing to be looked for at the hands of the Romanes, but warre, inuious wrongs, and deceitfull traines) that they turned all their force against them, marching straight towards Rome, and by the waie destroyed all that stood before them. The Romanes aduertised thereof, assembled themselves together to the number of 40. thousand, and encountering with Beline and Brenne, neare to the riuer Allia, about 11. miles on this side Rome, were slaine and quite discomfited.

The Galles make towards Rome.

The Romanes encountering with the Galles are ouerthrowne.

The Galles could scarce beleaue that they had got the victorie with so small resistance: but when they perceived that the Romanes were quite ouerthrowne and that the field was clearely rid of them, they got together the spoile, and made towards Rome itselfe, where such feare and terror was stricken into the heartes of the people, that all men were in despair to defend the citie: and therefore the senate with all the warlike youth of the citizens got them into the capitoll, which they furnished with victuals and all things necessarie for the maintenance of the

The Romanes in despair with draw into the capitoll.

same against a long siege. The honorable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remained still in the citie, as it were to perish with their countrie if hap so befell.

The Gallies enter into Rome.

In the meane time came the Gallies to the citie, and entring by the gate Collina, they passed forth the right way into the market place, marcelling to see the houses of the poorer sort to be shut against them, and those of the richer to remaine wide open; wherefore being doubtfull of some deceitfull traines, they were not ouer rash to enter the same; but after they had espied the ancient fathers sit in their chaires apparelled in their rich robes, as if they had bin in the senat, they reuerenced them as gods, so honorable was their port, grauenesse in countenance, and shew of apparell.

The reuerend aspect of the senators.

Marcus Papirius.

Rome sacked.

365  
The capitol defended.

In the meane time it chanced, that Marcus Papirius stroke one of the Gallies on the head with his staffe, because he presumed to stroke his beard: with which iniurie the Gall being prouoked, slue Papirius (as he sat) with his sword, and therewith the slaughter being begun with one, all the residue of those ancient fatherlie men as they sat in their chaires were slaine and cruellie murdered. After this all the people found in the citie without respect or difference at all, were put to the sword, and their houses sacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline and Brenne, 365 yeares after the first building thereof. Besides this, the Gallies attempted in the night season to haue entred the capitol: and in deed ordered their enterprise so secretlie, that they had atchiued their purpose, if a sort of ganders had not with their crie and noise disclosed them, in wakening the Romans that were asleep: & so by that meanes were the Gallies beaten backs and repelled.

name was preferred at that time from such dishonour and ignominie as was likelic to haue ensued. For some of the couetous sort of the Gallies, not contented with the inst weight of the gold, did cast their swords also into the balance where the weights lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: whereupon the Romans refused to make payment after that weight.

And thus whilst they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunate to haue, the other not willing to grant, the time passed, till in the meane season Camillus came in amongst them with his power, commanding that the gold should be had away, and affirming that without consent of the dictator, no composition or agreement might be concluded by the meaner magistrate. He gaue a signe to the Gallies to prepare themselves to battell, whereunto they lightlie agreed, and together they went. The battell being once begun, the Gallies that looked earst for gold, and not for battell, were easilie overcome, such as stood to the hunt were slaine, and the rest by sight constrained to depart the citie.

Camillus the appointed the Gallies of their payment.

The Gallies ouerthrowne.

Polybius writeth, that the Gallies were turned from the siege of the citie, through wars which chanced amongst their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace with the Romans, and leauing them in libertie returned home againe.

But howsoever the matter passed, thus much haue we kept from our purpose, to shew somewhat of that noble and most famous capteine Brennus, who (as not onlie our histories, but also Giouan Villani the Florentine doth report) was a Britaine, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that manie other writers are not of that mind, affirming him to be a Gall, and likewise that after this present time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110 yeares, or thereabouts, there was another Brennus a Gall by nation (say they) under whose conduct an other armie of the Galls inuaded Grecia, which Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, although Humphrey Llloyd and Sir John Prise do flatlie denie this same, by reason of some discordance in writers, & namelie in the computation of the yeares set downe by them that haue recorded the doings of those times, whereof the error is growen. Whosebeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter shall be more fullie sifted out in time by the learned and studious of such antiquities. But now to our purpose.

This is also to be noted, that where our histories make mention, that Beline was abroad with Brennus in the most part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germanie, and Italie; Titus Lilius speaketh but onlie of Brennus: whereupon some write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreataunce made friends, Brennus onlie went ouer to Gallia, and there through proofe of his worthie prowesse, attained to such estimation amongst the people called Galli Senones, that he was chosen to be their generall capteine at their going ouer the mountaines into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finally returned backe againe, leauing Brennus behind him, as some write, or that he went not at all, but remained still at home whilst his brother was abroad, we can affirme no certaintie.

Titus Lilius Polydor.

Manth Well.

Polydor Gal. M. Caerleon, with the built by Beline.

Most part of all our writers make report of manie worthie deeds accomplished by Beline, in repairing of cities decayed, & erecting of other new buildings, to the adorning and beautifying of his realme and kingdome. And amongst other works which were by him erected, he builded a citie in the south part of Wales, neare to the place where the riuer of Wike falleth into Seuerne, fast by Glamorgan, which citie hight Caerleon, or Caerlegion Ar Wike. This Caerleon was the principall citie in time past of all Demetria, now called Southwales. Whan notable

Camillus reuoked from exile, made dictator, and receiueh peremptorie authoritie, he ouerthroweth the Gallies in a pitch field, controuersie betweene writers touching Brennus and Belinus left vndetermined, of diuers foundations, erections and reparations done and atchiued by Belinus, the burning of his bodie in stead of his birning.

### The fourth Chapter.

The Romans being thus put to their extreame shift, deuised among themselves how to reuoke Furcius Camillus from exile, whom not long before they had banished out of the citie. In the end they did not onlie send for him home, but also created him dictator, committing into his handes (so long as his office lasted) an absolute power ouer all men, both of life and death. Camillus forgetfull of the iniurie done to him, and mindfull of his dutie towards his countrie, and lamenting the state thereof, without delay gathered such an armie as the present time permitted.

A composition

In the meane time those that kept the capitol (being almost famished for lacke of vittels) compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for a thousand pounds weight in gold, the Romans should redeme their liberties, and the said Brenne and Beline depart with their armie out of the citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the monie, and by a certeine kind of hap, the Romans

monuments are remaining there till this day, testifying the great magnificence and roiall buildings of that citie in old time. In which citie also lieth the time of Christ were three churches, one of saint Julius the martyr, an other of saint Aron, and the third was the mother church of all Demetia, and the chiefe see: but after, the same see was translated vnto Peneniam; (that is to say) saint David in Westwaies. In this Caerleon was Amphibulus borne, who taught and instructed saint Albion.

This Beline also builded an hauen, with a gateouer the same, within the citie of Trothpant, now called London, in the summite or highest part thereof, afterwards was set a beffell of brasse, in the which were put the ashes of his bodie, which bodie after his deceasse was burnt, as the manner of burning in those daies did require. This gate was long after called Belins gate, and at length by corruption of language Billings gate. He builded also a castell called from this gate (as some haue written) which was long time after likewise called Belins castell, and is the same which now we call the tower of London. Thus Beline spending dailes to beautifie this land with goodlie buildings and famous wikes, at length departed this life, after he had reigned with his brother iointlie and alone the space of 26 yeres.

Of Gurgintus, Quintolinus, and Sicilius, three kings of Britaine succeeding ech other by lineall descent in the regiment, and of their acts and deeds, with a notable commendation of Queene Martia.

### The fift Chapter.

Gurgintus.

**G**urgintus the sonne of Beline began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare of the world 1596, after the building of Rome 780, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 164 complete, which was about the 33 yeare of Artaxerxes Pnenon, surnamed Magnus, the seuenth king of the Persians. This Gurgint in the English chronicle is named Coimbrazus, and by Matthew Westmin. he is surnamed Barbiruc, the which because the tribute granted by Guithdag king of Denmarke in perpetuitie vnto the kings of Britaine was denied, he failed with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where he made such warre with fire and sword, that the king of Denmarke with the assent of his barons was constrained to grant effences to continue the paiement of the aforesaid tribute.

After he had thus atchiued his desire in Denmarke, as he returned backe towards Britaine, he encountered with a nauie of 30 ships beside the Isles of Dykenies. These ships were fraught with men and women, and had to their capteine one called Bartholin or Bartholin, who being brought to the presence of king Gurgint, declared that he with his people were banished out of Spaine, and were named Balentes or Bafelentes, and had sailed long on the sea, to the end to find some prince that would assigne them a place to inhabit, to whom they would become subiects, & hold of him as of their soueraigne gouernor. Therefore he besought the king to consider their estate, and of his great benignitie to appoint some void quarter where they might settle. The king with the aduice of his barons granted to

them the Ile of Ireland, which at then (by report of some authours) lay waste and without habitation. But it should appeare by other writers, that it was inhabited long before those daies, by the people called Vrbigenies, of Viberns their capteine that brought them also out of Spaine.

After that Gurgintus was returned into his countie, he ordeined that the labis made by his ancestors should be daile kept and obserued. And thus administering iustice to his subiects for the tennue of 19 yeres, he finally departed this life, and was buried at London, or as some haue at Caerleon. In his daies was the towne of Cambridge with the vniuersitie first founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforesaid Bartholin, (according to some writers) as after shall appeare.

Quintolinus, or Quintilius the sonne of Gurgintus was admitted king of Britaine in the yeare of the world 1614, after the building of the citie of Rome 366, and second yeare of the 106 Olympiad. This Quintilius was a wise prince, grave in countenance, and sober in behauior. He had also a wife named Martia, a woman of perfect beaultie, & wisdom incomparable, as by his prudent gouernement and equall administration of iustice after his husbands deceasse during his sonnes minority, it most manifestlie appeared.

It is thought that in an happie time this Quintolinus came to the gouernement of this kingdome, being shaken and brought out of order with ciuill dissensions, to the end he might reduce it to the former estate, which he earnestlie accomplished: for hauing once got the place, he studied with great diligence to reforme anew, and to adorne with iustice, labors and good orders, the British common wealth, by other things not so framed as stood with the quietnes thereof. But afore all things he bitterlie removed and appeased such ciuill discord, as seemed yet to remaine after the manner of a remnant of those seditions factions and partakings, which had so long time reigned in this land. But as he was busie in hand herewith, death took him out of this life, after he had reigned 27 yeres, and then was he buried at London.

Sicilius the sonne of Quintoline, being not past seuen yeres of age when his father died, was admitted king, in the yeare 369, after the building of Rome 430, & after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 218, & in the first after the death of Alexander. By reason that Sicilius was not of age sufficient of himselfe to gouerne the kingdome of the Britains, his mother that worthie ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realme and person committed to his charge.

She was a woman expert and skillfull in diuers sciences, but chieflie being admitted to the gouernance of the realme, she studied to preferue the common wealth in good quiet and wholsome order, and therefore deuised and established profitable and convenient lawes, the which after were called Martian lawes, of her name that first made them. These lawes, as those that were thought good and necessarie for the preservation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, translated also out of the British tong, into the English Saxon spech, and then were they called after that translation Martenelagh, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia. To conclude, this worthie woman guided the land during the minority of his sonne right politike; and highlie to his perpetuall renowne and commendation. And when his sonne came to lawfull age, she deliuered vp the gouernance into his handes. How long he reigned writers varie, some enough but seuen yeres, though other

Polychron.

Caius.

Quintolinus.

Sicilius.

Queene Martia gouerneth in her sonnes comie.

She maketh lawes.

Marth. West.

Matt. Westm. other

Marth. West. Cal. M.

Gurgint constrained the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

Marth. West. Cal. Mon.

Salsques.

See more hereof in French.

other affirme 15. which agreeth not so well with the accord of other histories and times. He was buried at London.

Of Kimarus and his sudden end, of Elan-  
nus and his beastlie crueltie, all three im-  
mediatlie succeeding each other in the  
monarchie of Britaine, with the ex-  
ploits of the last.

### The sixth Chapter.

Kimarus.

Fabian.

Elaninus.

Math. West.

Morin-  
nus.

G. Mon.

Chelike may  
be thought of  
these Spuri-  
ans or Spo-  
rians of  
John H.B.  
speakech.  
Fabian.

**K**imarus the sonne of Si-  
cilius began to reigne ouer  
the Britaines, in the yeare  
of the world 3657, and after  
the building of Rome 442, &  
in the first yeare of the 117,  
Olimpiad. This Kimarus  
being a wild yong man, and  
giuen to follow his lusts and pleasures, was slaine  
by some that were his enemies, as he was abroad in  
hunting, when he had reigned scarcele three yeares.  
Elaninus the sonne of Kimarus, or (as other haue)  
his brother, began to rule the Britaines in the  
yeare after the creation of the world 3361, after the  
building of Rome 445, after the deliurance of the  
Israelites 229, and in the fourth yeare of the Seleu-  
ciens, after which account the booke of Spachabas  
do reckon, which began in the 14, after the death of  
Alexander. This Elaninus in the English Chro-  
nicle is named also Haran; by Mat. Westm. Da-  
nius; and by an old chronicle which Fabian much fol-  
lowed, Elaninus and Kimarus should seeme to be  
one person: but other hold the contrarie, and saie  
that he reigned fullie 8. yeares.

**M**admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare of the  
world 3667, after the building of Rome 451, after  
the deliurance of the Israelites 236, and in the  
tenth yeare of Cassander K. of Macedonia, which  
having dispatched Olimpias the mother of Alexan-  
der the great, and gotten Koranes with Alexanders  
sonne into his hands, usurped the kingdome of the  
Macedonians, and held it 15 yeares. This Morin-  
nus in the English chronicle is called Morizith, and was  
a man of woorthie fame in chivalrie and martiall do-  
tings, but so cruell withall, that his unmercifull na-  
ture could scarce be satisfied with the tormentes of  
them that had offended him, although oftentimes  
with his owne hands he cruellie put them to torture  
and execution. He was also beautifull and comelic  
of personage, liberall and bounteous, and of a maruel-  
lous strength.

In his daies, a certaine king of the people called  
Moriani, with a great armie landed in Northumber-  
land, and began to make cruell warre vpon the inha-  
bitants. But Morin-  
nus aduertised herof, assembled  
his Britains, came against the enemies, and in bat-  
tell putting them to flight, chased them to their ships,  
and toke a great number of them prisoners, whome  
to the satisfieng of his cruell nature he caused to be  
slaine euen in his presence. Some of them were hea-  
ded, some strangled, some panned, and some he cau-  
sed to be slaine quicke.

These people (whome Gal. Mon. nameth Moria-  
ni) I take to be either those that inhabited about  
Terrouane and Calice, called Morini, or some other  
people of the Galles or Germanies, and not as some  
esteem them, Morians, or Morhemers, which  
were not known to the world (as Humfrey Lihoyd

hath verie well noted) till about the daies of the em-  
perour Mauricius, which misconstruction of names  
hath brought the British historie further out of credit  
than reason requireth, if the circumstances be duly  
considered.

But now to end with Morin-  
nus. At length this  
blondie pince heard of a monster that was come  
a land out of the Irish sea, with the which when he  
would needs fight, he was deuoured of the same, af-  
ter he had reigned the terme of 8 yeares, leaving be-  
hind him five sonnes, Corbonianus, Archigallus, E-  
lidurus, Vigenius or Vigenius, and Peredurus.

Of Corbonianus, Archigallus, Elidu-  
rus, Vigenius, and Peredurus, the five  
sons of Morindus, the building of Cam-  
bridge, the restitution of Archigallus to  
the regiment after his deprivation,  
Elidurus three times admitted  
king, his death and place  
of interment.

### The seventh Chapter.

**C**orbonianus the first son  
of Morindus succeeded his fa-  
ther in the kingdome of Bri-  
tain, in the yeare of the world  
3676, after the building of  
Rome 461, and fourth yeare  
of the 121, Olimpiad. This  
Corbonianus in the English  
chronicle is named Grambodius, and was a righte-  
ous pince in his gouernment, and verie deuout (ac-  
cording to such deuotion as he had) towards the ad-  
uancing of the religion of his gods: and therupon he  
repaired all the old temples through his kingdome,  
and erected some new.

He also builded the towne of Cambridge and  
Grantham (as Caxton writeth) and was beloued  
both of the rich and poore, for he honoured the rich,  
and relieued the poore in time of their necessities. In  
his time was more plentie of all things necessarie  
for the wealthfull state of man, than had bene before  
in any of his predecessors daies. He died without is-  
sue, after he had reigned (by the accord of most wis-  
ters) about the terme of ten yeares.

Some write that this Corbonian built the towne  
of Cairgrant, now called Cambridge, & also Gran-  
tham, but some thinke that those which haue so writ-  
ten are deceived, in mistaking the name; for that  
Cambridge was at the first called Granta: and by  
that meanes it might be that Corbonian built onlie  
Grantham, and not Cambridge, namely because  
other write how that Cambridge (as before is said)  
was built in the daies of Gurguntius the sonne of  
Weline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to  
Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the  
same Gurguntius, got seates for himselfe and his  
companie in Ireland (as before ye haue heard.)

The said Cantaber also obtaining licence of Gur-  
guntius, builded a towne vpon the side of the riuer  
called Canta, which he closed with walles, and forti-  
fied with a strong tower or castell, and after pro-  
curing philosophers to come hither from Athens  
(where in his youth he had bene a student) he placed  
them there, and so euen then was that place furni-  
shed (as they saie) with learned men, and such as  
were readie to instruct others in knowledge of let-  
ters and philosophicall doctrine. But by whome or  
in what time soeuer it was built, certaine it is that  
there was a citie or towne walled in that place be-  
fore the coming of the Saxons, called by the Bri-  
taines

Corbo-  
men or  
Corboni-  
anus.

A rightous  
and religious  
pince.

Cambridge  
whome it  
was built.



taines Caergrat, and by the Saxons Crancher.

This towne fell so to ruine by the inuasion of the Saxons, that at length it was in maner left desolate, and at this day remaineth as a village. But nere therevnto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was built, now called Cambridge, where by the fauour of king Sigebert and Felix a Burgundian, that was bishop of Dunwich, a schole was created, as in place conuenient shall appeare.

Archigallus.

He is giuen to nourish off sonnes.

Archigallus, the second sonne of Porindus, and brother vnto Corbonianus, was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare 3686, after the building of the citie of Rome 470, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 255, and in the first yeare of Sosthenes king of Macedonia. This Archigallus (in the English chronicle called Artogall) followed not the steppes of his brother, but giuing himselfe to dissention and strife, imagined causes against his nobles, that he might displace them, and set such in their comes as were men of base birth and of euill conditions. Also he sought by vnlawfull meanes to bereaue his wealthy subiects of their goods and riches, so to enrich himselfe and impoverish his people. For the which his inordinate doings, his nobles conspired against him, and finally depriued him of all his honor and kinglie dignitie, after he had reigned about the space of one yeare.

Elidurus.

Elidurus the third sonne of Porindus, and brother to Archigallus, was by one consent of the Britains chosen to reigne ouer them in his brothers stead, after the creation of the world 3687, and after the building of the citie of Rome 471, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 256, in the first yeare of Sosthenes king of Macedonia. This Elidurus in the English chronicle named Helder, or Eloder, proued a most righteous prince, and doubting least he should do otherwile than became him, if he did not take care for his brother Archigallus estate, a man might wonder what diligence he shewed in travelling with the nobles of the realme to haue his brother restored to the crowne againe.

By this it should seeme that Elidurus should not be in Scotland, contrary to the Scottish sayings.

Now as it chanced one day (being abroad on hunting in the wood called Calater) neare vnto Pothe, he found his brother Archigall wandring there in the thickest of that wilderness, whom in most louing manner he secretly conueied home to his house, being as then in the citie of Aldud, otherwile called Aclud. Shortly after he feined himselfe sicke, and in all hast sent messengers about to assemble his barons, who being come at the day appointed, he called them one after another into his private chamber, and there handled them in such effectuous sort with wise and discreet words, that he got their good wills to further him to their powers, for the reducing of the kingdom estate into the hands of his brother Archigallus.

An example of brotherlie love.

After this he assembled a councell at Pothe, where he so vsed the matter with the commons, that in conclusion, when the said Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourable the space of thre yeares, he resigned wholie his crowne and kinglie title vnto his brother Archigallo, who was receiued of the Britains againe as king by mediation of his brother in manner as before is said. ¶ A rare example of brotherlie loue, if a man shall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate desire remaineth amongst most tall men to attaine to the supreme souereintie of ruling, and to keepe the same when they haue it once in possession. He had well learned this lesson (as may appeare by his contentation and resignation) name-

lie, that

*Nec abnuendum est dat imperium Deum  
Nec appetendum.*

otherwile he would not haue beeste led with such an equabilitie of mind. For this great god will and brotherlie loue by him shewed thus toward his brother, he was surnamed the goodlie and vertuous.

When Archigallus was thus restored to the kingdom, and hauing learned by due correction that he must turne the lease, and take out a new lesson, by changing his former trade of liuing into better, if he would reigne in suertie: he became a new man, vsing himselfe by rightlie in the administration of iustice, and behauing himselfe so worthily in all his doings, both toward the nobles & commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his subiects. And so continuing the whole tearme of his life, finally departed out of this world, after he had reigned this second time the space of ten yeares, and was buried at Pothe.

Elidurus brother to this Archigallus was then againe admitted king by consent of all the Britains, 3700 of the world. But his two younger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuieing the happy state of this worthie prince, so highlie for his vertue and good gouernance esteemed of the Britains, of a grounded malice conspired against him, and assembling an armie, leuied warre against him, and in a pitch field took him prisoner, and put him in the tower of London, there to be kept close prisoner, after he had reigned now this last time the space of one yeare.

Vigenius and Peredurus, the youngest sonnes of Porindus, and brethren to Elidurus, began to reigne iointlie as kings of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3701, after the building of Rome 485, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 266 complete, and in the 12 yeare of Antigonus Conatas, the sonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians. These two brethren in the English chronicles are named Viganus and Peritur, who (as Gal. Mon. testifieth) diuided the realme betwixt them, so that all the land from Humber westward fell to Vigenius, or Viganus, the other part beyond Humber northward Peredure held. But other affirme, that Peredurus onelie reigned, and held his brother Elidurus in prison by his owne consent, for so much as he was not willing to gouerne.

But Gal. Mon. saith, that Vigenius died after he had reigned 7 yeares, and then Peredurus seized all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with such sobrietie and wisdom, that he was praised about all his brethren, so that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Britains. But others write that he was a verie tyrant, and vsed himselfe verie cruellie towards the lords of his land, whereupon they rebelled and slue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall sicknesse, he finally departed this life, after the consent of most writers, when he had reigned eight yeares, leaving no issue behind him to succede in the gouernance of the kingdom. He builded the towne of Pikeriug, where his bodie was buried.

Elidurus then, as soon as his brother Peredurus was dead, for as much as he was next heire to the crowne, was deliuered out of prison, and now the third time admitted king of Britaine, who vsed himselfe (as before) verie orderlie in ministring to all persons right and iustice all the daies of his life, and lastlie being growne to great age died, when he had reigned now this third time (after most concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buried at Caerleill.

Sen. in Thieff.

Archigallus againe.

Elidurus againe. Mart. West. Brother against brother.

Elidurus committed to prison.

Vigenius and Peredurus.

Britaine diuided into two realmes.

Warlike in weapons.

Caxton. Ech. Bur.

Elidurus the third time.

He is buried at Caerleill.

A Chapter of digression, shewing the diuersitie of writers in opinion, touching the computation of yeares from the beginning of the British kings of this Island downwards; since Gurgintus time, till the death of Elidurus; and likewise till king Lud reigned in his roialtie, with the names of such kings as ruled betwene the last yeare of Elidurus, and the first of Lud.

### The eight Chapter.

Polydor.

**T**HERE is to be noted, that even from the beginning of the British kings, which reigned here in this land, there is great diuersitie amongst writers, both touching their names, and also the times of their reignes, speciallie till they come to the death of the last mentioned king Elidurus. Insomuch that Polydor Virgil in his historie of England, finding a manifest error (as he taketh it) in those writers whome he followeth touching the account, from the coming of Brutus, unto the sacking of Rome by Brennus, whome our histories affirme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill up the number which is wanting in the reckoning of the yeares of those kings which reigned after Brutus, till the dates of the same Brenne & Beline, he thought good to change the order, least one error should follow another, and so of one error making manie, he hath placed those kings which after other writers should seeme to follow Brenne and Beline, betwixt Dunuallus and Pulmucius, father to the said Beline and Brenne, and those five kings which stroue for the gouernement after the deceasse of the two brethren, Ferrer and Porrex, putting Quintoline to succeed after the five kings or rulers, and after Quintoline his wife Partia, during the minority of his sonne, then his said sonne named Sicilius.

After him succeeded these whose names follow in order, Chimarius, Darius, Porindus, Corborianus, Archigallo, who being deposed, Elidurus was made king, and so continued till he restored the gouernement (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was effrones admitted, and within a while againe deposed by Aigenius and Peridurus, and after their deceasse the third time restored. Then after his deceasse followed successiuelie Aeginus, Porrganus, Ennanus, Idunallo, Kimo, Ceruntius, Catellus, Coilus, Porrex the second of that name, Cherinus, Fulgentius, Eldalus, Androgeneus, Arianus and Eliud, after whom should follow Dunuallus Pulmucius, as in his proper place, if the order of things done, & the course of time should be obserued, as Polydor gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to those kings that reigned before and after Dunuallus, according to those authours whom (as I said) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Gallies to Rome be the same that was sonne to the said Dunuallus Pulmucius, and brother to Beline.

But sith other haue in better order brought out a perfect agreement in the account of yeares, and succession of those kings, which reigned and gouerned in this land before the sacking of Rome; and also another such as it is after the same, and before the Romans had any perfect knowledge thereof; we haue thought good to follow them therein, leaving to euery man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge shall serue him in a thing so doubtfull and vncertaine, for

reason of variance amongst the ancient writers in that behalfe.

And euen as there is great difference in writers since Gurgintus, till the death of Elidurus, so is there as great or rather greater after his deceasse, speciallie till king Lud attained the kingdome: But as maie be gathered by that which Fabian and other whome he followeth doe write, there passed about

Fabian

185 yeares betwixt the last yeare of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his reigne, in the which time there reigned 32, or 33, kings, as some writers haue mentioned, whose names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are these immediatlie here named; Regnie the sonne of Corbollan or Corbontan, a worthy prince, who iustlie and mercifullie gouerned his people; Argargan the sonne of Archigallo a noble prince likewise, and guiding his subjects in good quiet; Emertan brother to the same Argargan, but far unlike to him in maners, so that he was deposed in the first yeare of his reigne; Idwallo sonne to Aigenius; Kimo the sonne of Peridurus; Ceruntius the sonne of Elidurus; Catell that was buried at Winchester; Coill that was buried at Pottingham; Porrex a vertuous and most gentle prince; Cherinus a drunkard; Fulgentius, Eldad, and Androgeneus; these three were sonnes to Cherinus, and reigned successiuelie one after another; after them a sonne of Androgeneus; then Eliud, Deidicus, Clotinius, Gurgintius, Perianus, Bledius, Cop, Dwen, Sicilius, Bledgabzedus an excellent musician: after him his brother Archemall; then Eldol, Red, Rodicke, Samuill, Penicell, Pir, Capoir; after him his sonne Cigweil an vpright dealing prince, and a good iusticiarie; whom succeeded his sonne Helie, which reigned 60 yeares, as the forsaide Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affirme that he reigned 40 yeares, and some againe say that he reigned but 7 moneths.

Virgill

There is great diuersitie in writers touching the reignes of these kings, and not onlie for the number of yeares which they should continue in their reignes but also in their names: so that to shew the diuersitie of all the writers, were but to small purpose, sith the doings of the same kings were not great by report made thereof by any approued author. But this maie suffice to aduertise you, that by conferring the yeares attributed to the other kings which reigned before them, since the coming of Brutus, who should enter this land (as by the best writers is gathered) about the yeare before the building of Rome 367, which was in the yeare after the creation of the world 2850 (as is said) with their time, there remaineth 182 yeares to be dealt amongst these 33 kings, which reigned betwixt the said Elidurus & Lud, which Lud also began his reigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affirme) about 679 yeares, and in the yeare of the world 3895, as some that will seme the precisest calculatores doe gather.

Polydor Virgil changing (as I haue shewed) the order of succession in the British kings, in bringing diuers of those kings, which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to precede them to successiuelie after Beline and Brenne, reherseth those that by his coniecture did by likelihood succeed, as thus. After the deceasse of Beline, his sonne Gurgintius, being the second of that name, succeeded in gouernment of the land, and then these in order as they follow: Perianus, Bladannus, Capcus, Quinus, Sicilius, Bledgabzedus, Archemallus, Eldorus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samuillus, Penicellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, and Helie, who had issue, Lud, Cassibellane, and Pericus.

Of

Of king Helie who gaue the name to  
the Ile of Elie, of king Lud, and what  
memorable edifices he made, Lon-  
don sometimes called, Luds  
towne, his bountiful-  
nes, and buriall.

The ninth Chapter.

whereof the  
Ile of Elie  
toke name.

**H**ere note by the waie a  
thing not to be forgotten, that  
of the foresaid Helie the last  
of the said 22 kings, the Ile of  
Elie toke the name, because  
that he most commonlie did  
there inhabit, building in the  
same a goodly palace, and ma-  
king great reparations of the sluices, ditches & cau-  
ses about that Ile, for conuenance alwaie of the wa-  
ter, that els would soe haue indamaged the coun-  
trie. There be that haue maintained, that this Ile  
should rather take name of the great abundance of  
eoles that are found in these waters and fennes wher-  
with this Ile is inuironed. But Humfrey Llloyd  
holdeth, that it toke name of this British word He-  
lie, which significth willowes, wherwith those fennes  
abound.

Lud.

A twothie  
prince.

London inco-  
sed with a wall  
John Har.

Fibian.  
Gal. Mon.  
Mat. West.

The bishops  
palace.

The name of  
Troinuant  
changed and  
called London

After the decesse of the same Helie, his eldest son  
Lud began his reigne, in the yere after the crea-  
tion of the world 3895, after the building of the ci-  
tie of Rome 679, before the comming of Christ 72,  
and before the Romans entered Britaine 19 yeres.  
This Lud proued a right twothie prince, amending  
the lawes of the realme that were defectiue, abol-  
ishing euill customs and maners used amongst his  
people, and repairing old cities and towne which  
were decayed: but speciallie he delited most to beau-  
tifie and enlarge with buildings the citie of Troino-  
uant, which he compassed with a strong wall made of  
lime and stone, in the best maner fortified with di-  
uerse faire towres: and in the west part of the same  
wall he erected a strong gate, which he commanded  
to be called after his name, Luds gate, and so vnto  
this daie it is called Ludgate. (S) onelie drowned in  
pronuntiacion of the word.

In the same citie also he sojourned for the more part,  
by reason wherof the inhabitants increased, and  
manie habitations were builded to receiue them,  
and he himselfe caused buildings to be made betwixt  
London stone and Ludgate, and builded for himselfe  
not farre from the said gate a faire palace, which is  
the bishop of Londons palace beside Paules at this  
daie, as some thinke; yet Harison suppoeth it to haue  
bin Baimards castell, where the blacke friers now  
standeth. He also builded a faire temple nere to his  
said palace, which temple (as some take it) was after  
turned to a church, and at this daie called Paules.  
By reason that king Lud so much esteemed that ci-  
tie before all other of his realme, enlarging it so  
greatlie as he did, and continuallie in manner re-  
mained there, the name was changed, so that it was  
called Caerlud, that is to saie, Luds towne: and after  
by corruption of spech it was named London.

Beside the princelie doings of this Lud touching  
the advancement of the common wealth by studies  
appertaining to the time of peace, he was also strong  
& valiant in armes, in subduing his enemies, boun-  
tions and liberall both in gifts and keeping a plenti-  
full house, so that he was greatlie beloued of all the  
Britaines. Finallie, when he had reigned with great  
honour for the space of 11 yeres, he died, and was  
buried nere Ludgate, leauing after him two sons,  
Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Of Cassibellane and his noble mind,  
Julius Caesar sendeth Caius Valgius to  
suruey the coasts of this land, he lieth with  
his fleet at Calice, purposing to invade  
the countrie, his streime is be-  
waied and withstood by  
the Britains.

The tenth Chapter.

**C**assibellane the brother of  
Lud was admitted King of  
Britaine, in the yere of the  
world 3908, after the bail-  
ding of Rome 692, and be-  
fore the comming of Christ  
801. For with the two  
sonnes of Lud were not of  
age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was com-  
mitted to Cassibellane: but yet (as some haue writ-  
ten) he was not created king, but rather appointed  
ruler & protector of the land, during the nonage of his  
nephewes. Now after he was admitted (by what soe-  
uer order) to the administration of the common  
wealth, he became so noble a prince and so bounti-  
ous, that his name spread farre and nere, and by his  
bright dealing in seeing iustice executed he grew in  
such estimation, that the Britains made small ac-  
count of his nephewes, in comparison of the fauour  
which they bare towards him. But Cassibellane ha-  
uing respect to his honour, least it might be thought  
that his nephewes were expelled by him out of their  
rightfull possessions, brought them by verie honou-  
rable, assigning to Androgeus, London and Kent;  
and to Theomancius the countrie of Cornwall. Thus  
farre out of the British histories, whereby it may be  
gathered, that the yeres assigned to these kings that  
reigned before Cassibellane, amount to the summe  
of 1058.

Cassibel-  
lane.

Gal. Mon.  
Mat. West.  
Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Mat. West.

Polydor.

But whether these gouernors (whose names we  
haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the com-  
mon wealth, or tyrants and usurpers of the gouern-  
ment by force, it is vncertaine: for not one ancient  
writer of anie approued authoritie maketh anie re-  
membrance of them: and by that which Julius Cesar  
writeth, it maye and doth appere, that diuerse cities  
in his daies were gouerned of themselves, as here-  
after it shall more plainlie appere. Neither doth he  
make mention of those towne which the British hi-  
storie affirmeth to be built by the same kings. In  
deed both he and other Latine writers speake of di-  
uerse people that inhabited diuers portions of this  
land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, Si-  
lures, and such other like, but in what parts most  
of the said people did certeinlie inhabit, it is hard to  
enough for certeine truth.

But what John Leland thinketh hereof, being one  
in our time that curioulie searched out old antiqui-  
ties, you shall after heare as occasion serueth: and  
likewise the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius,  
who coucting to haue all such valiant acts as were  
achieved by the Britains to be ascribed to his coun-  
tremen the Scots, draweth both the Silures and  
Brigantes, with other of the Britains so farre north-  
ward, that he maketh them inhabitants of the Sco-  
tish countries. And what particular names soeuer  
they had, yet were they all Scots with him, and  
knotone by that generall name (as he would per-  
suade vs to beleue) sauing that they entered into  
Britaine out of Ireland 330 yeres before the incar-  
nation of our Saviour.

Hector Boeti-  
us his fault.

Nevertheless, how generall soeuer the name of  
Scots then was, sure it is, that no speciall men-  
tion

tion of them is made by anie writer, till about 300 yeares after the birth of our sauour. And yet the Romans, which ruled this land, and had so much aduantage with the people thereof, make mention of diuerse other people, nothing so famous as Boetius would make his Scottish men euen then to be. But to leane to the Scots the antiquitie of their originall beginning, as they and other must doe vnto vs our descent from Brute and the other Troians, sith the contrarie doth not plainelie appeare, vntill we shall leane vnto presumptions: now are we come to the time in the which what actes were atchived, there remaineth more certeyne record, and therefore may we the more boldlie proceed in this our historie.

Hope certeyne  
from hence  
forth appea-  
reth in the  
historie.  
Julius Cesar

Cesar de bello  
Gall. lib. 4.  
Britains vn-  
knowne to the  
Romans.  
Cesar de bello  
Gall. lib. 4.  
Causes of the  
warre.

Cesars par-  
pose.

Caius Volu-  
senus sent o-  
uer into Bri-  
taine.

John Leland.  
Polydor.

Clannes in  
Britaine.

Comius.

In this season that Cassibelane had roiall gouernment here in Britaine, Caius Iulius Cesar being appointed by the Senat of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for that purpose created consull, and sent with a mightie army into the countrie, where after he had brought the Galles vnto some frame, he determined to assaie the winning of Britaine, which as yet the Romans knew not otherwise than by report. The chiefest cause that moued him to take in hand that enterpryse, was for that he did vnderstand, that there daily came great succours out of that Ile to those Galles that were enemies vnto the Romans. And though the season of that yere to make warre was farre spent (for summer was almost at an end) yet he thought it would be to good purpose, if he might but passe ouer thither, and learne what maner of people did inhabit there, and discouer the places, hauens, and entrees apperteyning to that Ile.

Whereupon calling together such merchants as he knew to haue had traffike thither with some trade of wares, he diligentlie inquired of them the state of the Ile: but he could not be throughtlie satisfied in anie of those things that he coueted to know. Wherefore thinking it good to vnderstand all things by view that might apperteyne to the use of that warre which he purposed to follow: before he attempted the same, he sent one Caius Volusenus with a gallie or light pinelle to surueie the coasts of the Ile, commanding him (after diligent search made) to returne with speed to him againe. He him selfe also drew downe wards towards Billenots, from whence the shortest cut lieth to passe ouer into Britaine.

In that part of Gallia there was in those daies an haven called *Isis Portus* (which some take to be Calice) and so the word importeth, an harbour as then able to receiue a great number of ships. Vnto this haven got Cesar all the ships he could out of the next borders & parties, and those speciallie which he had provided and put in a readinesse the last yere for the warres (against them of Clannes in Armorica, now called Britaine in France) he caused to be brought thither, there to lie till they should heare further. In the meane time (his indeuour being knowne, and by merchants reported in Britaine) all such as were able to beare armour, were commanded and appointed to repaire to the sea side, that they might be readie to defend their countrie in time of so great danger of inuasion.

Cesar in his commentaries agreeth not with our historiographers: for he writeth that immediatlie vpon knowledge had that he would inuade Britaine, there came to him ambassadours from diuers cities of the Ile to offer themselves to be subiects to the Romans, and to deliuer hostages. Whome after he had exhorted to continue in their good mind, he sent home againe, and with them also one Comius gouernour of Artois, commanding him to repaire vnto as manie cities in Britaine as he might, and to exhort them to submit themselves to the Romans. He maketh no mention of Cassibel-

lane, till the second scurnie that he made into the Ile, at what time the said Cassibelane was chosen (as ye shall heare) to be the generall capteine of the Britains, and to haue the whole administration of the warre for defense of the countrie: but he nameth him not to be a king. Howbeit in the Britissh historie it is conteined, that Cesar required tribute of Cassibelane, and that he answered how he had not learned as yet to liue in seruage, but to defend the libertie of his countrie, and that with weapon in hand (if neede were) as he should well perceiue, if (blinded through couetousnesse) he should aduenture to take to disquiet the Britains.

which is  
more libe-  
rally  
as appea-  
reth by the  
sequel

Caius Volusenus discouereth to Cesar his obseruations in the Ile of Britaine, he maketh haste to conquere it, the Britains defend their countrie against him, Cesar after consultation had changed his landing place, the Romans are put to hard shifts, the Britains begin to giue backe, the courage of a Roman ensigne-bearer, a sharpe encounter betwene both armies.

### The eleuenth Chapter.



Caius Volusenus within five daies after his departure from Cesar, returned vnto him with his gallie, and declared what he had seen touching the view which he had taken of the coasts of Brittan. Cesar hauing got together so manie saile as he thought sufficient for the transporting of two legions of souldiers, after he had ordered his businesse as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient wind for his purpose, did embarke himselfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the third watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the horsemen should take ship at an other place 8 miles aboue Calice, and follow him. Howbeit when they somewhat slackted the time, about ten of the clocke in the next day, hauing the wind at will, he touched on the coast of Britaine, where he might behold all the shore set and couered with men of warre. For the Britains hearing that Cesar ment verie shortly to come against them, were assembled in armour to resist him: and now being aduertised of his approach to the land, they prepared themselves to withstand him.

Volusenus  
returneth

Cesar with  
two legions  
of souldiers  
passeth ouer  
into Brittan.

The Britains  
readie to re-  
sist their  
countrie.

Cesar perceiuing this, determined to staie till the other ships were come, and so he lay at anchor till about 11 of the clocke, and then called a councell of the marshals and chiefe capteines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Volusenus, and also further what he would haue done, willing them that all things might be ordered as the reason of warre required. And because he perceiued that this place where he first cast anchor was not mete for the landing of his people, sith (from the heighth of the cliffes that closed on ech side the narrow crêke into the which he had thrust) the Britains might annoy his people with their bowes and dartes, before they could set fote on land, hauing now the wind and tide with him, he disanchored from thence, and drew along the coast vnder the downes, the space of 7 or 8 miles, and there finding the shore more flat and plaine, he approached nere to the land, determining to come to the shore.

Cesar calleth  
a councell.

This was  
his day.

The Britains perceiuing Cesars intent, with all speed caused their horsemen and charres or wagons,

with

which Cesar calleth Effeda, out of the which in those daies they used to fight, to march forth toward the place whither they saw Cesar drew, and after followed with their maine armie. Wherefore Cesar being thus prevented, enforced yet to land with his people, though he saw that he should have much ado. For as the Britains were in readinesse to resist him, so his great and huge ships could not come nere the shore, but were forced to keepe the deepe, so that the Romane soldiers were put to verie hard shift; to wit, both to leape forth of their ships, and being pestered with their heaue armour and weapons, to fight in the water with their enemies, who knowing the flats and shelues, stood either vpon the drie ground, or else but a little waie in the shallow places of the water; and being not otherwise encumbered either with armour or weapon, but so as they might bestir themselves at will, they laid load vpon the Romans with their arrowes and darts, and forced their hostes (being thereto inured) to enter the water the more easilie, so to annoy and distresse the Romans, who wanting experience in such kind of fight, were not well able to helpe themselves, nor to keepe order as they used to do on land: wherefore they fought nothing so lussilie as they were wont to do. Cesar perceiuing this, commanded the galleies to depart from the great ships, and to rowe hard to the shore, that being placed ouer against the open sides of the Britains, they might with their shot of arrowes, darts, and slings, remoue the Britains, and cause them to withdraw further off from the water side.

The Romans  
get to land.

The Britains  
allowed.

The valiant  
courage of an  
ensigne be-  
stir.

This thing being put in execution (according to his commandement) the Britains were not a little astonished at the strange sight of those gallics, for that they were dizen with oyes, which earst they had not seene, and wherevnto were they galled also with the artillerie which the Romans discharged vpon them, so that they began to thinke and retire somewhat backe. Wherevnto one that bare the ensigne of the legion surnamed Decima, wherein the eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe ensigne of the legion, when he saw his fellowes nothing eager to make forward, first beseeching the gods that his enterpryse might turne to the weale, profit, and honor of the legion, he spake with a lowd voice these words to his fellowes that were about him; Leape forth now euen you worthie souldiers (saith he) if you will not betraie your ensigne to the enemies: for surelie I will acquit my selfe according to my ducie both towards the common wealth, and my generall: and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marched with his ensigne streight vpon the enemies. The Romans doutng to lose their ensigne, which should haue turned them to great reproch, leapt out of their ships so fast as they might, and followed their standard, so that there ensued a foze encounter: and that which troubled the Romans most, was because they could not keepe their order, neither find anie sure footing, nor yet follow euerie man his owne ensigne, but to put themselves vnder that ensigne which he first met withall after their first coming forth of the ship.

The fierce-  
ness of the  
Britains.

The Britains that were inured with the shelues and shallow places of the water, when they saw the Romans thus disorderlie come out of their ships, ran vpon them with their hostes, and fiercelie assailed them, and now and then a great multitude of the Britains would compasse in and inclose some one companie of them: and other also from the most open places of the shore bestowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romans, and so troubled them verie foze.

The Romans get to land on the English coast, the Britains send to Cesar for a treatie of peace, they staie the Romane ambassadour as prisoner; Cesar demandeth hostages of the Britains, the Romane nauie is driuen diuers waies in a great tempest, the British princes steale out of Cæsars campe and gather a fresh power against the Romans, their two armies haue a sharpe encounter.

## The twelfth Chapter.



Cesar perceiuing the manner of this fight, caused his men of warre to enter into boates and other small vessels, which he commanded to go to such places where most need appeared. And relieuing them that fought with new supplies, at length the Romans got to land, and assembling together, they assailed the Britains a fresh, and so at last did put them all to flight. But the Romans could not follow the Britains farre, because they wanted their hostesmen which were yet behind, & through lacking of time could not come to land. And this one thing seemed onelie to disappoint the luckie fortune that was accustomed to follow Cesar in all his other enterprises.

The Romans  
get to land.

The want of  
hostesmen.

The Britains after this flight were no sooner got together, but that with all speed they sent ambassadours vnto Cesar to treat with him of peace, offering to deliuer hostages, and further to stand vnto that order that Cesar should take with them in anie reasonable sort. With these ambassadours came also Comius, whome Cesar (as you haue heard) had sent befoze into Britaine, whome notwithstanding that he was an ambassadour, and sent from Cesar with commission and instructions sufficient furnished, yet had they staied him as a prisoner. But now after the battell was ended, they set him at libertie, and sent him backe with their ambassadours, who excused the matter, laing the blame on the people of the countrie, which had imprisoned him through lacke of vnderstanding what appertained to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.

The Britains  
send to Cesar.

Comius of  
Britas.

Cesar found great fault with their misdememor, not onelie for imprisoning his ambassadour, but also for that contrarie to their promise made by such as they had sent to him into Gallia to deliuer hostages, in lieu thereof they had received him with warre: yet in the end he said he would pardon them, and not seeke anie further reuenge of their follies. And herevnto required of them hostages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and made promise that the residue should likewise be sent after, crauing some respite for performance of the same, because they were to be fetched farre off within the countrie.

Cesar demandeth  
both hostages.

Peace being thus established after the fourth day of the Romans arrivall in Britaine, the 18 ships which (as ye haue heard) were appointed to conuey the hostesmen ouer, losed from the further haueu with a soft wind. Which when they approached so nere the shore of Britaine, that the Romans which were in Cæsars campe might see them, suddenlie there arose so great a tempest, that none of them was able to keepe his course, so that they were not onelie diuen in sunder (some being caried againe into Gallia, and some westward) but also the other ships that lay at anchor, and had brought ouer the armie, were so pitifullie beaten, tossed and shaken, that a great number of them did not onelie lose their tackle, but also were caried by force of wind into the high sea;

C. i.



the rest being likewise so filled with water, that they were in danger by sinking to perith and to be quite lost. For the mone in the same night was at the full, & therefore caused a spring tide, which furthered the force of the tempest, to the greater perill of those ships and gallies that lay at anchor. There was no way for the Romans to helpe the matter: wherefore a great number of those ships were so bruised, rent and weather-beaten, that without new reparation they would serue to no vse of sailing. This was a great discomfort to the Romans that had brought over no provision to liue by in the winter season, nor sawe anie hope how they should repasse againe into Gallia.

In the meane time the British princes that were in the Romane armie, perceiving how greatlie this mishap had discouraged the Romans, and againe by the small circuit of their campe, guessing that they could be no great number, and that lacke of vittels sore oppressed them, they stalc priuilie away one after another out of the campe, purposing to assemble their powers againe, and to foreshall the Romans from vittels, and so to driue the matter off till winter: which if they might doe (vanquishing these or closing them from returning) they trusted that none of the Romans from thenceforth would attempte to come into Britaine. Cesar mistrusting their dealings, because they said to deliuer the residue of their hostages, commanded vittels to be brought out of the parties adioining, and not hauing other stufte to repaire his ships, he caused 12 of those that were bitterlie past recouerie by the hurts received through violence of the tempest, to be broken, wherewith the other (in which some recouerie was perceiued) might be repaired and amended.

The maner of the Britains fighting in charrets, the Romans giue a fresh sallie to the Britains and put them to flight, they sue to

Cesar for peace; what kings and their powers

were assistants to Cassibellane in the battell

against Cesar, and the maner of both peoples

encounters by the report of diuers

Chronologers.

### The xiiij. Chapter.



Wilest these things were a doing, it chanced that as one of the Romane legions named the seventh, was sent to fetch in coine out of the countrie adioining (as their custome was) no warre at that time being suspected, or once looked for, when part of the people remained abroad in the field, and part repaired to the campe: those that warded before the campe, informed Cesar, that there appeared a dust greater than was accustomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in coine. Cesar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commanded those bands that warded to go with him that way forth, and appointed other two bands to come into their romes, and the residue of his people to get them to armes, and to follooto quicklie after him.

He was not gone anie great way from the campe, when he might see where his people were ouermatched by the enemies, and had much a doe to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged together, the Britains pelted them sore with arrowes and darts on each side: for sithens there was no forrage left in

anie part of the countrie about, but onelie in this place, the Britains iudged that the Romans would come thither for it: therefore hauing lodged themselves within the woods in ambushes the night before; on the morrowe after when they sawe the Romans dispersed here & there, and busie to cut downe the coine, they set vpon them on a sudden, and slaing some few of them, brought the residue out of order, compassing them about with their horsemen and charrets, so that they were in great distresse.

The maner of fight with these charrets was such, that in the beginning of a battell they would ride about the sides and skirts of the enemies host, and bestow their darts as they fate in those charrets, so that oftentimes with the braieng of the horses, and creaking noise of the charret wheeles they disordered their enemies, and after that they had wound themselves in amongst the troops of horsemen, they would leape out of the charrets and fight on foot. In the meane time those that guided the charrets would withdraw to themselves out of the battell, placing themselves so, that if their people were ouermatched with the multitude of enemies, they might easilie withdraw to their charrets, and mount vpon the same againe, by means whereof they were as readie to remoue as the horsemen, and as steadfast to stand in the battell as the footmen, and so to supplie both duties in one. And those charretmen by exercise and custome were so cunning in their feat, that although their horses were put to run and gallop, yet could they stay them and hold them backe at their pleasures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithstanding that the place were verie skape and dangerous: and againe they would run by and do done verie nimble vpon the cops, and stand vpon the beame, and conuey themselves quicklie againe into the charret.

Cesar thus finding his people in great distresse and readie to be destroyed, came in good time, and deliuered them out of that danger: for the Britains vpon his approach with new succors, gaue ouer to forsaille their enemies any further, & the Romans were deliuered out of the feare wherein they stood before his comming. Furthermore, Cesar considering the time serued not to assaile his enemies, kept his ground, and shortly after brought backe his legions into the campe.

While these things were thus a doing, & all the Romans occupied, the rest that were abroad in the fields got them away. After this there folloowed a sear season of raine and fowle weather, which kept the Romans within their campe, and said the Britains from offering battell. But in the meane time they sent messengers abroad into all parts of the countrie, to giue knowledge of the small number of the Romans, and what hope there was both of great spoile to be gotten, and occasion to deliuer themselves from further danger for euer, if they might once expell the Romans out of their campe. Where vpon a great multitude both of horsemen and footmen of the Britains were speedilie got together, and approached the Romane campe.

Cesar although he sawe that the same would come to passe which had chanced before, that if the enemies were put to the repulse, they would easilie escape the danger with swiftnesse of foot: yet hauing now with him thirtie horsemen (which Cornius of Arras had brought ouer with him, when he was sent from Cesar as an ambassado: vnto the Britains) he placed his legions in order of battell before his campe, and so comming to ioine with the Britains, they were not able to susteine the violent impression of the armed men, and so fled. The Romans pursued them so farre as they were able to ouertake anie of them, and so slaing manie of them, & burning vp all their houses

houses all about, came backe againe to their campe. Immediatly whereupon, euen the same day, they sent ambassadors to Cesar to sue for peace, who gladly accepting their offer, commanded them to send ouer into Gallia, after he should be returned thither, hostages in number double to those that were agreed vpon at the first. After that these things were thus ordered, Cesar became the moneth of September was well-near halfe spent, and that winter halfed on (a season not meet for his weake and bruised ships to brooke the seas) determined not to fraie anie longer, but hauing wind and weather for his purpose, got himselfe aboard with his people, and returned into Gallia.

*Cesar de bello Gallico lib. 4.*

Thus writeth Cesar touching his first iourne made into Britaine. But the British historie (which Polydore calleth the new historie) declareth that Cesar in a pitch field was vanquished at the first encounter, and so withdrew backe into France. Bede also writeth, that Cesar comming into the countie of Gallia, where the people then called Apocint inhabited (which are at this day the same that inhabit the diocesse of Teruine) from whence lieth the shortest passage ouer into Britaine, now called England, got together 80 saile of great ships and row galles, wherewith he passed ouer into Britaine, & there at the first being wearied with sharpe and sore fight, and after taken with a grieuous tempest, he lost the greater part of his nauie, with no small number of his souldiers, and almost all his horsemen: and therewith being returned into Gallia, placed his souldiers in flocks to sojourn there for the winter season. Thus saith Bede. The British historie moreover maketh mention of three ynder-kings that aided Cassibellane in this first battell fought with Cesar, as Cridocus alias Ederus, king of Albania, now called Scotland: Guitehys king of Aledodocia, that is Northwales: and Britaell king of Demetia, at this day called Southwales.

The same historie also maketh mention of one Belinus that was general of Cassibellanes armie, and likewise of Penius brother to Cassibellane, who in fight happened to get Cessars sword fastened in his shield by a blow which Cesar strooke at him. Androgeneus also and Tenancius were at the battell in aid of Cassibellane. But Penius died within 15 daies after the battell of the hurt receiued at Cessars hand, although after he was so hurt, he slue Labienus one of the Romaine tribunes: all which may well be true, sith Cesar either maketh the best of things for his owne honour, or else coueting to write but commentaries, maketh no account to declare the necessities circumstances, or anie more of the matter, than the chiefe points of his dealing.

*Heitor Boet.*

Again, the Scottish historiographers write, that when it was first knowne to the Britains, that Cesar would invade them, there came from Cassibellane king of Britaine an ambassadoe vnto Ederus king of Scots, who in the name of king Cassibellane required aid against the common enemies the Romans, which request was granted, and 10 thousand Scots sent to the aid of Cassibellane. At their comming to London, they were most iostillie receiued of Cassibellane, who at the same time had knowledge that the Romans were come on land, and had beaten such Britains backe as were appointed to resist their landing. Whereupon Cassibellane with all his whole puissance mightie augmented, not onlie with the succours of the Scots, but also of the Picts (which with that common enemie had sent also of their people to aid the Britains) set forward, towards the place where he vnderstood the enemies to be.

At their first approach together, Cassibellane sent forth his horsemen and charrets called Eddeda, by the

which he thought to disorder the arae of the enemies. Twice they incountred together with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioined puissance against puissance, and fought a verie sore and cruell battell, till finally at the sudden comming of the Welshmen and Cornishmen, so huge a noise was raised by the sound of bells hanging at their trappers and charrets, that the Romans astonied therewith, were more easilie put to flight. The Britains, Scots, and Picts following the chase without order or arae, so that by reason the Romans kept themselves close together, the Britains, Scots, & Picts did scarce so much harme to the enemies as they themselves receiued. But yet they followed on still vpon the Romans till it was darke night.

Cesar after he had perceiued them once withdratone, did what he could to assemble his companies together, minding the next morning to seeke his reuenge of the former daies disadvantage. But for so much as knowledge was giuen him that his ships (by reason of a sore tempest) were so beaten and rent, that manie of them were past seruice, he doubted least such newes would encourage his enemies, and bring his people into despair. Wherefore he determined not to fight till time more conuenient, sending all his wounded folks vnto the ships, which he commanded to be newlie rigged and trimmed. After this, keeping his armie for a time within the place where he was incamped without issuing forth, he hostilie drew to the sea side, where his ships laie at anchor, and there within a strong place fortified for the purpose he lodged his host, and finally without hope to atchieue anie other exploit available for that time, he took the sea with such ships as were apt for sailing, and so repassed into Gallia, leaving behind him all the spoile and baggage for want of vessels and leisure to conuie it ouer. Thus haue the Scots in their chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romaine histories, than according to the report of our British and English writers: and therefore we haue thought good to shew it here, that the diuersitie of writers and their affections may the better appere.

Of this sudden departing also, or rather fleeing of Julius Cesar out of Britaine, Lucanus the poet maketh mention, reciting the saying of Pompeius in an oration made by him vnto his souldiers, wherein he reprochfullie and disdainfullie repproued the doings of Cesar in Britaine, saying:

*Territa quæsitæ ostendit terga Britannia.*

Cesar taketh a new occasion to make warre against the Britains, he arriueth on the coast without resistance, the number of his ships, both armies incounter, why Cesar forbade the Romans to pursue the discomfited Britains, he repaireth his nauie, the Britains choose Cassibellane their cheefe gouernour, and skirmish afresh with their enemies, but haue the repulse in the end.

### The xiiij. Chapter.

**N**OW will we retorne to the sequel of the matter, as Cesar himselfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two cities of all Britaine that sent ouer their hostages according to their covenant, which gave occasion to Cesar to picke a new quarrell against them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not)

*Dion Cassius.*

*C. j.*

Cæsar de bello  
Gallico.

not) haue found some other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conquest of that Ile. Wherefore purposing to passe againe thither, as he that had a great desire to bring the Britains vnder the obedience of the Romane estate, he caused a great number of ships to be prouided in the winter season and put in a readinesse, so that against the next spring there were found to be readie rigged six hundred ships, besides 28 gallies. Whereupon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his absence, about the beginning of the spring he came to the haue of Calice, whither (according to order by him prescribed) all his ships were come, except 40 which by tempest were giuen backe, and could not as yet come to him.

After he had staid at Calice (as well for a conuenient wind, as for other incidents) certaine daies, at length when the weather so changed that it serued his purpose, he toke the sea, & hauing with him six legions of souldiers, and about two thousand horsemen, he departed out of Calice haue about sun setting with a soft south-west wind, directing his course southward: about midnight the wind fell, & so by a calme he was carried along with the tide, so that in the morning when the day appeared, he might behold Britaine vpon his left hand. Then following the streame as the course of the tide changed, he forced with oares to fetch the shore vpon that part of the coast, which he had discovered, and tried the last place to be the best landing place for the armie. The diligence of the souldiers was esteemed here to be great, who with continuall toile drew forth the beauteous ships, to keepe course with the gallies, & so at length they landed in Britaine about none on the next day, finding not one to resist his comming ashore: for as he learned by certaine prisoners which were taken after his comming to land, the Britains being assembled in purpose to haue resisted him, through feare stricken into their hearts, at the discovering of such an huge number of ships, they forsooke the shore and got them vnto the mountaines. There were indeed of vessels one and other, what with bittellers, & those which priuat men had prouided and furnished forth for their owne vse, being ioined to the ordinarie number, at the least eight hundred saile, which appearing in sight all at one time, made a wonderfull muster, and right terrible in the eyes of the Britains.

But to proceed: Cæsar being got to land, incamped his armie in a place conuenient: and after learning by the prisoners, into what part the enemies were withdrawn, he appointed one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the safeguard of the nauie, with ten companies or cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horsemen: and anon after midnight marched forth himselfe with the residue of his people toward the Britains, and hauing made 12 miles of way, he got sight of his enemies host, who sending downe their horsemen and charrets vnto the riuer side, skirmished with the Romans, meaning to beate them backe from the higher ground: but being assailed of the Romane horsemen, they were repelled, & toke the woods for their refuge, wherein they had got a place verie strong, both by nature and helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had bene fortified before, in time of some ciuill warre amongst them: for all the entrees were closed with trees which had bene cut downe for that purpose. Whobeyt the souldiers of the 7 legion casting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Britains from their defenses, and so entring vpon them, drew them out of the woods. But Cæsar would not suffer the Romans to follow the Britains, because the nature of the countrie was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre spent, so that he would haue the rest

due thereof bestowed in fortifying his campe.

The next day, as he had sent forth such as should haue pursued the Britains, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his nauie by rigour of a force and hideous tempest was grievously molested, and thowne vpon the shore, so that the cables and tackle being broken and destroyed with force of the bitter, cold rage of wind, the maisters and mariners were not able to helpe the matter. Cæsar calling backe those which he had sent forth, returned to his ships, and finding them in such state as he had heard, toke order for the repairing of those that were not utterly destroyed, and caused them so to be drawne vp to the land, that with a trench he might so compasse in a plot of ground, that might serue both for defense of his ships, and also for the incamping of those men of warre, which he should leaue to attend vpon the safeguard of the same. And because there were at the least a fortie ships lost by violence of this tempest, so as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he saw yet how the rest with great labour and cost might be repaired: wherefore he chose out twaight among the legions, sent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to such as he had left there in charge with the gouernment of the countrie, to prouide so manie ships as they could, and to send them ouer vnto him. He spent a ten daies about the repairing of his nauie, and in fortifying the campe for defense thereof, which done, he left those within it that were appointed there before, and then returned towards his enemies.

At his comming backe to the place where he had before incamped, he found them there readie to resist him, hauing their numbers hugely increased: for the Britains hearing that he was returned with such a mightie number of ships assembled out of all parts of the land, and had by general consent appointed the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre vnto Cassiwellane or Cassibelane, whose dominion was diuided from the cities situated nere to the sea coast, by the riuer of Thames, 80 miles distant from the sea coast. This Cassiwellane before time had bin at continuall warre with other rulers, and cities of the land: but now the Britains moued with the comming of the Romans, chose him to be chiefe gouernour of all their armie, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defense of their countrie against the Romans onelie to him. Their horsemen and charrets skirmished by the waie with the Romans, but so as they were put backe oftentimes into the woods and hills ablothing: yet the Britains sue diuers of the Romans as they followed ante thing egerlie in the pursuit.

Also within a while after, as the Romans were busie in fortifying their campe, the Britains suddenly issued out of the woods, and fiercely assailed those that watched before the campe, vnto whose aid Cæsar sent two of the chiefe cohorts of two legions, the which being placed but a little distance one from another, when the Romans began to be discouraged with this kind of sight, the Britains therewith burst through their enemies, and came backe from thence in safetie. That daie Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune was slain. At length Cæsar sending sundrie other cohorts to the succour of his people that were in sight, and the whole handled as it appeared, the Britains in the end were put backe. Nevertheless, that repulse was but at the pleasure of fortune: for they quited themselves afterwards like men, defending their territories with such munition as they had, untill such time as either by policie or inequality of power they were vanquished: as you shall see after in the course of the discourse. Whobeyt in fine they were ouer-run and utterly subdued, but not without much bloodshed and slaughter.

Cassibelane  
as should  
same, ruled in  
the parties of  
Dorsetshire,  
Berkshire,  
Buckingham,  
and Bedfordshire.

The Romans heauie armor their great hinderance, the maner of the Britains fighting in warre, their incounter with their enimies, their discomfort, the worthie stratagems or martiall exploits of Cassibellane, the Treitonants submision to Cesar, and their succouring Mandubratius, manie of the Britains are taken and slaine of the Romans.

The xv. Chapter.

The manner of the Britains in the warres.

The manner of the Britains in the warres.

Cassibellane.

Dion Cassius saith, that the Britains conquered the Roman legions at this time, but were put to the sword by the Romans.

which is to be supposed was at Kingston, or not far from thence.

**I**n all this maner of skilful fighting and fight which chaunced before the campe, even in the fight and view of all men, it was perceiued that the Romans, by reason of their heauie armour (being not able either to follow the Britains as they retired, or so bold as to depart from their ensignes, except they would runne into danger of casting themselves awaie) were nothing mete to match with such kind of enimies: and as for their horsemen, they fought likewise in great hazard, because the Britains would oftentimes of purpose retire, and when they had trained the Roman horsemen a litle from their legions of footmen, they would leape out of their charrets and incounter with them on foot. And so the battell of horsemen was dangerous, and like in all points whether they pursued or retired.

This also was the maner of the Britains: they fought not close together, but in sunder, and diuided into companies one separated from another by a good distance, and had their troopes standing in places conuenient, to the which they might retire, and so releue one another with sending new fresh men to supplie the want of them that were hurt or wearie. The next day after they had thus fought before the campe of the Romans, they shewed themselves aloft on the hills, and began to skirmish with the Roman horsemen, but not so hotlie as they had done the day before. But about none, when Cesar had sent forth three legions of footmen and all his horsemen vnder the leading of his lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in forrage, they suddenly brake out on euerie side, and set vpon the foragers. The Romans so far forth as they might, not breaking their arraie, nor going from their ensignes or guidons, gaue the charge on them, and fiercelie repelled them, so that the horsemen hauing the legions of footmen at their backs, followed the Britains so long as they might haue the said legions in sight readie to succour them if need were: by reason whereof, they slue a great number of the Britains, not giuing them leasure to recover themselves, nor to staie that they might haue time to get out of their charrets. After this chase and discomfort, all such as were come from other parties to the aid of their fellows departed home, & after that day the Britains aduentured to fight against Cesar with their maine power, and withdrawing beyond the riuer of Thames, determined to stop the enimies from passing the same, if by any means they might: and whereas there was but one fow by the which they might come ouer, Cassibellane caused the same to be set full of sharpe stakes, not onlie in the middell of the water, but also at the comming forth on that side where he was lodged with his armie in good order, readie to defend the passage. Cesar learning by relation of prisoners which he took, what the Britains intended to do, marched forth to the riuer side, where the fow was, by the which his armie might passe the same on foot though verie hardlie. At his comming thither, he

might perceiue how the Britains were readie on the further side to impeach his passage, and how that the banks at the comming forth of the water was right full of sharpe stakes, and so likewise was the channell of the riuer set with piles which were covered with the water.

These things yet staied not Cesar, who appointing his horsemen to passe on before, commanded the footmen to follow. The souldiers entring the water, waded thorough with such speed and violence (nothing appearing of them above water but their heads) that the Britains were constrained to giue place, being not able to susteine the brunt of the Roman horsemen, and the legions of their footmen, and so abandoning the place betwix them to fight. Cassibellane not minding to trie the matter any more by battell, sent awaie the most part of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thousand charretmen or waggoners, and still watched what waie the Romans took, coasting them euer as they marched, and kept somewhat aside within the covert of woods, and other comberlome places. And out of those quarters through which he understood the Romans would passe, he gathered both men and cattell into the woods & thicke forrests, leauing nothing of value abroad in the champion countrie. And when the Roman horsemen did come abroad into the countrie to take booties, he sent out his charrets vnto the knetone waies and passages to skirmish with the same horsemen, so much to the disadvantage of the Romans, that they durst not strait farre from their maine armie. Neither would Cesar permit them (least they might haue bene vnto the distressed by the Britains) to depart further than the maine battels of the footmen kept pace with them, by reason whereof the countrie was not indamaged by fire and spoile, but onlie where the armie marched.

In the meane time, the Treitonants which some take to be Middlesex & Essex men, whose citie was the best fenced of all those parties, and thought to be the same that now is called London, sent ambassadors vnto Cesar, offering to submit themselves vnto him, and to obeye his ordinances, and further besought him to defend Mandubratius from the injuries of Cassibellane, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Cesar into France, after that Cassibellane had slaine his father named Imanuentius, that was chiefe lord and king of the Treitonants, and so now by their ambassadors the same Treitonants requested Cesar, not onlie to receiue Mandubratius into his protection, but also to send him vnto them, that he might take the government and rule of their citie into his hands. Cesar commanded them to deliuer vnto him 40 hostages, and graine for his armie, and therewith sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Treitonants accomplished his commandements with all speed, sending both the appointed number of hostages, and also graine for the armie. And being thus defended and preserved from iniurie of the souldiers, the people called Cenimagi, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Wibreci, and Cassi, submitted themselves vnto Cesar, by whom he understood that the towne of Cassibellane was not far from the place where he was then incamped fenced with wooddes and marishes, into the which a great number of people with their cattell and other substance was withdrawn. The Britains in those daies (as Cesar writeth) called that a towne or hold, which they had fortified with any thicke comberlome wood, with trench and rampire, into the which they fled to get themselves for the avoiding of inuasion.

Cesar with his legions of souldiers therfore marched thither, and finding the place verie strong both

Treitonants where they inhabited.

Imanuentius.

Some take the Treitonants to be Londoners.

by nature and helpe of hand, assaulted it on two partes. The Britains defending their strength a while, at length not able longer to endure the impression of the Romans, fled out on the contrarie side of the towne where the enemies were not. Within this place a great number of cattell was found, and manie of the Britains taken by the Romans that followed them in chase, and manie also slaine.

Cassibellane dooth send vnto the foure kings of Kent for aid against Cæsars host, he offereth submission to Cæsar, the Britains become his tributaries, he returneth into Gallia with the remnant of his armie: the differing report of Cæsars commentaries and our historiographers touching these warlike affaires; of a sore fray with bloodshed and manslaughter vpon a light occasion; Cæsar taketh oportunitie to get the conquest of the land by the diuision betwene Cassibellane and Androgeus, the time of the Britains subiection to the Romans.

### The xvj. Chapter.

Four kings  
in Kent.

**N**OW whilst these thinges passed on this sort in those parts, Cassibellane sent messengers into Kent vnto foure kings (which ruled that shere of the land in those daies) Cingetorix, Carullius, Tarimagulus, and Segonax, commanding them, that assembling together their whole puissance, they should assaile the campe of the Romans by the sea side where certeine bandes lay (as ye haue heard) for safegard of the nauie. They according to his appointment came suddenly thither, and by the Romans that sailed forth vpon them were sharplie fought with, and lost diuers of their men that were slaine and taken, and amongst the prisoners that the Romans toke, Cingetorix was one. When Cassibellane heard these newes, being sore troubled for these losses thus chancing one in the necke of an other, but namelie most discouraged, for that diuers cities had yelved vnto the Romans: he sent ambassadours by means of Arminius of Arras vnto Cæsar, offering to submit himselfe.

Cæsar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore because summer drew towards an end, willing to dispatch in Britaine, commanded that hostages should be deliuered, and appointed what tribute the Britains should yeerelie send vnto the Romans. He also forbade and commanded Cassibellane, that he should not in anie wise trouble or indamage Madubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receiued the hostages, he brought his armie to the sea, and there found his ships well repaired, decked, and in good point: therefore he commanded that they should be had downe to the sea. And because he had a great number of prisoners, and diuers of his ships were lost in the tempest, he appointed to transport his armie ouer into Gallia at two conueies, which was done with good successe about the middle of September, though the ships returning for the residue of the armie, after the first conueie, were diuened so with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to land at the place appointed: so that Cæsar was constrained to fraught those that he could get with a greater burden, and so departed from the coast of Britaine, and safelie landed with the remnant of his people in Gallia with as good speed as he could haue desired. He thought not good to leaue anie of his people behind him,

Dion Cassius.

knowing that if he should so do, they were in danger to be cast awoie. And so because he could not well remaine there all the winter season for doubt of rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, with he had done sufficientlie for the time, least in courting the moze, he might haue come in perill to lose that which he had already obtained.

This according to that which Cæsar himselfe and other autentike authors haue writtten, was Britaine made tributarie to the Romans by the conduct of the same Cæsar. ¶ But our histories farre differ from this, affirming that Cæsar comming the second time, was by the Britains with valiantie and martiall prowesse beaten and repelled, as he was at the first, and speciallie by meanes that Cassibellane had pight in the Thames great piles of trees piked with yron, through which his ships being entred the river, were perished and lost. And after his comming a land, he was vanquished in battell, and constrained to flee into Gallia with those ships that remained. For toy of this second victorie (saith Galfred) Cassibellane made a great feast at London, and there did sacrifice to the gods.

At this feast there fell variance betwixt two yong gentlemen, the one named Hircida, nephew to Cassibellane, and the other Eueline or Eweline, being of alliance to Androgeus earle of London. They fell at discord about wrestling, and after multiplying of words, they came to dealing of blowes, by meanes whereof parts were taken, so that there ensued a sore fraie, in the which diuers were wounded and hurt, and amongst other Hircida the kings nephew was slaine by the hands of Eweline. The king sore displeased herewith, meant to punish Eweline according to the order of his lawes, so that he was summoned to appeare in due forme to make answer to the murder: but Eweline by the comfort of Androgeus disobeyed the summons, & departed the court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The king to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, and began to make warre vpon him.

Androgeus perceiuing himselfe not able to withstand the kings puissance, sent letters to Julius Cæsar, exhorting him to returne into Britaine, and declaring the whole matter concerning the variance betwixt him and the king, promising to aid the Romans in all that he might. Julius Cæsar to full of this message, prepared his nauie, and with all speed with a mightie host imbarke in the same, came toward Britaine: but per he would land, doubting some treason in Androgeus, he receiued from him in hostage his sonne named Scena, and thirtie other of the best and most noble personages of all his dominion. After this he landed, and joining with Androgeus, came into a ballie nere to Canturburie, and there incamped. Shortly after came Cassibellane with all his power of Britains, and gaue battell to the Romans. But after the Britains had long fought and knightlie borne themselves in that battell, Androgeus came with his people on a wing, and so sharplie assailed them, that the Britains were constrained to forsake the field, and toke themselves to flight. The which sight so discomforted them, that finallie they all fled, and gaue place to the Romans, the which pursued and slue them without mercie, so that Cassibellane with the residue of his people withdrew to a place of suertie, but being environed about with the puissance of the Romans, and of Androgeus, who had with him seven thousand men there in the aid of the Romans, Cassibellane in the end was forced to fall to a composition, in covenanteeing to paie a yeerelie tribute of

Gal. Mon.  
Matt. Will.



Do faith  
Campion, but  
Calisto  
adma faith  
his thousand.

of three thousand pounds. When Cesar had ordered his business as he thought convenient, he returned, and with him went Androgeus, fearing the displeasure of Cassibellane.

The reuerend father Bede writing of this matter, saith thus: After that Cesar being returned into Gallia, had placed his souldiours abroad in the countie to solumne for the winter season, he caused ships to be made readie, to the number of 600, with the which repassing into Britaine, whilst he marched forth with a mightie armie against the enemies, his ships that lay at anchor being taken with a fore tempest, were either beaten one against another, or else cast upon the flats and sands, and so broken; so that fortie of them were viterlie perished, and the residue with great difficultie were repaired. The horsemen of the Romans at the first encounter were put to the worse, and Labienus the tribune slaine. In the second conflict he vanquished the Britains, not without great danger of his people. After this, he marched to the riuer of Thames, which as then was passable by fords onlie in one place and not else, as the report goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Cassibellane was incamped with an huge multitude of enemies, and had pitcht and set the banke, and almost all the fords under the water full of sharpe stakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be seene, and it seemeth to the beholders that euerie of these stakes are as big as a mans thigh, sticking fast in the bottome of the riuer closed with lead. This being perceiued of the Romans, and auoided, the Britains not able to sufficeine the violent impression of the Roman legions, hid themselves in the woods, out of the which by often issues, they graunoullie and manie times assailed the Romans, and did them great damage. In the meane time the strong citie of Eboracoum with hir duke Androgeus deliuering fortie hostages, yielded vnto Cesar, whose example manie other citie following, allied themselves with the Romans, by whose information Cesar with fore sight toke at length the towne of Cassibellane, situate betwixt two marches, fenced also with the couert of woods, hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Cesar returned into France, and bestowed his armie in places to solumne there for the winter season.

The Scottish writers report, that the Britains, after the Romans were the first time repelled (as before ye haue heard) refused to receiue the aid of the Scottish men the second time, and so were vanquished, as in the Scottish historie ye may see more at length expressed. Thus much touching the war which Julius Cesar made against the Britains, in bringing them under tribute to the Romans. But this tributarie subiection was hardlie maintained for a season.

Now here is to be noted, that Cesar did not vanquish all the Britains: for he came not amongst the northerne men, onlie discovering and subduing that part which lieth towards the French seas: so that with other of the Roman emperors did most earnestlie trauell to bring the Britains vnder their subiection (which were euer redie to rebell so manie sundrie times) Cesar might seeme rather to haue shewed Britaine to the Romans, than to haue deliuered the possession of the same. This subiection, to the which he brought this Ile (what manner of one soeuer it was) chaunced about the yeare of the world 3913, after the building of Rome 698, before the birth of our sauiour 53, the first and second yeare of the 181 Olympiad, after the comming of Brutus 1060, before the conquest made by William duke of Normandie 1120, and 1638 yeeres before this present yeere of our Lord 1585, after Harlons account.

Cornelius  
Tacitus,  
lib. vii. Agr.

Dion Cassius.

The state of Britaine when Cesar offered to conquer it, and the maner of their gouernement, as diuerse authors report the same in their bookes: where the contrarietie of their opinions is to be observed.

## The xvij. Chapter.



After that Julius Cesar had thus made the Britains tributaries to the Romans, and was returned into Gallia, Cassibellane reigned 7 yeeres, and was vanquished in the ninth or tenth yeere after he began first to reigne so that he reigned in the whole about 15 or as some haue 17 yeeres, and then died, leauing no issue behind him. There hath bin an old chronicle (as Fabian recordeth) which he saw and followeth much in his booke, wherein is contained, that this Cassibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldest sonne to him: for otherwise as may be thought (saith he) Cesar hauing the vpper hand, would haue displaced him from the gouernement, and set vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as sonne to the said Lud. But whatsoeuer our chronicles or the British histories report of this matter, it should appere by that which Cesar writeth (as partlie ye haue heard) that Britaine in those daies was not gouerned by one sole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers citie were estates of themselves, so that the land was diuided into sundrie gouernements, much after the forme and maner as Germanie and Italie are in our time, where some citie are gouerned by one onelic prince, some by the nobilitie, and some by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in those daies here in this land were called kings, those had more large seigniories than the other, as Cassibellane, who was therefore called a king.

And though we do admit this to be true, yet may it be, that in the beginning, after Brutus entered the land, there was ordeined by him a monarchie, as before is mentioned, which might continue in his posteritie manie yeeres after, and yet at length before the comming of Cesar, through ciuill dissention, might happlie be broken, and diuided into parts, and so remained not onelic in the time of this Cassibellane, but also long after, whilst they liued as tributaries to the Romans, till finally they were subdued by the Saxons. In which meane time, through the discord, negligence, or rather vnadvised rashnes of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receiued in their writings for a truth; namely, concerning the succession of the kings that are said to haue reigned betwixt the daies of Cassibellane, and the comming of the Saxons. The Roman writers (and namely Tacitus) report, that the Britains in times past were vnder the rule of kings, and after being made tributaries, were brabone so by princes into sundrie factions, that to defend and keepe off a common ieopardie, scarcelie would two or three citie agree together, and take weapon in hand with one accord, so that while they fought by parts, the whole was overcome. And after this sort they say that Britaine was brought into the forme of a prouince by the Romans, from whom gouernours vnder the name of legats and procurators were sent that had the rule of it.

But yet the same authors make mention of certaine kings (as hereafter shall appeare) who while the

Fabian,

Cesar,

Cassibellane  
a king.

Cor. Tacitus  
lib. vii. Agr.

Gildas in epist.

Some take  
Dracutagus  
and Aruira-  
gus to be  
one man.

Gal. Mon.

the Romane emperors had the most part of the earth in subiection, reigned in Britaine. The same wit-  
nesseth Gildas, saying: Britaine hath kings, but they  
are tyrants: iudges it hath, but the same are wic-  
ked, oftentimes spoiling and tormenting the inno-  
cent people. And Cesar (as ye haue heard) speaketh  
of foure kings that ruled in Kent, and thereabouts.  
Cornelius Tacitus maketh mention of Dracutagus,  
and Cogidumnus, that were kings in Britaine: and  
Iuuenal speaketh of Aruira-gus: and all the late wri-  
ters, of Lucius. Whereby it appeareth, that whether  
one or mo, yet kings there were in Britain, bearing  
rule vnder the Romane emperors.

On the other part, the common opinion of our  
chronicle-writers is, that the chiefe government re-  
mained euer with the Britains, & that the Romane  
senat receiuing a yearelie tribute, sent at certaine  
times (*Ex officio*) their emperors and lieutenants into  
this Ile, to repress the rebellious tumults therein  
begun, or to beat backe the inuasion of the enemies  
that went about to inuade it. And thus would these  
writers inferre, that the Britains euer obeyed their  
king, till at length they were put beside the gouerne-  
ment by the Saxons. But whereas in the common  
hystorie of England, the succession of kings ought to  
be kept, so oft as it chanceth in the same that there is  
not anie to fill the place, then one while the Romane  
emperors are placed in their steads, and another  
while their lieutenants, and are said to be created  
kings of the Britains, as though the emperors were  
inferiours vnto the kings of Britaine, and that the  
Romane lieutenants at their appointments, and not  
by prescript of the senat or emperours, admini-  
stered the prouince.

This may suffice here to aduertise you of the con-  
trarietie in writers. Now we will go forth in follo-  
wing our hystorie, as we haue done heretofore, sa-  
ying that where the Romane hystories write of  
things done here by emperors, or their lieutenants,  
it shall be shewed as reason requireth, sith there is a  
great appearance of truth oftentimes in the same, as  
those that be authoised and allowed in the opinion of  
the learned.

Of Theomantius, the tearme of yeares  
that he reigned, and where he was inter-  
red; of Kymbeline, within the time of whose  
gouernment Christ Iesus our sauour was borne,  
all nations content to obeie the Romane em-  
perors and consequentlie Britaine, the customes that  
the Britains paie the Romans as Strabo  
reporteth.

### The xviij. Chapter.

Theomā-  
tius.

Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

After the death of Cassi-  
bellane, Theomantius or The-  
mantius the yongest sonne of  
Lud was made king of Bri-  
taine in the yere of the world  
3921, after the building of  
Rome 706, & before the com-  
ming of Christ 45. He is na-  
med also in one of the English chronicles *Wormace*:  
in the same chronicle it is contained, that not he, but  
his brother Androgeus was king, where Geoffrey of  
Monmouth & others testifie, that Androgeus aban-  
doned the land clerelie, & continued still at Rome, be-  
cause he knew the Britains hated him for treason  
he had committed in aiding Julius Cesar against  
Cassibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good  
quiet, and paid the tribute to the Romans which Cas-  
sibellane had granted, and finally departed this life

after he had reigned 22 yeares, and was buried at  
London.

Kymbeline or Cimbeline the sonne of Theo-  
mantius was of the Britains made king after  
the decease of his father. In the yere of the world  
3944, after the building of Rome 728, and before the  
birth of our Sauour 33. This man (as some write)  
was brought vp at Rome, and there made knight by  
Augustus Cesar, vnder whome he serued in the  
warres, and was in such fauour with him, that he  
was at libertie to pay his tribute or not. Little o-  
ther mention is made of his doings, except that dur-  
ring his reigne, the Sauour of the world our Lord  
Jesus Christ the onelie sonne of God was borne of  
a virgine, about the 23 yere of the reigne of this  
Kymbeline, & in the 42 yere of the emperour Ma-  
rius Augustus, that is to wit, in the yere of the  
world 3966, in the second yere of the 194 Olympi-  
ad, after the building of the citie of Rome 750  
nigh at an end, after the vniuersall flood 2311, from  
the birth of Abraham 2019, after the departure  
of the Israelites out of Egypt 1513, after the captiuitie  
of Babylon 535, from the building of the temple by  
Salomon 1034, & from the arriual of Xpste 1116,  
complet. Touching the continuance of the yeares  
of Kymbelines reigne, some writers do varie, but  
the best approued affirme, that he reigned 35 yeares  
and then died, & was buried at London, leauing be-  
hind him two sonnes, Guiderius and Aruira-gus.

But here is to be noted, that although our histo-  
ries do affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as al-  
so his father Theomantius liued in quiet with the  
Romans, and continually to them paid the tri-  
butes which the Britains had couenanted with Ju-  
lius Cesar to pay, yet we find in the Romane wri-  
ters, that after Julius Cessars death, when Augu-  
stus had taken vpon him the rule of the empire, the  
Britains refused to paie that tribute: whereat as  
Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Augustus (being other-  
wise occupied) was contented to wink; howbeit,  
through earnest calling vpon to recouer his right by  
such as were desirous to see the vttermoost of the Bri-  
tish kingdome; at length, to wit, in the tenth yere  
after the death of Julius Cesar, which was about  
the thirtieth yere of the said Theomantius, Au-  
gustus made prouision to passe with an armie ouer  
into Britaine, & was come forward vpon his iour-  
nie into Gallia Celtica: or as we maie saie, into  
these hither parts of France.

But here receiuing aduertisements that the Pan-  
nonians, which inhabited the countie now called  
Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call  
Slauons had rebelled, he thought it best first to sub-  
due those rebels nere home, rather than to seeke  
new countries, and leaue such in hazard whereof he  
had present possession, and so turning his power a-  
gainst the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off  
for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the land  
remained without feare of anie inuasion to be made  
by the Romans, till the yere after the building of  
the citie of Rome 725, and about the 19 yere of  
king Theomantius reigne, that Augustus with an  
armie departed once againe from Rome to passe o-  
uer into Britaine, there to make warre. But after  
his comming into Gallia, when the Britains sent  
to him certaine ambassadours to treat with him of  
peace, he staid there to settle the state of things a-  
mong the Galles, for that they were not in berie  
good order. And hauing finished there, he went into  
Spaine, and so his iourne into Britaine was put  
off till the next yere, that is, the 726 after the buil-  
ding of Rome, which fell before the birth of our sa-  
uour 25, about which time Augustus himselfe meant  
the third time to haue made a voiage into Britaine,  
because

Kymbeline.

Fabian call-  
eth him  
Arviragus.Christ our  
Lord borne.

3066

Cor Tacitus,  
in vita lu.  
Agr.

Dion Cassius

he kept not  
promise with  
the Romans.

Whose Cal-  
igula and his  
men,

because they could not agree vpon covenants. But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians had aforetime staied him, when (as before is said) he meant to haue gone against the Britains: so euen now the Sallustians (a people inhabiting about Italie and Switzerland) sturres as they raised, withdrew him from his purposed iourne. But whether this controuersie which appeareth to fall forth betwixt the Britains and Augustus, was occasioned by Iymbeline, or some other prince of the Britains, I haue not to auouch: for that by our writers it is reported, that Iymbeline being brought vp in Rome, & knighted in the court of Augustus, euer shewed himselfe a friend to the Romans, & chiefe was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britaine nation should not be deprived of the benefit to be trained and brought vp among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behaue themselves like ciuill men, and to attaine to the knowledge of secrets of warre.

But whether for this respect, or for that it pleased the almightie God so to dispose the minds of men at that present, not onlie the Britains, but in manner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romane empire. That this was true in the Britains, it is euident enough by Strabos words, which are in effect as followeth. At this present (saith he) certeine princes of Britaine, procuring by ambassadours and dutifull demeanours the amitie of the emperor Augustus, haue offered in the capitol vnto the gods presents or gifts, and haue ordeined the whole Ile in a manner to be appetinent, proper, and familiar to the Romans. They are burdened with soze customs which they paie for wares, either to be sent forth into Gallia, or brought from thence, which are commonlie puozie vessels, sheres, ouches, or earerings, and other conceits made of amber & glasses, and such like manner of merchandize: so that now there is no need of anie armie or garrison of men of warre to keepe the Ile, for there needeth not past one legion of footmen, or some twing of horsemen, to gather vp and receiue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwise it should be needfull to abate the customs, if the tributes were also raised: and if anie violence should be vsed, it were dangerous lest they might be promoued to rebellion. Thus farre Strabo.

Of Guiderius, who denied to paie tribute to the Romans, preparation for war on both sides, of the ridiculous voiage of the Emperour Caligula against the Britains, his vanitie and delight in mischief: Aulus

Plautius a Romane senator accompanied with souldiers arriue on the British coasts without resistance, the Britains take flight and hide themselves.

### The xix. Chapter.

Guiderius

**G**uiderius the first sonne of Iymbeline (of whom Harison saith nothing) began his reigne in the seuententh yere after th incarnation of Christ. This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gaue occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britains and Romans, denieng to paie them tribute, and procuring the people to new insurrections, which by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gylidas saith. Whereupon the emperour Caligula

Caligula

(as some thinke) toke occasion to leaue a power, and as one viterlie mistaking the negligence (as he called it) of Augustus and Tiberius his predecessors, he ment not onlie to reduce the Iland vnto the former subiection, but also to search out the bittermost bounds thereof, to the behoue of himselfe, and of the Romane monarchie.

Great prouision therefore was made by the said Caligula to performe that noble enterprise, and this was in the fourth yere of his reigne. The like preparation was made on the other side by Cudlerius, to resist the foren enemies, so that hauing all things in a readinesse, he ceased not daillie to looke for the coming of the emperour, whome he ment to receiue with hard enterテインment if he durst aduenture to set toward Britaine. But see the sequele: the maine armie being thus in a readinesse, departed from Rome in the 79 yere after the building of the citie, and marching forth, at length came vnto the Belgike thore, from whence they might looke ouer, and behold the cliffes and coast of Britaine, which Caligula and his men stood gazing vpon with great admiration and wonder.

Dion Cassius lib. 59.

Furthermore he caused them to stand in battell arraie vpon the coast, where he heard how the Britains were in a readinesse to withstand his entrance. But entring into his gallie, as nothing discouraged with these newes, he rowed a slight flot or two from the thore, and forthwith returned, and then going vp into an high place like a pulpit, framed and set vp there for the nonce, he gaue the token to fight vnto his souldiers by sound of trumpet, and therewith was ech man charged to gather cockle shells vpon the thore, which he called the spoile of the Ocean, and caused them to be laid vp untill a time conuenient. With the atchiuing of this exploit (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he seemed greatly exalted, thinking that now he had subdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highlie rewarded his souldiers for their paines sustained in that collection of cockle shells, as if they had done him some notable peece of seruice. He also caried of the same shells with him to Rome, to the end he might there boast of his voyage, and brag how well he had sped: and required therefore verie earnestly of haue a triumph decreed vnto him for the accomplishment of this enterprise.

The spoile of the Ocean.

But when he saw the senat grudge at the stre & liberall granting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceived how they refused to attribute diuine honours vnto him, in recompense of so foolish an enterprise, it wanted little that he had not slaine them euerie one. From thence therefore he went vp into a throned or royall seate, and calling therewith the common people about him, he told them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conquest of the Ocean. And when he had perceiued them to shout and crie, as if they had consented that he should haue bene a god for this his great trauell and valiant prowesse, he to increafe their clamour, caused great quantities of gold & siluer to be scattered amongst them, in the gathering whereof, manie were pressed to death, and diuers also slaine with the inuenned caltrops of iron, which he did cast out with the same monie, of purpose to do mischief, the same caltrops being in forme small & sharp, so that by reason of the preele of people, much hurt was done by them per they were perceiued. And this was the end of the ridiculous voiage of Caligula attempted against the Britains.

But after the death of this Caligula, the emperour Claudius (as Suetonius saith) moued warre against the Britains, because of a sturre and rebellion raised in that land, for that such fugitiues as were

Suetonius.

Dion Cassius.

were fled from thence, were not againe restored when request was made for the same.

Dion Cassius writeth, that one Vericus, being expelled out of Britaine, perswaded the emperour Claudius to take the warre in hand at this time against the Britains, so that one Aulus Plautius a senatour, and as then pretor, was appointed to take the armie that sojourned in France then called Gallia, and to passe over with the same into Britaine. The souldiers hearing of this voiage, were loth to go with him, as men not willing to make warre in another world: and therefore delaied time, till at length one Parcillus was sent from Claudius, as it were to appease the souldiers, & procure them to set forward. But when this Parcillus went up into the tribunall throne of Plautius, to declare the cause of his comming, the souldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *o Saturnalia*, as if they should haue celebrated their feast daie so called.

When the seruants apparelled in their maisters robes, represented the romme of their maisters, and

were serued by them, as if they had bene their seruants, and thus at length constrained, through verie shame, they agreed to follow Plautius. Whereupon being embarked, he diuided his nauie into three parts, to the end that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The ships suffered some impeachment in their passage by a contrarie wind that droue them backe againe: but yet the marriners and men of warre taking god courage vnto them, the rather because there was seene a fierie leame to shot out of the east towards the west, which way their course lay, made forwards againe with their ships, and landed without finding anie resistance. For the Britains looked not for their comming: therefore, when they heard how their enemies were on land, they got them into the woods and marshes, trusting that by lingering of time the Romans would be constrained to depart, as it had chanced in time past to Ju-

lius Cesar aforesaid.

*The end of the third booke.*



## THE FOURTH BOOKE of the Historie of England.

The Britains discomfited, fore wounded, slaine, and disabled by Plautius and his power, Claudius the Romane taketh the chiefe citie of Cymbeline the king of Britaine, he bereauech the Britains of their armour, and by vertue of his conquest ouer part of the land is surnamed  
Britannicus.

### *The first Chapter.*



Now Plautius had much ado to find out the Britains in their lurking holes and coverts; howbeit when he had traced them out, first he vanquished Catarractus, and after Togodumnus the sonnes of Cynobellinus: for their father was dead not verie long before. These therefore fleeing their waies, Plautius receiued part of the people called Bodumni (which were subiects vnto them that were

called Catuellans) into the obedience of the Romans: and so leauing there a garrison of souldiers, passed further till he came to a riuer which could not well be passed without a bidge: whereupon the Britains toke small regard to defend the passage, as though they had bene sure enough. But Plautius appointed a certeine number of Germans which he had there with him (being vsed to swim ouer riuers, although neuer so swift) to get ouer, which they did, sleaing and wounding the Britains horses, which were fastened to their wagons or chariots, so that the Britains were not able to do anie peece of their accustomed seruice with the same.

30

Herewithall was Flauius Vespasianus (that afterwards was emperour) with his brother Sabbinus sent ouer that riuer, which being got to the further side, slew a great number of the enemies. The residue of the Britains fled, but the next day proffered a new battell, in the which they fought so stoutlie, that the victorie depended long in doubtfull balance, till Caius Sabinus Ceta being almost at point to be taken, did so handle the matter, that the Britains finallie were put to flight: for the which his valiant doings, triumphant honors were bestowed vpon him, although he was no consull.

40

The Britains after this battell, withdrew to the riuer of Thames, nere to the place where it falleth into the sea, and knowing the shallowes and firme places thereof, easilie passed ouer to the further side, whom the Romans following, through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fell into the marshy grounds, and so came to lose manie of their

Catuellani

their men, namelic of the Germans, which were the first that passed ouer the riuer to follow the Britains, partlie by a bridge which lay within the countrie ouer the said riuer, and partlie by swimming, and other such shift as they presentlie made.

The Britains hauing lost one of their rulers, namelic Togodumnus (of whom ye haue heard be-  
fore) were nothing discouraged, but rather more e-  
gerlie set on reuenge. Plautius perceiuing their  
fiercenesse, went no further, but staid and placed gar-  
risons in steds where need required, to keepe those  
places which he had gotten, and with all sped sent ad-  
uertisement vnto Claudius, according to that he  
had in commandement, if anie vrgent necessitie  
should moue him. Claudius therefore hauing all  
things before hand in a readinesse, straightwaies  
vpon the receiuing of the aduertisement, departed  
from Rome, and came by water vnto Ostia, and  
from thence vnto Spallia, and so through France  
sped his iournies till he came to the side of the Ocean  
sea, and then imbarcking himselfe with his people,  
passed ouer into Britaine, and came to his armie  
which abode his coming nere the Thames side,  
where being ioined, they passed the riuer againe,  
fought with the Britains in a pitchy field, and getting  
the vantage, toke the towne of Camelodunum (which  
some count to be Colchester) being the chiefe citie  
appertaining vnto Cynobelinus. He reduced also  
manie other people into his subiection, some by  
force, and some by surrender, whereof he was called  
offentimes by the name of emperour, which was a-  
gainst the ordinance of the Romans: for it was not  
lawfull for anie to take that name vpon him oftener  
than once in anie one voyage. Moreover, Claudius  
toke from the Britains their armor and weapons,  
and committed the gouernment of them vnto Plau-  
tius, commanding him to endeouour himselfe to  
subdue the residue.

Dion Cassius.

Suetonius.

Thus hauing brought vnder a part of Britaine,  
and hauing made his abode therein not past a fiftene  
daies, he departed and came backe againe to Rome  
with victorie in the first month after his setting forth  
from thence, giuing after his returne, to his sonne,  
the surname of Britannicus. This warre he finished  
in maner as before is said, in the fourth yere of his  
reigne, which fell in the yere of the world 4011, after  
the birth of our Sauour 44, and after the building  
of Rome 79.

The diuerse opinions and variable re-  
ports of writers touching the partlie  
conquest of this Iland by the Ro-  
mans, the death of  
Guiderius.

### The second Chapter.

**T**HERE be that write, how  
Claudius subdued and added  
to the Romane empire, the  
Isles of Brytanie situate in the  
north Ocean beyond Bri-  
taine: which might well be  
accomplished either by Plau-  
tius, or some other his lieute-  
nant: for Plautius indeed for his noble prowesse and  
valiant acts atchiued in Britaine, afterwards tri-  
umphed. Titus the sonne of Vespasian also won no  
small praise for deliuering his father out of danger  
in his time, being beset with a companie of Bri-  
tains, which the said Titus bare downe, and put to  
flight with great slaughter. Beda following the au-  
thoritie of Suetonius, writeth brieflie of this matter,  
and saith, that Claudius passing ouer into this Ile,

to the which neither before Iulius Cesar, neither af-  
ter him anie stranger durst come, within few daies  
receiued the most part of the countrie into his sub-  
iection without battell or bloodshed.

Gildas also writing of this reuolting of the Bri-  
tains, saith thus: When information thereof was gi-  
uen to the senate, and that hast was made with a  
spedie armie to reuenge the same, there was no  
warlike nauie prepared in the sea to fight valiant-  
lie for the defense of the countrie, no square battell,  
no right wing, nor anie other pectioun appointed on  
the shore to be sene, but the backs of the Britains  
in stead of a shield are shewed to the persecutors,  
and their necks readie to be cut off with the sword  
through cold feare running through their bones,  
which stretched forth their handes to be bound like  
womanlike creatures; so that a common prouerbe  
followed thereof, to wit, That the Britains were nei-  
ther valiant in warre, nor faithfull in peace: and so  
the Romans sleaing manie of the rebels, reseruing  
some, and bringing them to bondage, that the land  
should not lie altogether vntilled and desert, retur-  
ned into Italie out of that land which was void of  
wine and oile, leauing some of their men there for  
gouernors to chastise the people, not so much with an  
armie of men, as with scourge and whip, and if the  
matter so required, to apply the naked sword vnto  
their sides: so that it might be accounted Rome and  
not Britaine. And what coine either of brasse, silver  
or gold there was, the same to be stamped with the  
image of the emperour. Thus saith Gildas.

In the British historie we find other report as thus,  
that Claudius at his coming aland at Colchester,  
besieged that towne, to the rescue whereof came  
Guiderius, and giuing battell to the Romans, put  
them to the worke, till at length one Hamo, being  
on the Romans side, charged his shield and armour,  
apparelling himselfe like a Britaine, and so entring  
into the thickest prease of the British host, came at  
length where the king was, and there slue him. But  
Arviragus perceiuing this mischiefe, to the end the  
Britains should not be discouraged therewith, cau-  
sed himselfe to be adorned with the kings cote-ar-  
mor, and other abillments, and so as king continued  
the fight with such manhood, that the Romans were  
put to flight. Claudius retired backe to his ships,  
and Hamo to the next woods, whom Arviragus pur-  
sued, and at length droue him vnto the sea side, and  
there slue him per he could take the haueu which  
was there at hand; so that the same toke name of  
him, and was called a long time after, Hamons ha-  
ueu, and at length by corruption of speech it was  
called Hampton, and so continueth vnto this day,  
commonlie called by the name of Southhampton.  
Thus haue you heard how Guiderius or Guinde-  
rius (whether you will) came to his end, which char-  
ced (as some write) in the 28 yere of his reigne.

Gal. Morr.  
Marth. West.

Hampton,  
why so called.

Arviragus the Britaine & Claudius the  
Romane with their armies doo incoun-  
ter, a composition concerning ma-  
riage concluded betweene  
them, Claudius retur-  
neth to Rome.

### The third Chapter.



Arviragus the youngest son of  
Lymbeline, and brother to Guin-  
derius (because the same Guinde-  
rius left no issue to succeed him)  
was admitted king of Britaine  
in the yere of our Lord 45, or ra-  
ther 46.

Arvira-  
gus.  
Hector Boet.

This



Caxton.

Gal. Mon.

Ranulfus Co.  
Arensis.

Sueton.

This Aruiragus, otherwise called by the Britains  
Mercurius or Pannus, of Tacitus Prasutagus, is al-  
so named Armirer in the English chronicle, by which  
chronicle (as appereth) he bare himselfe right man-  
fullie against Claudius and his Romans in the war  
which they made against him: in so much that when  
Claudius had renewed his force and wone Worche-  
ster, and after came to besiege Winchester (in the  
which Aruiragus as then was inclosed) Aruiragus  
assembling his power, was readie to come forth and  
give Claudius battell: whereupon Claudius doub-  
ting the sequels of the thing, sent messengers unto  
Aruiragus to treat of concord, and so by composition  
the matter was taken up, with condition, that Clau-  
dius should give his daughter Genissa in marriage  
unto Aruiragus, & Aruiragus should acknowledge  
to hold his kingdome of the Romans.

Some write that Claudius in favour of the val-  
iant prowlle which he saw & found in Aruiragus, ho-  
nored not onlie him with the marriage of his daugh-  
ter the said Genissa, but also to the end to make the  
towne more famous where this marriage was so-  
lemnized, he therefore called it Claudiocestria, after  
his name, the which in the British tongue was called  
before that daie Caerleon, and after Clouernia, of a  
duke that ruled in Deinetia that hight Clunie, but  
now it is called Glocester.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being  
vanquished in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled  
by the said Aruiragus to give unto him his said  
daughter to wife, with condition as before is menti-  
oned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned king  
of Britaine. But Suetonius maie seeme to reprove  
this part of the British historie, which in the life of  
Claudius witnesseth, that he had by thre wives on-  
lie thre daughters, that is to saie, Claudia, Antonia,  
and Decia: and further, that reputing Claudia  
not to be his, caused hir to be cast downe at the doore  
of his wife Perculanilla, whome he had forsaken by  
waie of divorcement: & that he bestowed his daugh-  
ter Antonia first on C. Pompeius Magnus, and af-  
ter on Faustus Silla, verie noble young gentlemen;  
and Decia he matched with Nero his wines son.  
Whereby it should appere, that this supposed mar-  
riage betwixt Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudi-  
us is but a feined tale.

¶ And here to speake my fanke also that I thinke  
of this Aruiragus, and other the kings (whome Gal-  
frid and such as haue followed him do register in or-  
der, to succeed one after another) I will not denie but  
such persons there were, and the same happilie bea-  
ring verie great rule in the land, but that they reig-  
ned as absolute kings ouer the whole, or that they  
succeeded one after another in manner as is auou-  
ched by the same writers, it seemeth most unlike to  
be true: for rather it maie be gessed by that, which as  
well Gylgas as the old approued Romane writers  
haue written, that diuerse of these kings liued about  
one time, or in times greatlie differing from those  
times which in our writers we find noted. As for ex-  
ample, Iouenal maketh this Aruiragus of whom we  
now intreat, to reigne about Domitians time. For  
my part therefore, with this order of the British king-  
lie succession in this place is more easie to be flatlie  
denied and bitterlie reprovied, than either wiselie de-  
fended or trulie amended, I will referre the refo-  
rming thereof unto those that haue perhaps scene more  
than I haue, or more deeply considered the thing, to  
trie out an vndoubted truth: in the meane time, I  
haue thought good, both to shew what I find in our hi-  
stories, and likewise in forren writers, to the which  
we thinke (namelie in this behalfe, whilst the Ro-  
mans gouerned there) we maie safelye giue most  
credit, so we otherwise neuer so much content our

selues with other vaine and fond conceits.

To proceed yet with the historie as we find it by  
our writers set forth: it is reported, that after the  
solemnization of this marriage, which was done  
with all honour that might be deuised, Claudius sent  
certeine legions of souldiers forth to go into Ire-  
land to subdue that countrie, and returned himselfe  
to Rome.

Legions of  
souldiers sent  
into Ireland.

10 Aruiragus denieth subiection to the  
Romans, *Vespasian is sent to repress him*  
and his power, the Romane host is kept backe  
*from landing, queene Genissa pacifieth them*  
after a sharpe conflict: & what the Ro-  
mane writers say of Vespasians being in  
Britaine, the end of Ar-  
uiragus.

### The fourth Chapter.

10 **T**HEN did king Arui-  
ragus ride about to view the  
state of his realme, repairing  
cities and townes decayed by  
the warre of the Romans,  
and saw his people gouerned  
with such iustice and good or-  
der, that he was both feared  
and greatlie beloued: so that in tract of time he  
grew verie welthie, and by reason thereof fell into  
pride, so that he denied his subiection to the Ro-  
mans. Whereupon Claudius appointed Vespasian  
with an armie to go as lieutenant into Britaine.  
This iourne was to him the beginning of his ad-  
uancement to that honour, which after to him most  
luckilie befell. But if we shall credit our Britaine  
writers, he gained not much at Aruiragus hands,  
for where he would haue landed at Sandwich or  
Richborough, Aruiragus was readie to resist him,  
so as he durst not once enter the haven: for Arui-  
ragus had there such a puissant number of armed men,  
that the Romans were afraid to approach the land.

Vespasian therefore withdrew from thence, and  
coasting westward, landed at Eborac, and com-  
ming to Excester, besieged that citie: but about the  
seventh day after he had planted his siege, came Ar-  
uiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the  
armies sustained great losse of men, and neither part  
got anie aduantage of the other. On the morrow af-  
ter queene Genissa made them friends, and so the  
warres ceased for that time, by hir good mediation.

¶ But seeing (as before I haue said) the truth of  
this historie maie be greatlie mistrusted, ye shall  
heare what the Romane writers saie of Vespasian  
being here in Britaine, beside that which we  
haue already recited out of Dion in the life of Cui-  
derius.

20 In the daies of the emperor Claudius, through fa-  
uour of Parcellus (one that might do all with Clau-  
dius) the said Vespasian was sent as colonell or lieut-  
enant of a legion of souldiers into Germanie, and  
being remoued from thence into Britaine, he fought  
thirtie severall times with the enemies, and brought  
vnto the Romane obeisance two most mightie na-  
tions, and about twentie townes, together with the  
Ile of Wight; and these exploits he atchieved, partlie  
vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius ruler of Bri-  
taine for the emperor Claudius, and partlie vnder  
the same emperor himselfe. For as it is euident by  
writers of god credit, he came first ouer into Bri-  
taine with the said Aulus Plautius, and serued verie  
valiantlie vnder him, as before in place we haue  
partlie touched. By Tacitus it appereth, that he was  
called to be partener in the gouernment of things in  
Britaine

Vespasian in  
Britaine.  
Cornel. Tacit.  
in vii. Agr. lib.  
5. & lib. 6.  
Gal. Mon.  
Rutupium.

Vespasian.

Suetonius.  
Sabinellus.

Cal. Mar.

Anna. West.

Britaine with Claudius, and had such successe, as it appeared to what estate of honour he was predestinate, hauing conquered nations, and taken kings prisoners. But now to make an end with Arminius: when he perceived that his force was too weake to preuaile against the Romane empire, and that he should strue but in vaine to shake the yoke of subjection from the necks of the Britains, he made a small peace with them in his old age, and so continued in quiet the residue of his reigne, which he lastly ended by death, after he had gouerned the land by the space of thirtie yeeres, or but eight and twentie, as some other imagine. He died in the yeere of Grace 73, as one autho<sup>r</sup> affirmeth, and was buried at Gloucestre.

Ioseph of Arimathia came into Britane and Simon Zelotes, the antiquitie of christian religion, Britaine gouerned by Lieutenants and treasurers of the Romane emperors, the exploits of Ostorius Scapula and the men of Oxfordshire, he vanquisheth the Welshmen, appeaseth the Yorkshiremen, and brideleth the rage of the Silures.

### The fifth Chapter.

**I**n the daies of the said Arminius, about the yeare of Christ 53, Ioseph of Arimathia, who buried the bodie of our sauour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as Iohn Bale following the authoritie of Gildas and other British writers reciteth) after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britaine with diuers other goodlie christian men, & preaching the gospel there amongst the Britains, & instructing them in the faith and lawes of Christ, converted manie to the true beliefe, and baptised them in the wholesome water of regeneration, & there continued all the residue of his life, obtaining of the king a plot of ground where to inhabit, not past a foure miles from Wells, and there with his fellowes began to laie the first foundation of the true and perfect religion, in which place (or nere thereunto) was afterward erected the abbey of Gloucestre.

Polydorus.

Nicephorus writeth in his second booke and fourth chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewise into Britaine. And Theodoretus in his 9. booke *De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, sheweth that Paule being released of his second imprisonment, and suffered to depart from Rome, preached the gospel to the Britains and to other nations in the west. The same thing in manner doth Sophronius the patriarch of Jerusalem witness. Tertullian also maie be a witness of the ancientnes of the faith receiued here in Britaine, where he writing of these times saith: Those places of the Britains, to the which the Romans could not approach, were subiect vnto Christ, as were also the countries of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scythia, and others. Thus it maie appeare, that the christian religion was planted here in this land shortly after Christs time, although it certeinly appeareth not who were the first that preached the gospel to the Britains, nor whether they were Greeks or Latins.

Treasurers or receivers.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romane emperours in this season gouerned this land by lieutenants and treasurers, the which were called by the name of legati and procurators, thereby to keepe the vniuersall inhabitants the better in order.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of consuls, was sent hither as the first legat or lieutenant (in manner as before ye haue heard) & after him Ostorius Scapula, who at his comming found the Ile in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuasion into the countrie of those that were friends to the Romans, the more presumptuouslie, for that they thought a new lieutenant, with an armie to him vniacquainted and come or

Aulus Plautius.

Ostorius Scapula.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

uer now in the beginning of winter, would not be hastie to march forth against them. But Ostorius vnderstanding that by the first successe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bred and augmented, halsted forward to encounter with them, and such as he found abroad in the countrie he slue out right on euerie side, and pursued such as fled, to the end they should not come together againe. Now for that a displeasing and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietnesse either to him or to his armie, he toke from such as he suspected, their armour. And after this, he went about to defend the riuers of Avon & Seuerne, with placing his souldiers in camps fortified nere to the same. But the Dorsetshire men and other of those parties would not suffer him to accomplish his purpose in any quiet sort, being a puissant kind of people, and not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willingly at the first had ioined in amitie with the Romans. The countries adioining also being induced by their procurement, came to them, & so they chose forth a plot of ground, fenced with a nightie ditch, vnto the which there was no waie to enter but one, & the same verie narrow, so as the horsemen could not haue any easie passage to breake in vpon them. Ostorius, although he had no legionarie souldiers, but certein bands of aids, marched forth towards the place within the which the Britains were lodged, and assaulting them in the same, brake through into their campe, where the Britains being impeached with their olone inclosures which they had raised for defense of the place, knowing how that for their rebellion they were like to find small mercie at the Romans hands, when they saw now no waie to escape, laid about them manfullie, and shewed great proofe of their valiant stomachs.

Cornelius Tacitus lib. 12.

In this battell, the sonne of Ostorius the lieutenant deserued the price and commendation of preserving a citizen out of the cruell enimies hands. But now with this slaughter of the Dorsetshire men, diuers of the Britains that stood doubtfull what waie to take, either to rest in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to be conformable vnto a reasonable order of peace, in so much that Ostorius lead his armie against the people called Cangis, who inhabited that part of Wales now called Denbighshire, which countrie he spoiled on euerie side, no enimie once daring to encounter him: & if any of them aduentured priuile to set vpon those which they found behind, or on the outsid of his armie, they were cut short yer they could escape out of danger. Wherevpon he marched straight to their campe and gining them battell, vanquished them: and v sing the victorie as reason moued him, he lead his armie against those that inhabited the inner parts of Wales, spoiling the countrie on euerie side. And thus sharplie pursuing the rebels, he approached nere vnto the sea side, which lieth ouer against Ireland. While this Romane capteine was thus occupied, he was called backe by the rebellion of the Dorsetshire men; whome forthwith vpon his comming vnto them, he appeased, punishing the first autho<sup>r</sup>s of that tumult with death.

which was a certaine crowne, to be set on his head called *corona*.

In the meane time, the people called Silures, being a verie fierce kind of men, and valiant, prepared

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

pared to make warre against the Romans, for they might not be holwed neither with roughnesse, nor yet with anie courteous handling, so that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie souldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to restraine the furious rage of those people and their neighbours, disorderous peopled a towne nere to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old souldiers, there to inhabit with their wiues and children, according to such maner as was vsed in like cases of placing naturall Romans in anie towne or citie, for the more suertie and defense of the same. Here also was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the emperor, where were two images erected, one of the goddess Victoria, and an other of Claudius himselfe.

The coniectures of writers touching the situation of Camelodunum supposed to be Colchester, of the Silures a people spoken of in the former chapter, a foughten field betwene

Caratacus the British prince, and Ostorius the Romaine, in the confines of Shropshire; the Britains go miserable to wracke, Caratacus is delivered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken prisoners, his brethren yeeld themselves to their enemies.

### The sixth Chapter.

**B**Ut now there resteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did stand, of some (and not without good ground of probable coniectures gathered upon the admitted consideration of the circumstances of that which in old authors is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colchester. But verelie by this place of Tacitus it maie rather seeme to be some other towne, situate more westward than Colchester, sith a colonie of Romaine souldiers were planted there to be at hand, for the representing of the vnquiet Silures, which by consent of most writers inhabited in Southwales, or nere the Welch marshes.

There was a castell of great fame in times past that hight Camaletum, or in British Caermalet, which stood in the marshes of Summersetshire: but sith there is none that hath so written before this time, I will not saie that happilie some error hath growne by mistaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by such as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus; and yet so it might be done by such as found it short or vnperfectlie written, namelie by such strangers or others, to whom onelie the name of Camelodunum was onelie knowne, and Camaletum peradventure neuer seene nor heard of. As for example, an Englishman that hath heard of Waterford in Ireland, and not of Waterford, might in taking forth a copie of some writing easilie commit a fault in noting the one for the other. We find in Ptolomie Camedolon to be a citie belonging to the Trinobants, and he maketh mention also of Camelodunum, but Humfrey Lhoyd thinketh that he meaneth all one citie.

Notwithstanding Polydor Virgil is of a contrarie opinion, supposing the one to be Colchester indeed, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Doncaster or Pontfret. Leland esteeming it to be certeinlie Colchester taketh the Kent men also to be the Northfolke men. But howsoever we shall

take this place of Tacitus, it is euident inough that Camelodunum stood not farre from the Thames. And therefore to seeke it with Hector Boetius in Scotland, or with Polydor Virgil so far as Doncaster or Pontfret, it maie be thought a plaine error.

But to leaue each man to his owne iudgement in a matter so doubtfull, we will proceed with the historie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, against whom (trusting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but also vpon the high prowesse & valiancie of Caratacus) Ostorius set forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other the princes of Britaine, advanced thereto by manie doubtfull aduentures and manie prosperous exploits, which in his time he had atchieued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better provided than the Romans: so in power of souldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he removed the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Druidices inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, which people together with other that mistaked of the Romaine gouernment, he ioined in one, and chose a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermost hazard of battell.

The place which he thus chose was such, as the entrees, the backwaies, and the whole situation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as inclosed among high hills. And if there were anie easie passage to enter it vpon anie side, the same was shut vp with mighty huge stones in manner of a rampire, and afoze it there ran a riuer without anie certeine word to passe ouer it. This place is supposed to lie in the confines of Shropshire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entrees into it, not directlie one against an other, but aslope. It is also (they saie) compassed about with two riuers, to wit, on the left hand with the riuer called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teuid. On these sides thereof the clime is verie stepe and headlong, and no waie easie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratacus hauing thus fortified himselfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to shew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the same wherein should appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recovered, or else of perpetuall bondage for euer to be sustained. He reherfed also speciallie by name those their elders, which had resisted Julius Cesar, by whose high valiancie they liued free from the bloudie thraldome and tributes of the Romans, and enioied their wiues and children safe and vndefiled. Thus discoursing of manie things with them, in such hope of assured victorie, that they began to raise their cries, ech one for himselfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owed to the gods of his countrie, not to shrink for feare of anie wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enemies weapon.

This cherefullnesse of the Britains greatlie astonished the Romaine lieutenant. The hideous counte also of the riuer before his face, the fortifications and craggie highth of the hills, all full of enemies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he saw afoze him, but that which seemed dreadfull to those that should assaile. But the souldiers yet seemed to be verie desirous of battell, requesting him to bring them to it, protesting that nothing was able to resist the force of noble prowes. Wherewith the capteins and tribunes discouraging the like, pricked forward the earnest willes which their souldiers

Camelodunum, Colchester.

Silures where they inhabited.

Cornelius Tacitus lib. Annals

Hu. Lhoyd

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.  
Aurel. lib. 12.

souldiers had to fight.

Ostorius perceiving such courage and ready wills in the men of warre, as well souldiers as capteins, began to bestirre himselfe, and left nothing undone that might serve to set forward their earnest desire to battell. And having advisedly considered which waies were hard and impossible to be entered upon, and which were most easie for his people to find passage by, he led them forth, being most earnestly bent to cope with the enimie.

Now having passed the water without any great difficultie, but coming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts: but after that the Romans covering themselves with their targets, came once close together, and approached under the rampire, they removed away the stones which the Britains had roughly couched together, and so came to issue with them at handblowes. The Britains being unarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enemies that were light armed, as the other with heaue armour, followed and broke in among them, so as the Britains could not turne them anie way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heaue armed with weapons at hand, sought to make slaughter and wreake of them on eche side, so that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yielded themselves. He himselfe escaped, and committing his person unto the assurance & trust of Cartemendus queene of the Brigants, was by him delivered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yerres after the warres in Britaine first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, the maner how he and his allies were led captives by the Romans in triumph, his courage and manlie speech to the emperor Claudius, whereby he and his obtaine mercie and pardon: the Britains undertake a new revenge against the Romans; the cause why the Silures hated the Romans, Ostorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

### The seventh Chapter.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.  
Caratacus name renewed.

**T**he name of Caratacus being brought out of the Isles was already spread over the provinces adjoining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were desirous to see what maner of man he was that had so manie yerres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperor himselfe he went about to preferre his owne honour, advanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called forth as unto some great notable fight or spectacle. The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that late before their lodgings, through which field Caratake shuld come. Then passed by the traine of his friends and servants; and such armor, riches, jewels, and other things as had bene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and opened the shew, that all men might behold the same.

After these followed his brethren, wife, and daugh-

ters: and last of all came Caratacus himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they feared punishment for their rebellion with wretched countenance craved mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewed anie token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperor Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he uttered this speech as followeth.

If there had bene in me so much moderation in time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a friend than as a capteine: neither shoud I have thought scorn, being borne of most noble parents, and ruling over many people, to have accepted peace by waie of joining with you in league. My present estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is honorable. I had at commandement, horses, men, armor, and great riches; what marvel is it if I were loth to forgo the same? For if you shall looke to govern all men, it must needs follow that all men must be your slaves. If I had at the first yielded myselfe, neither my power nor your glorie had bene set forth to the world, & upon mine execution I shoud straight have bene forgotten. But if you now grant me life, I shall be a witness for ever of your mercie and clemencie.

The emperor with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and brethren, who being loosed from their bands, went also to the place where the emperesse Agrippina sat (not farre off) in a chaire of estate, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had done before to the emperor. After this the senat was called together, who discoursed of manie things touching this honourable victorie achieved by the taking of Caratake, esteeming the same no lesse glorious, than when P. Scipio shewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Pericles, or other Romane capteins anie such king whom they had banquished.

Siphax.  
L. Paulus.

Whereupon it was determined, that Ostorius shoud enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for such prosperous successe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his proceedings were not so luckie, either for that after Caratake was removed out of the waie, or because the Romans (as though the warre had bene finished) looked negligentlie to themselves, either else for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake, being so worthy a prince, through fortunes forward aspect cast into miserie, were more earnestly set to revenge his quarrell. Whereupon they encompassed the maister of the campe, and those legionarie bands of souldiers which were left amongst the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if succour had not come out of the next towne and castles, the Romans had bene destroyed by siege. The head capteine yet, and eight centurions, and everie one else of the companies being most forward, were slaine. Shortly after they set upon the Romane foragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horsemen as were appointed to guard them. Whereupon Ostorius set forth certeine bands of light horsemen, but neither could he staie the flight by that meanes, till finally the legions entered the battell, by whose force they were slaine, and at length the Romans obtained the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great losse, by reason the date was spent.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, & oftentimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that live to rob by the high waies, than of those that make open warre, taking their enemies at some advantage

Dij. in

in woods and bogs, as hap o: force ministred occasion vpon malice conceiued, o: in hope of prey, some times by commandement, and sometimes without either comuandement o: knowledge of capteine o: officer.

At one time the Britains surprised two bands of footmen that were with the Romans in aid, and sent forth to forreie abroad vnadvisedlie, through couerfoulesse of the capteins. This feat was atchiued by the Silures also, the which in bestowing prisoners and part of the spoile vpon other of their neighbours, procured them likewise to rebel against the Romans, and to take part with them. The Silures were the more earnestlie set against the Romans, by occasion of words which the emperor Claudius had uttered in their disfaour, as thus: that euen as the Silcambres were destroyed and remoued into Gallia, so likewise must the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them ertingished. These words being blowne abroad, and knowne ouer all, caused the Silures to conceiue a wonderfull hatred against the Romans, so that they were fullie bent, either to reteine their libertie, o: to die in defense thereof vpon the enemies sword.

In the meane time Ostorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warrior, and one who by little & little insuing the steps of Aulus Plautius his predecessor, did what he could to bring the Ile into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accomplished.

There be some led by coniecture grounded vpon god aduised considerations, that suppose this Ostorius Scapula began to build the citie of Chester after the overthrow of Caratacus: for in those parties he fortified sundrie holds, and placed a number of old souldiers either there in that selfe place, o: in some other nere thereunto by waie of a colonie. And for so much (saie they) as we read of none other of anie name thereabouts, it is to be thought that he planned the same in Chester, where his successors did afterwards vse to harbour their legions for the winter season, and in time of rest from iournies which they haue to make against their common enemies.

In deed it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this daie, that the Romans built those baulks o: fauerns (which in that citie are vnder the ground) with some part of the castell. And verelie as Ranulfe Higden saith, a man that shall view and well consider those buildings, maie thinke the same to be the worke of Romans rather than of anie other people. That the Romane legions did make their abode there, no man seene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the ancient name Caer leon ardour deu, that is, The citie of legions vpon the water of Dee, proueth it sufficientlie enough.

But to returne vnto Ostorius Scapula, we find in Corn. Tacitus, that during his time of being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certeine cities giuen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Britains, who continued faithfull to the Romans vnto the daies of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the said Cornelius Tacitus, who liued and wrote in the emperor Domitianus time. This was done after an old received custom of the people of Rome, to haue both fabricks and kings vnder their rule and dominion, as who so shall note the acts and deeds of the Roman emperours from C Julius Cesar (who chased Pompeie out of Italie, and was the first that obtained the Romane empire to himselfe; of whom also the princes and emperours succeeding him were called Cesars) to Octavian, Tiberius, Caligula, &c. maie easilie marke and obserue. For they were a people of singular magnanimitie, of an ambitious spirit, greedy of honour and renowne, and not vnaptlie termed *Romani verum domini*, &c.

A. Didius is sent to supplie Ostorius his roome in Britaine, the trecherie and lecherie of queene Cartimanda, Venutius keepeth the kingdome in spite of the Romans, by what

meanes their confines in this Ile were enlarged; the error of Helior Boetius and others touching the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants notified, the Britains giue the Romans a shamefull overthrow.

### The eight Chapter.

After the deceasse of Ostorius Scapula, one A. Didius was sent to supplie his roome, but per he could come, things were brought out of order, and the Britains had banquished the legion thereof. Ostorius Scapula had the conduct: this victorie was set forth by the Britains to the uttermost, that with the built thereof they might strike a feare into the lieutenants hart, now vpon his first comming ouer. And he himselfe reported it by letters to the emperor after the largest manner, to the end that if he appealed the matter, he might win the more praise; o: if he were put to the worst, and should not please, that then his excuse might seme the more reasonable and worthy of pardon. The Silures were they that had atchiued this victorie, and kept a sotle stir ouer all the countries about them, till by the comming of Didius against them, they were driuen backe and repelled.

But herewith began trouble to be raised in another part: for after that Caratac was taken, the chieftest and most skillfull capteine which the Britains had, was one Venutius, a ruler of the people named Brigants, a man that remained a long time faithfull to the Romans, and by their power was defended from his enemies, who had married with Cartimanda queene of the Brigants o: Northshire men. This Cartimanda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratac into the Romans hands, thereby ministering matter for the emperor Claudius to triumph, by which pleasure shewed to the Romans, the increased thorough their friendship in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous lust to satiffie hir wanton appetite, so as she falling at square with hir husband, married Bellocatus, one of his esquires, to whom she gaue hir kingdome, and so dishonoured hir selfe. Here vpon ensued cruell warre, in so much that in the end Venutius became enemie also to the Romans. But first they tugged togither betwixt themselves, & the queene by a craftie policie found meanes to catch the brother and cosens of Venutius, but hir enemies nothing therewith discouraged, but kindled the more in wrath against hir, ceased not to go forward with their purpose.

Spaie of the Brigants disdaining to be subiect vnto a womans rule that had so reiected hir husband, revolted vnto Venutius; but yet the queenes sensuall lust mixed with crueltie, maintained the adulter. Venutius therefore calling to him such aid as he could get, and strengthened now by the revolting of the Brigants, brought Cartimanda to such a narrow point, that she was in great danger to fall into the hands of hir enemies: which the Romans foreseeing, vpon suit made, sent certeine bands of horsemen and footmen to helpe hir. They had diuerse encounters with the enemies at the first, with doubtful successe: but at length they preuailed, and so deliuered the queene out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: against whom the Romans were

W.H. in his  
chronologic.

Ran. Hig. alias  
Cestrensis.

Corn. Tacit.

Cogidune a  
king in Brit-  
taine.

Britains  
lieutenant.

Venutius  
ruler of the  
Brigants.

Cartimanda

Bellocatus

Venutius  
keepeth the  
kingdome in  
despite of the  
Romans.



were constrained still to mainteine warre.

About the same time, the legion also which Cestius Pasical, got the upper hand of those Britains against whom he was sent. For Didius being aged, and by victories past enough renowned, thought it sufficient for him to make warre by his captains, so to staie and keepe off the enimie. Certaine castles and holds in deed he caused to be built and fortified, further within the countrie than had bene afore attempted by anie of his predecessors, and so thereby were the confines of the Romans in this Ile some what enlarged. Thus haue ye heard with what success the Britains mainteined warre in defense of their libertie against the Romans, whilst Claudius ruled the empire (according to the report of the Roman writers.)

The error of Didius Suetonius.

¶ But here you must note, that Hector Boetius, following the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, of Cornelius Hibernicus, & also of Campbell, remoueth the Silures, Brigants, and Prouants, so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of those countries which the Scots haue now in possession, and were even then inhabited (as he affirmeth) partly by the Scots, and partly by the Picts (as in the Scottish historie ye may see more at large) so that what notable feat focuser was atchieued by the old Britains against the Romans, the same by him is ascribed to the Scots and Picts throughout his whole historie, whereas (in verie truth) forsomuch as may be gathered by coniecture and presumption of that which is left in writing by ancient authors, the Brigants inhabited Yorkshire, the Silures Wales and the Patches, and the Prouants the countrie of Cumberland.

Shall be considered in the reading of this Boetius

But forsomuch as he hath diligentlie gathered in what maner the warres were mainteined by those people against the Romans, and what valiant exploits were taken in hand and finished thorough their stoutnesse and balancie, ye may there read the same, and iudge at your pleasure what people they were whome he so much praiseth: aduertising you hercof by the way, that as we haue before expressed, none of the Romane writers mentioneth any thing of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Romane empire began to decay, about the time of the emperor Constantius, father of Constantine the great: so that if they had bene in this Ile then so famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the same Boetius; maruell might it seeme, that the Romane writers would so passe them ouer with silence.

Con. Tac. lib. annal. 15.

After the death of Claudius the emperor of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero succeeded him in gouernement of the empire. In the seuenth yere of whose reigne, which was after the incarnation 53, the Romans receiued a great ouerthrow in Britaine, where neither the lieutenant A. Didius Gallus (whom in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth A. ultus) could during the time of his rule do no more but hold that which was already gotten, beside the building of certeine castles (as before ye haue heard) neither his successor Terentius, beating and forreing the woods, could atchieue anie further enterpryse, for he was by death prevented, so as he could not proceed forward with his purpose touching the warres which he had ment to haue folowed, whose last wordes (in his testament expressed) detected him of manifest ambition: for adding manie things by way of flatterie to content Neros mind, he wished to haue liued but two yeres longer, in which space he might haue subdued prouinces vnto his dominion, meaning thereby the whole Ile of Britaine. But this was a Romane brag, saunouring rather of ambition than of truth or likelihood.

The gouernment of P. Suetonius in this Iland, he inuadeth Anglesey, and winneth it, a strange kind of women, of the Druides, the Britains lament their miserie and seruitude, and take aduise by weapon to redresse it against the Romans their enemies.

### The ninth Chapter.



It now when this great losse chanced to the Romans Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenant, a man most plentifullie furnished with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therefore with a right skillfull warriour.

P. Suetonius lieutenant.

This Suetonius therefore wishing to tame such of the Britains as kept out, prepared to assaile the Ile of Anglesey, a countrie full of inhabitants, and a place of refuge for all outlawes and rebels. He builded certeine brigantines with flat keeles to serue for the ebbes and shallow shelles here and there, lieng vncerteinlie in the straits which he had to passe. The footmen ferried ouer in those vessels, the horsemen following by the fords, and swimming when they came into the deepe, got likewise to the shore, where stood in order of battell an huge number of armed men close together, redie to beat backe the Romans, and to staie them from comming to land. Amongst the men, a number of women were also running by and dolone as they had bene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging dolone about their shoulders, and bearing firebrands in their hands. There was also a companie of their priests or philosophers called Druides, who with stretched forth hands towards heauen, thundered out curssings against the Romans in most bitter wise.

Anglesey inuaded.

A strange manner of women.

The Druides.

The souldiers were so amazed with the strangenesse of this sight, that (as men benumbed of their limbs and senses) they suffered themselves to be wounded and slaine like senselesse creatures, till by the calling vpon of their generall, and ech one incouraging other in no wise to feare a sort of mad & distracted women, they pressed forward vnder their ensignes, bearing dolone such as stood in their way, and with their owne fire smothered and burnt them to ashes.

To conclude, the Romane lieutenant got possession of the whole Ile, wherein he placed garisons of men of warre to keepe the people there in subiection. He also caused their woods to be cut dolone, that were consecrated to their gods, within the which they were accustomed to sacrifice such as they took prisoners, and by the view of their intrailles, in discerning them, to learne of their gods some oracles and such other things as should come to passe.

Anglesey won by the Romans.

Woods cut dolone.

But now in the meane time, whilst Paulinus was abroad about this enterpryse, the Britains began to conferte together of their great and importable miseries, of their grievous state of seruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, which they daily suffered: how that by sufferance they profited nothing, but still were oppressed with more heauie burthens. Ech countrie in times past had onelie one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenant by his captains and souldiers (spilling their blood), and the procurator or receiuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and substance. The concord or discord betwixt those that were appointed to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtfull vnto the subiects, the lieutenant oppressing them by his captains and men of warre, and the procurator or receiuer by force and

A lieutenant & procurator.

Di. g.

and reprochfull demeanours, polling them by insufferable exactions.

There was nothing free from the conscious extortion and filthy concupiscence of these insatiable persons, for in these daies (say they) the greatest spoiler is the valiantest man, and most commonlie our houses are robbed and ransacked by a sort of cowardlie raskals that haue no knowledge of anie warlike feats at all. Our childzen are taken from vs, we are forced to go to the musters, and are set forth to serue in foreign parties, as those that are ignorant which way to spend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrie. What a number of souldiers haue bene transported ouer from hence to serue in other lands, if a iust account were taken thereof? The Germans by manhood haue cast (said they) from their shoulders the heauie yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the maine Ocean sea, but onelie with a riuer. Where the Britains haue their countrie, their wiues and parents, as iust causes of war to fight for: the Romans haue none at all, but a covetous desire to gaine by rapine, and to satisfie their excessive lusts.

They might easilie be compelled to depart the countrie, as Julius Cesar was, if the Britains would shew some proofe of the noble prowesse that was euidentlie found in their warlike ancestors, and not thinke or quail in courage for the misadventure that should happilie chance by fighting one battell or two. Greatest force and constancie alwaies remaineth with those that seek to deliuer themselves from miserie. Now appeared it that the gods had taken some pittie of the poore Britains, who by their diuine power did withhold the chiefe captaine of the Romans with his armie, as it were banished in an other Island. Let vs then (said they) take the opportunity of time and good occasion offered, and forthwith proceed in our businesse: for lesse danger it is manfullie to aduventure, and to go forward with our purpose, than to be betwized and taken in these our consultations. Thus hauing taken aduise together, and wholie mistaking their present state, they determined to take weapon in hand, and so by force to seeke for reformation.

Occasion not  
to be neglected.

A catalog of causes or grieuances inciting the Britains to rebell against the Romans, wherein is shewed what iniuries they sustained: of diuers strange wonders and apparitions; the chiefe cause of the Britains insurging against the Romans, they admitted as well women as men to publike gouernement. A description of queene Voadicia, hir personage and maner of attire.

### The tenth Chapter.

Cor. Tac. lib. 14

Prasutagus.

The Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire men.

Voadicia alias Boudicca.

The Britains indeed were occasioned to do as they purposed, thorough manie euill parts practised by the Romans greatlie to their griefs and displeasures. For whereas Prasutagus (who is supposed by Hector Boetius to be Arminagus, king of the people called Iceni) had made the emperour and two of his owne daughters his heires, supposing by that meane to haue his kingdom and familie preserved from all iniurie: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdom was spoiled by the Romane captaine, his wife named Voadicia beaten by the souldiers, his daughters rauished, the peeres of the realme be-

rest of their gods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bondslaves.

There was also an other great cause that stirred the Britains to this rebellion, which was the confiscating of their gods: for whereas Claudius himselfe had pardoned the chiefe persons of the forfeitures, Decianus Catus the procurator of that Ile maintained that the same ought to be renewed againe. To this an other grieue was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of the Ile, foure hundred sterces, each hundred being 500000 pounds sterling, or thereabout, upon great interest, he required the whole summe together by great rigor and violence, although he forced them at the first to take this monie to vsurie.

Also such old souldiers as were placed by waie of a colortie, to inhabit the towne of Camelodunum, expelled manie of the Britains out of their houses, drove them out of their possessions and lands, and accounted the Britains as slaves, and as though they had bene captiue prisoners or bondmen. Besides this, the temple there that was built in hono<sup>r</sup> of Claudius, as an altar of eternall rule and gouernment, was serued with priests, the which under colour of religion did spoile, consume and deuoure the gods of all men.

Moreover, such strange sights and wonders as chanced about the same time, pricked the Britains the rather forward. For the image of the goddesse Victoria in the temple at Camelodunum, slipping downe, turned hir backe (as who should saie she gaue place as vanquished) to the enemies. Also in the hall where the courts of iustice were kept, there was a maruellous great noise heard, with much laughing, and a surre in the theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at such time as it was certeinlie knowne that there was no creature there to make anie noise. The sea at a spring tide appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the tide was gone backe, there were scene on the sands the shap<sup>s</sup> & figures of mens bodies. Women also as rauished of their wits, and being as it were in a furie, prophesied that destruction was at hand, so that the Britains were put greatlie in hope, and the Romans in feare.

But those things, whether they chanced by the craft of man, or illusion of the diuell; or whether they proceeded of some naturall cause, which the common people oftentimes taketh superstitiouslie, in place of strange wonders signifieng things to follow, we would let passe, least we might be thought to offend religion; the which teaching all things to be done by the prouidence of God, despiteth the vaine predictions of haps to come, if the order of an historie (saith Polydor Virgil) would so permit, the which requireth all things to be written in maner as they fall out and come to passe.

But the Britains were chiefeleie moued to rebellion by the iust complaint of Voadicia, declaring how vnseemlie she had bene used and intreated at the hands of the Romans: and because the was most earnestlie bent to seeke reuenge of their iniuries, and hated the name of the Romans most of all other, they chose hir to be captaine (for they in rule and gouernement made no difference then of sex, whether they committed the same to man or woman) and so by a generall conspiracie, the more part of the people hauing also allured the Essex men into rebellion, rose and assembled themselves together to make warre against the Romans. There were of them a hundred and twentie thousand got together in one armie vnder the leading of the said Voadicia, or Boudicca (as some name hir.)

She therefore to encourage hir people against the enemies,

Dion Cas.

Strabo

Dion Cass.

Strange  
wonders.

Dion Cass.

Polydor.

Cor. Tac. lib. 14  
Voadicia by  
Dion Cassius  
is called  
Boudicca.

The ancient  
Britains  
committed as  
women as  
men to pub-  
like govern-  
ment.

enemies, mounted vp into an high place raised vp of turkes & fods made for the nonce, out of the which she made a long & verie pithe oration. Her mightie tall personage, comelie shape, seuerer countenance, and sharpe voice, with hir long and yelow tresses of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell also caused the people to haue hir in great reuerence. She wore a chaine of gold, great and verie masse, and was clad in a lose kirtle of sundrie colours, and aloft thereupon she had a thicke Irish mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir custome was) she bare a speare, to shew hirselfe the more dreadfull.

The oration of queene Voadicia full of prudence and spirit to the Britains, for their encouragement against the Romans, wherein she rippeth up the vile seruitude and shamefull wrongs which their enemies inflicted vpon them, with other matters verie mooue, both concerning themselves and their enemies, hir supplication and praier for victorie.

### The eleuenth Chapter.

**N**OW Voadicia being prepared (as you heare) set forth with such maiestie, that she greatly encouraged the Britains; vnto whome for their better animating and emboldening, she vttered this gallant oration in manner and forme following.

The oration of Voadicia.

I doe suppose (my louers and friends) that there is no man here but doth well vnderstand how much libertie and freedom is to be preferred before thralldome and bondage. But if there haue bene anie of you so deceiued with the Romane persuations, that ye did not for a time see a difference betwene them, and iudged whether of both is most to be desired: now I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye will with me reforme your indgement, and by the harmes already taken, acknowledge your oversight, and forsake your former error. Again, in that a number of you haue rashly preferred an eternall seruerigntie before the customes and lawes of your owne countrie, you doe at this time (I doubt not) perfectly vnderstand how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, whereunto seruitude is annexed; and much wealth in respect of captiuitie vnder forren magistrats, whereupon slaverie attendeth. For what thing (I beseech you) can there be so vile & grievous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, sithens the time that the Romans haue bene acquainted with this Ilande?

Are we not all in manner bereaued of our riches & possessions? Doe not we (beside other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onelie profit) paie them all kinds of tributs, yea for our owne carcases? How much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and false title of libertie, continuallie to paie for our redemption a freedom? How much is it more commendable to lose our liues in defense of our countrie, than to carie about not so much as our heads toll free, but daily oppressed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what end doe I remember and speake of these things, since they will not suffer by death to become free? For what and how much we paie for them that are dead, there is not one here but doth well vnderstand. Among other nations

such as are brought into seruitude, are alwaies by death discharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead doe still liue, and all to increase their commoditie and gaine.

If anie of vs be without monie (as I knowe not) well how and which way we should come by anie) then are we left naked, & spoiled of that which remaineth in our houses, & we our selues as men left desolate & dead. How shall we looke for better dealing at their hands hereafter, that in the beginning deale so vncourteouslie with vs: since there is no man that taketh so much as a wild beaste, but at the first he will cherish it, and with some gentlenesse win it to familiarity? But we our selues (to saie the trueth) are authors of our owne mischiefe, which suffered them at the first to set foot within our Iland, and did not by and by drive them backe as we did Cesar, or sue them with our swords when they were yet farre off, and that the aduenturing hither was dangerous: as we did sometime to Augustus and Caligula.

We therefore that inhabit this Iland, which for the quantitie thereof maie well be called a maine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean sea, diuiding vs from other nations, so that we seeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a seuerall heauen: we, euen we (I saie) whose name hath bene long kept hid from the wisest of them all, are now condemned and troden vnder foot, of them who studie no things else but how to become lords & haue rule of other men. Wherefore my welbeloued citizens, friends, and kinfolk (for I thinke we are all of kin, since we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all) let vs now, euen now (I saie, because we haue not done it heretofore, and whilste the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) stick together, and performe that thing which doth pertaine to valiant and hardie courages, to the end we maie iniole, not onelie the name of libertie, but also freedom it selfe, and thereby leaue our force and valiant acts for an example to our posteritie: for if we which haue bene liberallie and in honest maner brought vp, should vtterlie forget our pissinate felicitie: what may we hope for in those that shall succeed vs, and are like to be brought vp in miserie and thralldome?

I doe not make rehearfall of these things vnto you, to the end I would prouoke you to mislike of this present estate of things (for well I knowe you abhorre it sufficientlie already) neither to put you in feare of those things that are likelie to fall hereafter (because you doe feare and see them verie well before hand) but to the end I maie giue you heartie thanks and worthy commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes you determine so well to provide for things necessarie (thereby to helpe both me and your selues with willing minds) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romane puissance.

If you consider the number of your enemies, it is not greater than yours: if you regard their strength, they are no stronger than you: and all this doth easilie appeere by the bassinets, habergeons, & greiues wherewith you be armed; and also by the walls, ditches and trenches that you haue made for your owne defense, to keepe off their excursions, who had rather fight with vs a farre off, than cope & deale with vs at hand strokes, as our custome of the warres and martiall discipline doth require. Wherefore we doe so farre exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more strong than stone walls, and one of our targets worth all the armour that they doe beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we shall some make them captiues: or if we lose the field, we shall easilie escape the danger.

Further

“ Furthermore, if after the sight we shall endeavour  
 “ to meet anie where, we haue the marshes here be-  
 “ neath to hide vs in, and the hills round about to keepe  
 “ them off, so that by no means they shall haue their  
 “ purpose of vs, whereas they being ouercharged with  
 “ heauie armour, shall neither be able to follow, if we  
 “ flee; nor escape out of our danger, if they be put to  
 “ flight: if they happen to breake out at anie time as  
 “ desirous to make a roade, they returne by and by to  
 “ their appointed places, where we maie take them as  
 “ birds alreadie in cage. In all which things, as they  
 “ are farre inferior to vs, so most of all in this, that they  
 “ can not endure hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and sunne-  
 “ shine, as we can doe.

“ In their houses also and tents, they make much ac-  
 “ count of their baked meates, wine, oile, and abroad  
 “ of the shadow, that if anie of these doe faile them,  
 “ they either die shortly, or else in time they languish  
 “ and consume: whereas to vs euery herbe and  
 “ root is meat, euery twice an oile, all water plea-  
 “ sant wine, and euery tree an house. Beside this, there  
 “ is no place of the land vnknowne to vs, neither yet  
 “ vnfriendlie to succour vs at need; whereas to the  
 “ Romans they are for the most part vnknowne and  
 “ altogether dangerous, if they should stand in need:  
 “ we can with ease swim ouer euery riuer both naked  
 “ and clad, which they with their great ships are scarce  
 “ able to performe. Therefore with hope and god  
 “ lucke let vs set vpon them couragiously, and teach  
 “ them to vnderstand, that since they are no better  
 “ than hares and foxes, they attempt a wrong match,  
 “ when they endeavour to subdue the grehounds and  
 “ the wolues. With which words the queene let an  
 “ hare go out of hir lap, as it were thereby to giue pro-  
 “ gnostication of hir successe, which comming well to  
 “ passe, all the companie shouted, and cried out vpon  
 “ such as not long before had done such violence to so  
 “ noble a personage. Presentlie vpon this action, Voadicia  
 “ calling them togither againe, proceeded for-  
 “ ward with hir praier, which she made before them  
 “ all, holding vp hir hands after this manner:

“ I giue thee thanks O Adasse, and call vpon thee  
 “ thou woman of women, which reignest not ouer the  
 “ burthen-bearing Egyptians, as Sittocris; neither  
 “ ouer their merchants, as doth Semiramis, for these  
 “ trifles we haue learned lately of the Romans: nei-  
 “ ther ouer the people of Rome, as a little heretofore  
 “ Messalina, then Agrippina, and now Nero, who is  
 “ called by the name of a man, but is in deed a verie  
 “ woman, as doth appere by his voice, his harpe, and  
 “ his womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a god-  
 “ desse which gouernest the Britains, that haue lear-  
 “ ned not to till the field, nor to be handicrafts men,  
 “ but to lead their liues in the warres after the best  
 “ manner: who also as they haue all other things, so  
 “ haue they likewise their wiues and children com-  
 “ mon, whereby the women haue the like audacitie  
 “ with the men, and no lesse boldnesse in the warres  
 “ than they.

“ Therefore sithens I haue obtained a kingdome a-  
 “ mong such a mightie people, I beseech thee to grant  
 “ them victorie, health, and libertie, against these con-  
 “ tentious, wicked, and insatiable men (if they maie  
 “ be called men, which vse warme bathings, delicate  
 “ fare, hot wines, sweet oiles, soft beds, fine musicke,  
 “ and so vnkindlie luffs) who are altogether giuen to  
 “ couctousnesse and crueltie, as their doings doe be-  
 “ clare. Let not I beseech thee, the Peronians or Domi-  
 “ tian tyrannie anie more preuaile vpon me, or (to  
 “ saie truth) vpon thee, but let them rather serue thee,  
 “ whose heauie oppression thou hast borne withall a  
 “ long season, and that thou wilt still be our helper on-  
 “ lie, our defender, our fauourer, and our furtherer, O  
 “ noble ladie, I hartlie beseech thee.

Queene Voadicia marcheth against the  
 Romans, to whom she giueth a shamefull  
 and bloudie ouerthrow without anie

*motion of mercie, dreadfull examples  
 of the Britains crueltie indiffe-  
 rentlie executed without excep-  
 tion of age or sex.*

### The twelfth Chapter.

**W**hen Voadicia had made  
 an end of hir praier, she set  
 forward against hir enemies,  
 who at that time were desti-  
 tute in deed of their lieutenant  
 Paulinus Suetonius, being  
 as then in Anglesey (as before  
 we haue heard). Wherefore the  
 Romans that were in Camelodunum sent for aid  
 vnto Catus Decianus the procurator, that is, the  
 emperours agent, treasurer, or receiuer, for in that  
 citie (although it were inhabited by Romans) there  
 was no great garrison of able men. Wherevpon the  
 procurator sent them such aid as he thought he might  
 well spare, which was not past two hundred men, and  
 those not sufficientlie furnished either with weapon  
 or armour.

The citie was not compassed with anie rampire  
 or ditch for defense, such as hapilie were priuie to  
 the conspiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Ro-  
 mans that no fortification needed: neither were the  
 aged men nor women sent abroad, whereby the yong  
 able personages might without trouble of them the  
 better attend to the defense of the citie: but even as  
 they had bene in all surtie of peace, and free from  
 suspicion of anie warre, they were suddenlie beset  
 with the huge armie of the Britains, and so all went  
 to spoile and fire that could be found without the in-  
 closure of the temple, into the which the Romane  
 soldiers (stricken with sudden feare by this sudden  
 comming of the enemies) had thronged themselves.  
 Where being assailed by the Britains, within the  
 space of two daies the place was wonne, and they  
 that were found within it, slaine euery mothers  
 sonne.

After this, the Britains encouraged with this vic-  
 torie, went to meet with Petus Cerealis lieutenant  
 of the legion, surnamed the ninth, and boldlie incoun-  
 tering with the same legion, gaue the Romans the  
 ouerthrow, and slue all the footmen, so that Cerealis  
 with much adoe escaped with his horsemen, and got  
 him backe to the campe, and saued himselfe within  
 the trenches. Catus the procurator being put in  
 feare with this ouerthrow, and perceiuing what ha-  
 tred the Britains bare towards him, hauing with  
 his couetousnesse thus brought the warre vpon the  
 head of the Romans, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertised of these doings, came  
 backe out of Anglesey, and with maruellous con-  
 stancie marched through the middell of his enemies  
 to London, being as then not greatly peopled with  
 Romans, though there was a colonie of them, but  
 full of merchants, and well prouided of vittels: he  
 was in great doubt at his comming thither, whether  
 he might best staie there as in a place most conueni-  
 ent, or rather seeke some other more easie to be defend-  
 ed. At length considering the small number of his  
 men of warre, and remembering how Cerealis had  
 sped by his too much rashnesse, he thought better with  
 the losing of one towne to saue the whole, than to  
 put all in danger of irreuerable losse. And there-  
 with nothing moved at the praier & teares of them  
 which besought him of aid and succour, he departed,

Corn. Tacit.  
 Catus De-  
 cianus pro-  
 cur.

and those that would go with him be received into his armie, those that taried behind were oppressed by the enimies: and the like destruction happened to them of Terolantium, a towne in those daies of great fame, situate nere to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now standeth.

Caesar's  
De. 6.

The Britains leaving the castles and fortresses unassaulted, followed their gaine in spoiling of those places which were easie to get, and where great plenty of riches was to be found, using their victorie with such crueltie, that they due (as the report went) to the number of 70 thousand Romans, and such as took their part in the said places by the Britains thus won and conquered. For there was nothing with the Britains but slaughter, fire, gallowses, and such like, so earnestlie were they set on reuenge. They spared neither age nor sex: women of great nobilitie and worthie fame they took and hanged by naked, and cutting off their paps, sowed them to their mouths, that they might seeme as if they sucked and fed on them; and some of their bodies they stretched out in length, and thrust them on sharpe stakes. All these things they did in great despite whilst they sacrificed in their temples, and made feasts, namelie in the wood consecrated to the honour of Andates, for so they called the goddess of victorie whom they worshipped most reuerentlie.

P. Suetonius the Romane with a fresh power assalteth the Britains, whose armie consisted as well of women as men: queene Voadicia encourageth hir souldiers, so dooth Suetonius his warriors, both armies haue a sharpe conflict, the Britains are discomfited, and miserable fame, the queene dieth, Penius Posthumus killeth himselfe, the Britains are persecuted with fire, sword, and famine, the grudge betweene Cassianus and Suetonius, whome Polycletus is sent to reconcile, of his traitors, and how the Britains repined at him.

### The xiiij. Chapter.

**I**N this meane time there came ouer to the aid of Suetonius, the legion surnamed the 14, and other bands of souldiers and men of warre, to the number of ten thousand in the whole, whereupon (chiefly because vittels began to faile him) he prepared to giue battell to his enimies, and chose out a plot of ground verie strong within straits, and backed with a wood, so that the enimies could not assault his campe but on the front: yet by reason of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceived by their late prosperous success, the Britains under the conduct of queene Voadicia adventured to giue battell, hauing their women there to be witnessers of the victorie, whome they placed in charrets at the better most side of their field.

The Britains were at that time in good heart, (as Dion writeth.)

Corn. Tacit. lib. 15.  
Dion Cassius.

Voadicia, or Bonuicia (for so we find hir written by some copies, and Bonuicia also by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, being mounted into a charret, as she passed by the souldiers of eche sundrie countrie, told them it was a thing accustomed among the Britains to go to the warres under the leading of women; but she was not now come forth as one borne of such noble ancestors as she was descended from, to fight for hir kingdom and riches; but as one of the meaner sort, rather to defend hir lost libertie, and to reuenge hir selfe of the enimie, for their crueltie shewed in scourging hir like a vagabond,

and shamefull deflowering of hir daughters: for the licentious lust of the Romans was so farre spread and increased, that they spared neither the bodies of old nor young, but were ready most shamefullie to abuse them, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, and forced hir daughters to satisfie their filthy concupiscence: but (saith she) the gods are at hand ready to take iust reuenge.

The legion that presumed to encounter with us is slaine and beaten downe. The residue keepe them close within their holds, or else sake waies how to flie out of the countrie: they shall not be once able so much as to abide the noise and clamor of so manie thousands as we are here assembled, much lesse the force of our great puissance and dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (saith she) would wey and consider with your selues your huge numbers of men of warre, and the causes why ye haue moued this warre, ye would surely determine either in this battell to die with honour, or else to vanquish the enimie by plaine force, for so (quoth she) I being a woman am faine resolved, as for you men ye maie (if ye list) liue and be brought into bondage.

Neither did Suetonius cease to exhort his people: for though he trusted in their manhood, yet as he had diuided his armie into three battels, so did he make vnto eche of them a seuerall oration, willing them not to feare the shrill and baine menacing threats of the Britains, sith there was among them more women than men, they hauing no skill in warrelke discipline, and herto being naked without furniture of armour, would forthwith giue place when they should feele the sharpe points of the Romans weapons, and the force of them by whom they had so often bene put to flight. In manie legions (saith he) the number is small of them that win the battell. Their glorie therefore should be the more, for that they being a small number should win the same due to the whole armie, if they would (thronging together) bestow their weapons frælie, and with their swords and targets preece forward vpon their enimies, continuing the slaughter without regard to the spoile, they might assure themselves when the victorie was once atchiued to haue all at their pleasures.

Such forwardnesse in the souldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the couragious generall, that euerie one prepared himselfe so ready to do his dutie, and that with such a shew of skill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceiued an assured hope of good lucke to follow, caused the trumpets to sound to the battell. The onset was giuen in the straits, greatlie to the aduantage of the Romans, being but a handfull in comparison to their enimies. The fight in the beginning was verie sharpe and cruell, but in the end the Britains being a let one to another (by reason of the narrownesse of the place) were not able to susteine the violent force of the Romans their enimies, so that they were constrained to giue backe, and so being disordered were put to flight, and utterly discomfited.

There were slaine of the Britains that day fewe lesse than 80000 thousand, as Tacitus writeth. For the straits being stopped with the charrets, staid the flight of the Britains, so as they could not easilie escape: and the Romans were so set on reuenge, that they spared neither man nor woman, so that manie were slaine in the battell, manie amongst the charrets, and a great number at the woods side, which way they made their flight, and manie were taken prisoners. Those that escaped, would haue sought a new battell, but in the meane time Voadicia, or Bonuicia deceased of a naturall infirmities, as Dion Cassius writeth, but other say that she poisoned hir selfe, and so died, because she would not

80000. Britains slaine.



not come into the hands of his bloody & fierce enemies. There died of the Romans part in this most notable battell 400, and about the like number were grievously hurt and most pitifully wounded.

Denius  
Posthumus  
liercly him-  
selfe.

Denius Posthumus master of the campe of the second legion, understanding the prosperous successe of the other Romane captaine, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refused to obey the commandements of the generall, contrarie to the use of warre, slue himselfe.

After this all the Romane armie was brought into the field to make an end of the residue of the warre. And the emperor caused a supplie to be sent out of Germanie being 2000 legionarie souldiers, and 8 bands of aids, with 1000 horsemen, by whose coming the bands of the ninth legion were supplied with legionarie souldiers, and those bands and wings of horsemen were appointed to places where they might winter; and such people of the Britains as were either enemies, or else stood in doubt whether to be friends or enemies in deed, were persecuted with fire and sword.

But nothing more afflicted them than famine, for whilst euerie man gaue himselfe to the warre, and purposed to haue liued vpon the prouision of the Romans and other their enemies, they applied not themselves to tillage, nor to any husbanding of the ground, and long it was ere they (being a fierce kind of people) fell to embrace peace, by reason that Julius Cassianus, who was sent into Britaine as successor to Catus, fell at square with Suetonius, and by his priuie grudge hindered the prosperous successe of publike affaires. He stuck not to wisse to Rome, that except an other were sent to succed in the Rome that Suetonius did beare, there would be no end of the warres. Herevpon one Polycleus, which sometime had bene a bondman, was sent into Britaine, as a commissioner, to surueie the state of the countrie, to reconcile the legat and procurator, & also to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

Julius Cas-  
sianus pro-  
curator.

The port which Polycleus bare was great, for he was furnished with no small traine that attended vpon him, so that his presence seemed verie dreadful to the Romans. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great sorne to see such honorable captaine and men of warre as the Romans were to, submit themselves to the order of such a one as had bene a bondslau.

In what state the Iland stood whilst Aruiragus reigned; the dissolute and loose gouernement of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Vicinus Volanus, three lieutenants in Britaine for the Romane emperours, of Iulius Frontinus who vanquished the Silures.

### The xiiij. Chapter.

Petronius  
Turpilia-  
nus lieu-  
tenant.

**I**n place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (who had lately bene consull) appointed to haue the gouernance of the armie in Britaine, the which neither troubling the enimie, nor being troubled or prouoked, did colour slouthfull rest with the honest name of peace and quietnesse, and so sat still without exploiting any notable enterprisse.

Trebel-  
lius Max-  
imus lieu-  
tenant.

After Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made lieutenant of Britaine, who likewise with courteous demeanour sought to keepe the Britains in rest rather than by force to compell them. And

now began the people of the Ile to brace with pleasant faults and flattering vices, so that the ciuill warres that chanced in those daies after the death of the emperor Nero at home, might easilie excuse the slouthfulness of the Romane lieutenants.

Moreover, there rose dissention amongst these men of warre, which being used to lie abroad in the field, could not agree with the idle life; so that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himselfe from the sight of the souldiers being in an vprize against him, till at length humbling himselfe vnto them farther than became his estate, he gouerned by waie of intreatie, or rather at their courtesie. And so was the commotion staid without bloodshed, the armie as it were hauing by covenant obtained to liue licentiouslie, and the captaine sauetie to liue without danger to be murdered.

**N**either Vicinus Volanus that succeeded Maximus whilst the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, did trouble the Britains, vntill the same slacknesse and slouth that the other lieutenants had used before him, and permitted the like licence to the presumptuous souldiers; but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himselfe, and not hated for any notable crime or vice: so that he purchased fauour, although authoritie wanted.

Vicinus  
Volanus  
lieutenant.

But after that the emperor Vespasianus had subdued his aduersaries, and attained the imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Britaine as ouer other parts of the world, there were sent thither right noble captaine, with diuers notable bands of souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appointed lieutenant, put the Britains in great feare, by innading the Brigants the mightiest nation of all the whole Ilands and fighting manie battels, and some right bloodie with those people, he subdued a great part of the countrie at the last.

Cot Tacus.

**A**fter him succeeded as lieutenant of Britaine, Aone Julius Frontinus, who vanquished and brought to the Romane subiection by force of armes the people called Silures, strining not onelie against the stout resistance of the men, but also with the hardnesse & combersome troubles of the places.

Julius  
Frontinus  
lieutenant.

Thus may you perceiue in what state this Ile stood in the time that Aruiragus reigned in the same, as is supposed by the best histories of the old Britains: so that it may be thought that he gouerned rather a part of this land, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romans not hauing so reduced the countrie into the forme of a prouince, but that the Britains bare rule in diuerse parts thereof, and that by the permission of the Romans, which neuertheless had their lieutenants and procurators here; that bare the greatest rule under the aforesaid emperours.

The state of this Iland vnder Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, the coming in of the Picts with Roderike their king, his death in the field, the Picts and Scots

enter into mutuall alliance, the monument of Marius, his victorie over the Picts, his death and interment.

### The xv. Chapter.



fter the decease of Aruiragus, Marius his sonne Marius succeeded him in the estate, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 72. In the old English chronicle he is sondlie called Westmer, & was a verie wise man, gouerning the Britains

Marius  
his sonne  
Marius  
succeeded  
him  
in the  
estate  
and began  
his reigne  
in the  
yeare of  
our Lord  
72. In  
the old  
English  
chronicle  
he is  
sondlie  
called  
Westmer,  
& was a  
verie  
wise  
man,  
gouerning  
the  
Britains

Of these you  
maye reade  
more in pag. 9.

Math. West.

Roderike  
king of Brits  
Name.

Polydor.  
Math. West.

Math. West.  
Thus find we  
in the Scottish  
and English  
histories con-  
cerning this  
Marinus.

Britains in great prosperitie, honour and localth. In the time of this mans reigne, the people called Picts invader this land, who are iudged to be descended of the nation of the Scythians, neare kinne men to the Goths, both by countrie and manners, a cruell kind of men and much given to the warres. This people with their ringleader Roderike, or (as some name him) Londogike, entering the Ocean sea after the manner of rowers, arrived on the coasts of Ireland, where they required of the Scots new seats to inhabit in: for the Scots which (as some thinke) were also descended of the Scythians, did as then inhabit in Ireland: but doubting that it should not be for their profit to receive so warlike a nation into that Ile, feining as it were a friendship, and excusing the matter by the narrownesse of the countrie, declared to the Picts, that the Ile of Britaine was not farre from thence, being a large countrie and a plentifull, and not greatly inhabited: wherefore they counselled them to go thither, promising unto them all the aid that might be.

The Picts more desirous of spoile than of rule or government, without delaye returned to the sea, and sailed towards Britaine, where being arrived, they first invaded the north parts thereof, and finding there but few inhabitants, they began to wast and forrey the countrie: whereof when king Marins was advertised, with all speed he assembled his people, and made towards his enemies, and giving them battell, obtained the victorie, so that Roderike was there slain in the field, and his people vanquished.

Unto those that escaped with life, Marins granted licence that they might inhabit in the north part of Scotland called Catnesse, being as then a countrie in maner desolate without habitation: whereupon they withdrew thither, and settled themselves in those parties. And because the Britains disdained to grant unto them their daughters in mariage, they sent unto the Scots into Ireland, requiring to have twines of their nation. The Scots agreed to their request, with this condition, that where there wanted lawful issue of the kings lineage to succeed in the kingdom of the Picts, then should they name one of the womans sibe to be their king: which ordinance was received and observed ever after amongst the Picts, so long as their kingdom endured.

Thus the Picts next after the Romans were the first of anie strangers that came into this land to inhabit as most writers affirme, although the Scottish chronicles avouch the Picts to be inhabitants here before the incarnation of our saviour. But the victorie which Marins obtained against their king Roderike, chanced in the yere after the incarnation 87. In remembrance of which victorie, Marins caused a stone to be erected in the same place where the battell was fought, in which stone was grauen these words, Marij victoria. The English chronicle saith that this stone was set up on Stanemore, and that the whole countrie thereabout taking name of this Marins, was Westmaria, now called Westmerland.

King Marins having thus subdued his enemies, and escaped the danger of their dreadfull invasion, gave his mind to the good government of his people, and the advancement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the residue of his life in great tranquillitie, and finally departed this life, after he had reigned (as most writers say) 52, or 53 yeeres. Whome it there be that write, that he died in the yere of our Lord 78, and so reigned not past five or six yeeres at the most. He was buried at Caerleill, leaving a sonne behind him called Coill.

Humfrey Lhoyd seemeth to take this man and his father Arviragus to be all one person, whether moved thereto by some catalog of kings which he saw, or

otherwise, I cannot affirme: but speaking of the time when the Picts and Scots should first come to settle themselves in this land, he hath these words; Neither was there anie writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Picts before Aelpasianus time, about the yere of the incarnation 72: at what time Aelwig or Aeth, or Arviragus reigned in Britaine, in which time our annales do report, that a certaine kind of people living by piracie and roving on the sea, came forth of Sweden, or Norwaie, under the guiding of one Rhythercus, who landed in Albania, wasting all the countrie with robbing and spoiling so farre as Caerleill, where he was vanquished in battell, and slaine by Arviragus, with a great part of his people; the residue that escaped by flight, fled to their ships, and so conveyed themselves into the Isles of Orkney and Scotland, where they abode quietlie a great while after.

Thus farre have I thought good to shew of the foresaid Lhoyds booke, for that it seemeth to carie a great likelihood of truth with it, for the historie of the Picts, which undoubtedly I thinke were not as yet inhabiting in Britaine, but rather first placing themselves in the Isles of Orkney, made invasion into the maine Ile of Britaine afterwards, as occasion was offered. In the British tongue they are called Pighiaid, that is Pighians, and so likewise were they called in the Scottish, and in their owne tongue. Now will we shew what chanced in this Ile, during the time of the foresaid Marins his supposed reigne, as is found in the Romane histories.

Julius Agricola is deputed by Vespasian to gouverne Britaine, he invadeth the Ile of Anglesey, the inhabitants yeeld up themselves, the commendable government of Agricola, his worthe practises to traine the Britains to civillitie, his exploit, fortunatlie achieved against diverse people, as the Irish, &c.

## The 16. Chapter.



After Julius Frontinus, the emperor Aelpasian sent Julius Agricola to succeed in the government of Britaine, who comming over about the midst of summer, found the men of warre thorough want of a lieutenant negligent inough, as those that looking for no trouble, thought themselves out of all danger, where the enemies neverthelesse watched upon the next occasion to worke some displeasure, and were readie on each hand to move rebellion. For the people called Debonics, that inhabited in the countrie of Cheshire, Lancashire and part of Shropshire, had lately before overthrowne, and in maner utterly destroyed a wing of such horsemen as souldiered in their parties, by reason whereof all the province was brought almost into an assured hope to recover libertie.

Agricola upon his comming over, though summer was now halfe past, and that the souldiers lodging here & there abroad in the countrie, were more disposed to take rest, than to set forward into the field against the enemies, determined yet to resist the present danger: and therewith assembling the men of warre of the Romans, and such other aids as he might make, he invaded their countrie that had done this foresaid displeasure, and slew the most part of all the inhabitants thereof. Not thus contented (for that he thought good to follow the steps of famous

Julius Agricola lieutenant

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Agr. The first parte of Agricola his government.

rable

The Ile of  
Anglesey.

rable fortune, and knowing that as the begining proved, so would the whole sequel of his affaires by likelihood come to passe) he purposed to make a full conquest of the Ile of Anglesey, from the conquest whereof the Romane lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the rebellion of other of the Britains, as before ye haue heard.

But whereas he wanted ships for the furnishing of his enterprise, his wit and policie found a shift to supplie that defect: for choosing out a piked number of such Britains as he had there with him in aid, which knew the fords and shallow places of the streames there, and withall were verie skilfull in swimming (as the maner of the countrie then was) he appointed them to passe ouer on the sudden into the Ile, onelie with their hostes, armes, and weapon: which enterprise they so speedilie, and with so good successe atchieued, that the inhabitants much amazed with that doing (which looked for a manie of ships to haue transported ouer their enemies by sea, and therefore watched on the coast) began to thinke that nothing was able to be defended against such kind of warriors that got ouer into the Ile after such sort and maner.

Anglesey persuaded to Agricola.

And therefore making sute for peace, they deliuered the Ile into the hands of Agricola, whose fame by these victories daily much increased, as of one that took pleasure in trauell, and attempting to atchieue dangerous enterprises, in stead whereof his predecessours had delighted, to shew the maiesties of their office by vaine brags, statelie ports, and ambitious pomps. For Agricola turned not the prosperous successe of his proceedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, increased it to the uttermost, among them that iudged that hope was to be looked for of things by him to be atchieued, which with silence kept secret these his so worthe doings.

Agricola his good government.

Howeuer, perceiving the nature of the people in this Ile of Britaine, and sufficientlie taught by other mens example, that armes should little auail where injuries followed to the disquieting of the people, he thought best to take away and remoue all occasions of warre. And first beginning with himselfe and his souldiers, took order for a reformation to be had in his owne household, yielding nothing to fauor, but altogether in respect of vertue, accounting them most faithfull which therein most excelled. He sought to know all things, but not to doe otherwise than reason moued, pardoning small faults, and sharpelie punishing great and heinous offenses, neither yet deliting alwaies in punishment, but oftentimes in repentance of the offender. Cracations and tributes he lessened, qualifying the same by reasonable equitie. And thus in reforming the state of things, he won him great praise in time of peace, the which either by negligence or sufferance of the former lieutenants, was euer feared, and accounted worse than open warre. This was his practise in the winter time of his first yere.

His diligence.

But when summer was come, he assembled his armie, and leading forth the same, trained his souldiers in all honest warlike discipline, commending the good, and reforming the bad and vnralie. He himselfe to giue example, took vpon him all dangers that came to hand, and suffered not the enemies to line in rest, but wasted their countries with sudden inuasions. And when he had sufficientlie chastised them, and put them in feare by such manner of dealing, he spared them, that they might againe conceiue some hope of peace. By which meanes manie countries which vnto those daies had kept themselves out of bondage, laid rancor aside, and deliuered pledges, and further were contented to suffer castles to be builded within them, and to be kept with garrisons, so that no part of Britaine was free from the Romane

power, but stood still in danger to be brought vnder more and more.

In the winter following, Agricola took paines to reduce the Britains from their rude manners and customs, vnto a more ciuill sort and trade of liuing, that changing their naturall fiercenesse and apt disposition to warre, they might through tastung pleasures be so inured therewith, that they should desire to liue in rest and quietnesse: and therefore he exhorted them priuillie, and holpe them publickly to build temples, common halls where places of law might be kept, and other houses, commending them that were diligent in such doings, and blaming them that were negligent, so that of necessitie they were driuen to striue who should preuent ech other in ciuillie. He also procured that noble mens sonnes should learne the liberall sciences, and passed the nature of the Britains more than the people of Gallia, because they studied to attaine to the knowledge of the Romane eloquence. By which meanes the Britains in short time were brought to the ble of god and commendable manners, and sorted themselves to go in comelie apparell after the Romane fashion, and by little and little fell to accustom themselves to fine fare and delicate pleasures, the readie prouokers of vices, as to walke in galleries, to wash themselves in bathes, to vse banketting, and such like, which amongst the vnskillfull was called humanitie or courtesie, but in verie deed it might be accounted a part of thialdome and seruitude, namelie being to exercise viciuallie viced.

In the third yere of Agricola his gouernment in Britaine, he inuaded the north parts thereof (vnknowne till those daies of the Romans) being the same where the Scots now inhabit: for he wasted the countrie vnto the water of Tay, in such wise putting the inhabitants in feare, that they durst not once set vpon his armie, though it were so that the same was verie sore disquieted and vexed by tempest and rage of weather. Wherevpon finding no great let or hinderance by the enemies, he builded certeine castles and fortresses, which he placed in such conuenient places, that they greatlie annoyed his aduersaries, and were so able to be defended, that there was none of those castles which he builded, either won by force out of the Romans hands, or giuen ouer by composition, for feare to be taken: so that the same being furnished with competent numbers of men of warre, were safelie kept from the enemies, the which were daily vexed by the often issues made forth by the souldiers that late thus in garrison within them: so that where in times past the said enemies would recouer their losses sustained in summer by the winters aduantage, now they were put to the worse, and kept backe as well in the winter as in the summer.

In the fourth summer, after that Agricola was appointed vnto the rule of this land, he went about to bring vnder subiection those people, the which before time he had by incursions and forreies sore vexed and disquieted: and therevpon comming to the waters of Clide and Loughleuen, he built certeine fortresses to defend the passages and entres there, driving the enemies beyond the same waters, as it had bene into a new Island.

In the fifth summer, Agricola causing his ships to be brought about, and appointing them to arrive on the north coasts of Scotland, he passed with his armie ouer the river of Clide, and subdued such people as inhabited those further parts of Scotland, which till those daies had not bene discovered by the Romans. And because he thought it should serue well to purpose, for some conquest to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotland which bordereth on the Irish seas

The second yere of Agricola his government.

The second yere of Agricola to traine the Britains ciuillie.

The third yere.

The water of Tay.

The fourth yere of Agricola his government.

Clota. Sobottia.

The fifth yere.

An Irish  
king expelled  
out of his  
countrie.

The first  
warre  
of Agricola  
his gouern-  
ment.

seas might be kept in due obedience, he placed gar-  
risons of souldiers in those parties, in hope verelie  
upon occasion to passe ouer into Ireland, and for the  
more easie aduancement of his purpose therein, he  
interceded with honourable prouision one of the  
kings of Ireland, which by ciuill discorde was expel-  
led and driven out of his countrie. In deed Agricola  
perceiued, that with one legion of souldiers, and a  
small aid of other men of warre, it should be an easie  
matter to conquer Ireland, and to bring it vnder  
the dominion of the Romans: which enterprise he  
iudged verie necessarie to be exploited, for better kee-  
ping of the Britains in obedience, if they should see  
the iurisdiction of the Romans euerie where exten-  
ded, and the libertie of their neighbours suppressed.

In the first summer of Agricola his gouernment,  
he proceeded in subduing the furthermost parts of  
Scotland northwards, causing his nauie to keepe  
course against him by the coast as he marched forth  
by land, so that the Britains perceiuing how the se-  
cret hauens and creekes of their countries were  
now discovered, and that all hope of refuge was in  
manner cut off from them, were in marvellous feare.  
On the other part the Romans were sore troubled  
with the rough mounteins and craggie rocks, by the  
which they were constrained to passe beside the dan-  
gerous riuers, lakes, woods, streits, and other com-  
bersome waies and passages.

The danger also of them that were in the ships by  
sea was not small, by reason of winds and tempests,  
and high spring tides, which tossed and turmoiled  
their vessels verie cruellie: but by the painfull dili-  
gence of them that had bene brought vp and inured  
with continuall trauell and hardnesse, all those dif-  
ficulties were overcome to their great reioi-  
cing, when they met and fell in talke of their passed  
perils. For oftentimes the armie by land incamped  
so by the thore, that those which kept the sea came on  
land to make merrie in the campe, and then eche one  
would recount to others the aduentures that had  
happened, as the manner is in semblable cases.

The Britains of Calenderwood assalt  
the Romans vpon aduantage, bloudie bar-  
tels fought betwixt them, great numbers slaine  
on both sides, the villanous dealing of certeine  
Dutch souldiers against their capteins and fellows  
in armes, the miserie that they were driuen vnto by famine  
to eate one another, a sharpe conflict betwene the Ro-  
mans and Britains, with the losse of manie a  
mans life, and effusion of much  
bloud.

### The xvij. Chapter.

Calender-  
wood.

**T**he Britains that inhabit-  
ed in those daies about the  
parts of Calenderwood, per-  
ceiuing in what danger they  
were to be vtterlie subdued,  
assembled themselves to-  
gether, in purpose to trie the for-  
tune of battell: whereof Agri-  
cola being aduertised, marched forth with his armie  
divided in three battels, so that the enemies doubting  
to trie the matter in open field, espied their time in  
the night, and with all their whole puissance set vpon  
one of the Romane legions, which they knew to be  
most feeble and weake, trusting by a camifado to dis-  
tresse the same: and first sleaing the watch, they en-  
tered the campe, where the said legion laie, and finding  
the souldiers in great disorder, betwixt sleepe and  
feare, began the fight euen within the campe.

Agricola had knowledge of their purposed intent,

and therfore with all speed halsted forth to come to  
the succours of his people, sending first his light  
horsemen, and certeine light armed footmen to as-  
saile the enemies on their backs, and shortly after  
approched with his whole puissance, so that the Ro-  
mane standards beginning to appeere in sight by the  
light of the daie that then began to spring, the Bri-  
tains were sore discouraged, and the Romans renew-  
ing their force, fiercelie pzeassed vpon them, so that e-  
uen in the entrie of the campe; there was a sore con-  
flict, till at length the Britains were put to flight and  
chased, so that if the marches and woods had not sa-  
ued them from the pursute of the Romans, there had  
bene an end made of the whole warre euen by that  
one daies worke. But the Britains escaping as well  
as they might, and reputing the victorie to haue chan-  
ced not by the valiantie of the Romane souldiers, but  
by occasion, and the prudent policie of their capteine,  
were nothing abashed with that their present losse,  
but prepared to put their youth againe into armour:  
and therebpon they remoued their wines and chil-  
dren into safe places, and then assembling the chiefeest  
gouernours together, concluded a league amongst  
themselves, eche to aid other, confirming their articles  
with doing of sacrifice (as the manner in those daies  
was.)

The same summer, a band of such Dutch or Ger-  
maine souldiers as had bene leuiued in Germanie  
and sent ouer into Britaine to the aid of the Romans,  
attempted a great and wonderfull act, in sleaing  
their capteine, and such other of the Romane souldi-  
ers which were appointed to haue the training and  
leading of them, as officers and instructors to them  
in the feats of warre: and when they had committed  
that murder, they got into three pinelles, and became  
rouers on the coasts of Britaine, and incounting  
with diuerse of the Britains that were readie to de-  
fend their countrie from spoile, oftentimes they got  
the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were  
chased awate, insomuch that in the end they were  
brought to such extremitie for want of vittels, that  
they did eate such amongst them as were the wea-  
kest, and after, such as the lot touched, being indiffe-  
rentlie cast amongst them: and so being carried about  
the coasts of Britaine, losing their vessels through  
want of skill to gouerne them, they were reputed for  
robbers, and therevpon were apprehended, first by  
the Suabers, and shortly after by the Friziers, the  
which sold diuerse of them to the Romans and other,  
whereby the true vnderstanding of their aduentures  
came certeinlie to light.

The seuenth  
yeere.

In summer next following, Agricola with his ar-  
mie came to the mounteine of Granziben, where he  
vnderstood that his enemies were incamped, to the  
number of 30 thousand and aboue, and daillie there  
came to them more companie of the British youth,  
and such aged persons also as were lustie and in  
strength, able to wield weapon and beare armour. A-  
mongst the capteins the chiefeest was one Galgagus  
whom the Scottis chronicles name Gald. This man  
as chiefeine and head capteine of all the Britains  
there assembled, made to them a pithie oration, to in-  
courage them to fight manfullie, and likewise did Ag-  
ricola to his people: which being ended, the armies  
on both sides were put in order of battell. Agricola  
placed 8 thousand footmen of strangers which he had  
there in aid with him in the midst, appointing three  
thousand horsemen to stand on the sides of them as  
wings. The Romane legions stood at their backs in  
sleed of a bulworke. The Britains were unbattelled  
in such order, that their fore ward stood in the plaine  
ground, and the other on the side of an hill, as though  
they had risen on heighth one ranke aboue another.  
The midst of the field was covered with their char-  
rets.

The eight  
yeere of Agri-  
cola his go-  
uernment.

Galgagus  
whome the  
Scotts name  
Gald and will  
needs haue  
him a Scottis  
man.

E.j.

rets and horsemen. Agricola doubting by the huge multitude of enemies, least his people should be assailed not onlie a front, but also upon euerie side the battels, he caused the ranks so to place themselves, as their battels might stretch farre further in breadth than otherwise the order of warre required: but he took this to be a good remedie against such inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrownesse of the fronts of his battels should haue hemmed them in on eche side.

This done, and hauing conceiued good hope of victorie, he alighted on foot, and putting his horse from him, he stood before the standards as one not caring for anie danger that might happen. At the first they bestowed their shot and darts freely on both sides. The Britains aswell with constant manhood, as skillfull practise, with broad swords and little round bucklers auoided and beat from them the arrowes and darts that came from their enemies, and therewithall paid them home againe with their shot and darts, so that the Romans were nere hand oppressed therewith, because they came so thicke in their faces, till at length Agricola caused thre cohorts of Hollanders, & two of Lubeners to presse forward, & ioine with them at hand-strokes, so as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the sword, which thing as to them (being inured with that kind of fight) it stood greatlie with their advantage, so to the Britains it was verie dangerous, that were to defend themselves with their mightie huge swords and small bucklers. Also by reason their swords were broad at the ends, and pointlesse, they auailed little to hurt the armed enimie. Whereupon when the Hollanders came to ioine with them, they made foule worke in sleaing and wounding them in most horrible wise.

The horsemen also that made resistance they pulled from their horses, and began to clime the hill upon the Britains. The other bands desirous to match their fellows in helping to achieve the victorie, followed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approach to them: manie were ouertun and left halfe dead, and some not once touched with anie weapon, were likewise ouerpressed, such hast the Romans made to follow upon the Britains. Whildest the British horsemen fled, their charrets ioined themselves with their footmen, and restoring the battell, put the Romans in such feare, that they were at a sudden stay: but the charrets being troubled with prease of enemies, & vnauermelle of the ground, they could not worke their feat to anie purpose, neither had that fight anie resemblance of a battell of horsemen, when eche one so encumbered other, that they had no room to stirre themselves. The charrets oftentimes wanting their guiders were caried awaie with the horses, that being put in feare with the noise and stir, ran hither and thither, bearing downe one another, and whomsoever else they met withall.

Now the Britains that kept the top of the hills, and had not yet fought at all, despising the small number of the Romans, began to come downe, wards and to cast about, that they might set upon the backs of their enemies, in hope so to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no lesse, but that some such thing would come to passe, had aforehand foresene the danger, and hauing reserved foure wings of horsemen for such sudden chances, sent them forth against those Britains, the which horsemen with full random charging upon them as they rashly came forwards, quicklie disordered them and put them all to flight, and so that purposed deualle and policie of the Britains turned to their owne hinderance. For their

horsemen by their capitains appointment traucing ouerthwart by the fronte of them that fought, set upon that battell of the Britains which they found before them. Then in those open and plaine places a greuous & heauie fight it was to behold, how they pursued, wounded, and took their enemies: and as they were aduised of other to flea those that they had before taken, to the end they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but sleing, taking, and charging, slaughtering, spilling of blood, scattering of weapons, grunting and growning of men and horses that lay on the ground, gasping for breath, & ready to die.

The Britains now and then as they saw their advantage, namelie when they approached nere to the woods, gathered themselves together, and set upon the Romans as they followed vnaduisedlie, and further (through ignorance of the places) than stood with their suertie, inso much that if Agricola had not prouided remedie, and sent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foot and horsebacke to close in the enemies, and also to beat the wood, some greater losse would haue followed through too much boldnes of them that too rashly pursued upon the Britains: who when they beheld the Romans thus to follow them in whole troops and good order of battell, they slipt awaie and took them to flight, eche one seeking to saue himselfe, and kept not together in plumps as before they had done. The night made an end of the chase which the Romans had followed till they were thoroughlie wearied. There were slaine of the Britains that day 10000, and of the Romans 340, among whom Aulus Atticus a capitaine of one of the cohorts or bands of footmen was one, who being mounted on horsebacke (through his owne too much yowthfull courage, and fierce vnruines of his horse) was caried into the middle throng of his enemies, and there slaine.

The lamentable distresse and pitifull perplexitie of the Britains after their ouerthrow, Domitian enuieith Agricola the glorie of his victories, he is subtilie deprived of his deputiship, and Cneus Trebellius surrogated in his room.

### The xviij. Chapter.

The night insuing the foresaid ouerthrow of the Britains was spent of the Romans in great top & gladnes for the victorie achieved. But among the Britains there was nothing else heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men and women that were mingled together, some busie to beare away the wounded, to bind and dresse their hurts; other calling for their sonnes, kinsfolkes and friends that were wanting. Spanie of them forsooke their houses, and in their desperate mood set them on fire, and choosing forth places for their better refuge and safegard, forthwith murthering of the same, left them and sought others: herewith diuerse of them took counsell together what they were best to doe, one while they were in hope, an other while they fainted, as people cast into bitter despaire: the beholding of their wiues and children oftentimes moued them to attempt some new enterprise for the preservation of their countrie and libertie. And certeine it is that some of them due their wiues and children, as moued thereto with a certeine

Britani.  
Congri.

Hollanders.

Centurion  
Britains  
slaine.

Aulus Atticus  
was slaine.

Britains.  
Shots, with  
other yet  
slaine.



certaine send regard of pittie to rid them out of further miserie and danger of thralldome.

The next day the certaintie of the victorie more plainlie was disclosed, for all was quiet about, and no noise heard anie where: the houses appeared burning on eche side, and such as were sent forth to discover the countrie into everie part thereof, saw not a creature stirring, for all the people were avoided and withdrone a farre off.

When Agricola had thus overthrowne his enemies in a pitcht field at the mountaine of Granibem, and that the countrie was quite rid of all appearance of enemies: because the summer of this eight yere of his gouernment was now almost spent, he brought his armie into the confines of the Horestians, which inhabited the countries now called Angus & Speme, and there intended to winter, and take hostages of the people for assurance of their loialtie and subiection. This done, he appointed the admirall of the nauie to saile about the Ile, which accordinglie to his commission in that point receiued, luckilie accomplished his enterprise, and brought the nauie about againe into an haueu called *Erutulenſis*.

In this meane time, whiles Julius Agricola was thus occupied in Britaine, both the emperor *Vespasianus*, and also his brother *Vitus* that succeeded him, departed this life, and *Domitianus* was elected emperor, who hearing of such prosperous successe as Agricola had against the Britains, did not so much reioice for the thing well done, as he enuied to consider what glorie and renowne should rebound to Agricola thereby, which he perceived should much darken the glasse of his fame, hauing a priuate person under him, who in worthinesse of noble exploits attained, farre excelled his doings.

To find remedie therefore herein, he thought not good to utter his malice as yet, whilest Agricola remained in Britaine with an armie, which so much fauoured him, and that with so good cause, sith by his policie and noble conduct the same had obtained so manie victories, so much honoz, and such plentie of spoiles and botties. Whereupon to dissemble his intent, he appointed to reuoke him forth of Britaine, as it were to honoz him, not onelie with deserved triumphs, but also with the lieutenantship of Syria, which as then was void by the death of *Atilius Rufus*. Thus Agricola being countermanded home to Rome, deliuered his province vnto his successor *Cneus Trebellius*, appointed thereto by the emperor *Domitianus*, in good quiet and safeguard.

Thus may you see in what state Britaine stood in the daies of king *Marius*, of whome *Tacitus* maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the citie of *Chester* was builded by this *Marius*, though other (as before I haue said) thinke rather that it was the worke of *Morixus Scapula* their legat. Touching other the doings of Agricola, in the Scottish chronicle you maie find more at large set forth: for that which I haue written here, is but to shew what in effect *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth of that which Agricola did here in Britaine, without making mention either of Scots or Pits, onelie naming them Britains, Horestians, and Calidoneans, who inhabited in those daies a part of this Ile which now we call Scotland, the originall of which countrie, and the inhabitants of the same, is greatly controuersed among writers; diuerse diuerlie descanting thereupon, some fetching their reason from the etymon of the word which is *Græke*, some from the opening of their ancestors as they find the same remaining in records; other some from comparing antiquities together, and aptlie collecting the truth as nere as they can. But to omit them, and returne to the continuation of our owne historie.

Of *Coillus* the sonne of *Marius*, his education in Rome, how long he reigned: of *Lucius* his sonne and successor, what time he assumed the gouernment of this Land, he was an open professor of christian religion, he and his familie are baptised, Britaine receiveth the faith, 3 archbishops and 28 bishops at that time in this land, we knowe the church and *S. Peters* in *Cornhill* builded, diuers opinions touching the time of *Lucius* his reigne, of his death, and when the christian faith was receiued in this land.

The 19. Chapter.



*Coillus* the sonne of *Marius* was after his fathers

deceasse made king of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 125. This *Coillus* or *Coill* was brought vp in his youth amongst the Romans at Rome, where he spent his time not vnprofitable, but applied himselfe to learning & seruice in the warres, by reason whereof he was much honozed of the Romans, and he likewise honozed and loued them, so that he paid his tribute truelie all the time of his reigne, and therefore liued in peace and good quiet. He was also a prince of much bountie, and verie liberal, whereby he obtained great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some saie, that he made the towne of *Colchester* in *Essex*, but others write, that *Coill* which reigned next after *Asclepiodotus* was the first founder of that towne, but by other it should seeme to be built long before, being called *Camelodunum*. Finally when this *Coill* had reigned the space of 54 yeres, he departed this life at *York*, leauing after him a sonne named *Lucius*, which succeeded in the kingdom.

*Lucius* the sonne of *Coillus*, whose surname (as *saith William Harison*) is not certant, began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yere of our Lord 180, as *Fabian* following the authoritie of *Peter Pictauiensis* saith, although other writers seeme to disagree in that account, as by the same *Fabian* in the table before his booke partlie appeareth, where vnto *Matthæus Westmonasterienſis* affirmeth, that this *Lucius* was borne in the yere of our Lord 115, and was crowned king in the yere 124, as succeeded for to his father *Coillus*, which died the same yere, being of great age yer the said *Lucius* was borne. It is noted by antiquaries, that his entrance was in the 4132 of the world, 916 after the building of Rome, 220 after the coming of *Cesar* into Britaine, and 165 after *Christ*, whose accounts I follow in this treatise.

This *Lucius* is highlie renowned of the writers, for that he was the first king of the Britains that receiued the faith of *Iesus Christ*: for being inspired by the spirit of grace and truth, euen from the beginning of his reigne, he somewhat leaned to the fauoring of Christian religion, being moued with the manifest miracles which the Christians daile wrought in witnesse and proofe of their sound and perfect doctrine. For euen from the daies of *Joseph of Arimathia* and his fellows, or what other godly men first taught the Britains the gospell of our Saviour, there remained amongst the same Britains some christians which ceased not to teach and preach the word of God most sincerelie vnto them: but yet no king amongst them openlie professed that religion, till at length this *Lucius* perceiuing not onelie some of the Roman lieutenants in Britaine as *Trebellius* and *Pertinax*, with others, to haue

C. y.

submitted

Hector Boet.

Cor. Tacitus.

In haueu called *Erutulenſis*, peradventure *Erutulenſis*.

*Cneus Trebellius* alias *Salustius Lucius* as some thinke.

*Fabian*.

*Coillus*.

125

*Colchester* built.

*Lucius*.

165

submitted themselves to that profession, but also the emperor himselfe to begin to be fauorable to them: that professed it, he took occasion by their good example to giue care more attentiuely unto the gospel, and at length sent vnto Cleutherius-bishop of Rome two learned men of the Britishe nation, Euan and Meduine, requiring him to send some such ministers as might instruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifully, and to baptise them according to the rules of christian religion.

\*Pol.179.

The reuerend father Iohn Iewell, sometime bishop of Salisbury, writeth in his \*reple vnto Hardings answer, that the said Cleutherius, for generall order to be taken in the realme and churches here, wrote his aduice to Lucius in manner and forme following. You haue receiued in the kingdom of Britaine, by Gods mercie, both the law and faith of Christ; ye haue both the new and the old testament, out of the same through Gods grace, by the aduise of your realme make a law, and by the same through Gods sufferance rule you your kingdom of Britaine, for in that kingdom you are Gods vicar.

Britaine receiveth the faith.

Math.West.

Iosephus of Arimathea.

Polydor. westminster Church built.

Hereupon were sent from the said Cleutherius two godlie learned men, the one named Euan, and the other Damianus, the which baptised the king with all his familie and people, and therewith removed the worshipping of idols and false gods, and taught the right meane and waie how to worship the true and immortall God. There were in those daies within the bounds of Britaine 28 flamines, & three Archflamines, which were as bishops and archbishops, or superintendents of the pagan or heathen religion, in whose place (they being removed) were instituted 28 bishops & three archbishops of the christian religion. One of the which archbishops held his see at London, another at Dorke, and the third at Caerleon Arwike in Glamorgan shire. Vnto the archbishop of London was subiect Cornewall, and all the middle part of England, even vnto Humber. To the archbishop of Dorke all the north parts of Britaine from the riuer of Humber vnto the furthest partes of Scotland. And to the archbishop of Caerleon was subiect all Wales, within which countrie as then were seven bishops, where now there are but foure. The riuer of Seuer in those daies diuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other parts of Britaine. Thus Britaine partlie by the meanes of Ioseph of Arimathea (of whom ye haue heard before) & partlie by the whole some instructions & doctrines of Euan and Damianus, was the first of all other regions that openly receiued the gospel, and continued most steadfast in that profession, till the cruell furie of Dioclesian persecuted the same, in such sort, that as well in Britaine as in all other places of the world, the christian religion was in manner extinguished, and utterly destroyed.

There be that affirme, how this Lucius should build the church of saint Peter at Westminster, though manie attribute that act vnto Sibert king of the east Saxons, and write how the place was then ouergrowne with thornes and bushes, and thereof took the name, and was called Thorney. They ad moreover that Thomas archbishop of London preached, read, and ministered the sacraments there to such as made resort vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reuerie of saint Paules at London, and also a table sometime hanging in saint Peters church in Cornhill, it should seeme that the said church of saint Peter in Cornhill was the same that Lucius builded. But herein (saith Harison *anno mundi* 4174) doth lie a scruple. Sure Cornhill might seeme be mistaken for Thorney, spee-

allie in such old records, as time, age, & cruell handling haue oftentimes defaced.

But howsoever the case standeth, truth it is, that Lucius reioicing much, in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and vnderstanding of the true God, that they needed not to be deceived any longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked spirits, he abolished all prophane worshippings of false gods, and conuerted all such temples as had bene dedicated to their seruice, vnto the vse of christian religion: and thus studieng onlie how to aduance the glorie of the immortall God, and the knowledg of his word, without seeking the vaine glorie of worldly triumph, which is got with slaughter and bloodshed of manie a guiltlesse person, he left his kingdom; though not enlarged with broader dominion than he receiued it, yet greatly augmented and enriched with quiet rest, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be esteemed than all the rest) adorned with Christs religion, and perfectlie instructed with his most holie word and doctrine. He reigned (as some write) 21 yeares, though other affirme but twelue yeares. Againe, some testifie that he reigned 77, others 54, and 43.

Howeuer here is to be noted, that if he procured the faith of Christ to be planted within this realme in the time of Cleutherius the Romane bishop, the same chanced in the daies of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antonius; and about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioined and made partaker of the empire with his father, which was seven yeare after the death of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Verus, and in the 177 after the birth of our Saviour Iesus Christ, as by some chronologies is easie to be collected. For Cleutherius began to gouerne the see of Rome in the yeare 169, according to the opinion of the most diligent chronographers of our time, and gouerned fiftene yeares and thirtene daies. And yet there are that affirme, how Lucius died at Gloucester in the yeare of our Lord 156. Other say that he died in the yeare 201, and other 208. So that the truth of this historie is brought into doubt by the discord of writers, concerning the time and other circumstances, although they all agree that in this kings daies the christian faith was first by publike consent openly receiued and professed in this land, which as some affirme, should chance in the twelue yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord 177. Other iudge that it came to passe in the eight yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord 188, where other (as before is said) alledge that it was in the yeare of the Lord 179. Naclerus saith, that this happened about the yeare of our Lord 156. And Henricus de Herfordia supposeth, that it was in the yeare of our Lord 169, and in the nineteenth yeare of the emperor Marcus Antonius Verus; and after other, about the first yeare of the emperor Commodus.

But to conclude, king Lucius died without issue, by reason whereof after his deceasse the Britains fell at variance, which continued about the space of fiftene yeares (as Fabian thinketh) howbeit the old English chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwixt them remained fiftie yeares, though Harding affirmeth but foure yeares. And thus much of the Britains, and their kings Coilus and Lucius. Now it resteth to speake somewhat of the Romans which gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britains (and namelie those that inhabited beyond Ewed) partlie being weakened of their former strength, and partlie in consideration of their pledges, which they had deliuered to the Romans, remained in peace certene yeares.

Polydor. Fabian. Iohn Har.

Gal. Mon. Math. Wel.

Polydor.

Naclerus Hen. Her.

Fabian. Caxton. Iohn Har.

The Britains after the deceasse of Lucius (who died without issue) rebell against the Romans, the emperor Adrian comming in his owne person into Britaine appeaseth the broile, they go about to recouer their libertie against the Romans, but are suppressed by Lollius the Roman lieutenant; the vigilantnesse or wakefulness of Mircellus, and his policie to keepe the souldiers waking, the Britains being ruled by certaine meane gentlemen of Perhennis appointing too falselie accuse him to the emperor Commodus, he is mangled and murdered of his souldiers.

The xxx. Chapter.

Cneus Trebellius lieutenant.

**I**n the meane time the Roman lieutenant Cneus Trebellius that succeeded Julius Agricola, could not foresee all things so preciselie but that the souldiers waring unrulie by reason of long rest, fell at variance among themselves, and would not in the end obey the lieutenant, but disquieted the Britains beyond measure. Therefore the Britains persecuting themselves sore oppressed with intolerable bondage, and that daile the same increased, they conspired together, upon hope to recouer libertie, and to defend their countrie by all meanes possible, and herewith they took weapon in hand against the Romans, and boldlie assailed them: but this they did yet warilie, and so, that they might flee into the woods and bogs for refuge upon necessitie, according to the maner of their countrie. Here, upon their slaughters were committed on both parties, and all the countrie was now ready to rebell: whereof when the emperor Adrian was aduertised from Trebellius the lieutenant, with all convenient speed he passed over into Britaine, and quieted all the Isle, using great humanitie towards the inhabitants; and making small account of that part where the Scots now inhabit, either because of the barrennesse thereof, or for that by reason of the nature of the countrie he thought it would be hard to be kept under subiection, he deuised to diuise it from the residue of Britaine, and so caused a wall to be made from the mouth of Tine vnto the water of Esk, which wall contained in length 30 miles.

The wall of Adrian built, Spartianus.

Lollius Urbicus lieutenant.

Julius Capitolin another wall built.

Calphurnius Agricola.

Of the doings of this Calphurnius in Britaine ye may read more in the Scottish Chronicle.

After this, the Britains bearing a malicious hatred towards the Roman souldiers, and repining to be kept vnder the bond of seruitude, oftentimes went about to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertisement being giuen, the emperor Pius Antoninus sent ouer Lollius Urbicus as lieutenant into Britaine, who by sundrie battels striken, constrained the Britains to remaine in quiet, and causing those that inhabited in the north parts to remoue further off from the confines of the Roman province, raised another wall beyond that which the emperor Adrian had made, as is to be supposed, for the more surterie of the Roman subiects against the inuasion of the enemies. But yet Lollius did not so make an end of the warrs, but that the Britains shortly after attempted afresh, either to reduce their state into libertie, or to bring the same into farther danger.

Whereupon Marcus Antoninus that succeeded Pius, sent Calphurnius Agricola to succeed Lollius in the gouernment of Britaine, the which easilie ouercame and subdued all his enemies. After this there chanced some trouble in the daies of the emperor Commodus the son of Marcus Antoninus and his successor in the empire: for the Britains

that dwelled northwards, beyond Adrians wall, brake through the same, and spoiled a great part of the countrie, against whom the Roman lieutenant for that time being come forth, gaue them battell: but both he and the Roman souldiers that were with him, were beaten dolone and slaine.

Dion Cassius

With which newes Commodus being sore amazed, sent against the Britains one Alpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence and temperance, but there with rough and nothing gentle. He vsed the same kind of diet that the common souldiers did vse. He was a capteine much watchfull, as one contented with verie little sleepe, and desirous to haue his souldiers also vigilant and carefull to keepe sure watch in the night season. Enerie evening he would waste twelue tables, such as they vsed to make on the lind tree, and deliuering them to one of his seruants, appointed him to beare them at severall houres of the night to sundrie souldiers, whereby supposing that their generall was still watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to sleepe.

Alpius Marcellus lieutenant.

And although of nature he could well abstaine from sleepe, yet to be the better able to forbear it, he vsed a marvellous spare kind of diet: for to the end that he would not fill himselfe too much with bread, he would eat none but such as was brought to him from Rome: so that more than necessitie compelled him he could not eat, by reason that the scarcenesse took awaie the pleasant tast thereof, and lesse provoked his appetite. He was a marvellous contentener of monie, so that bribes might not moue him to do otherwise than dutie required. This Marcellus being of such disposition, sore afflicted the Britains, and put them oftentimes to great losses: through same wherof, Commodus entruing his renowne was after in mind to make him away, but yet spared him for a further purpose, and suffered him to depart.

After he was remoued from the gouernment of Britaine, one Perhennis capteine of the emperours gard (or pretorian souldiers as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the emperor Commodus, appointed certaine gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the armie in Britaine. Which sond substituting of such petty officers to ouerse and ouerrule the people, was to them an occasion of hartgrudge, and to him a meanes of small mischefe: both which it is likelie he might haue auoided, had he bene proud in his deputation. For the souldiers in the same armie grudging and repining to be gouerned by men of base degree, in respect of those that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable per sonages, as senators, and of the consular dignitie, they fell at square among themselves, and about fiftene hundred of them departed towards Rome to exhibit their complaint against Perhennis: for what sooner was amisse, the blame was still laid to him. They passed forth without impeachment at all, and comming to Rome, the emperor himselfe came forth to vnderstand what they meant by this their comming in such sort from the place where they were appointed to serue. Their answer was, that they were come to informe him of the treason which Perhennis had deuised to his destruction, that he might make his son emperor: To the which accusation when Commodus too lightlie gaue eare, and belieued it to be true, namely, through the setting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he bridleed him from doing diuerse vnlawfull acts, which he went about vpon a wilfull mind (without all reason and modestie) to practise; the matter was so handled in the end, that Perhennis was deliuered to the souldiers, who cruellie mangled him, and presentlie put him to a pittifull death.

Perhennis capteine of the emperours gard.

Aelius Labrius.

Pertinax is sent as lieutenant into Britaine, he is in danger to be slaine of the souldiers, he riddeth himselfe of that perilous office: *Albinus with an armie of Britains fighteth against Seuerus and his power nere to Lions,*

*Seuerus is slaine in a conflict against the Picts, Geta and Bassianus two brethren make mutuell warre for the regement of the land, the one is slaine, the other ruleth.*

### The xxj. Chapter.

Pertinax lieutenant of Britaine.

**N**ow will we saie somewhat of the tumults in Britaine. It was thought needfull to send some sufficient capitaine of autoritie thither; and therefore was one Pertinax that had bene consull and ruler ouer foure severall

consular p[ro]vinces, appointed by Commodus to go as lieutenant into that Ile, both for that he was thought a man most meet for such a charge, and also to satisfie his credit, for that he had bene discharged by Perhennis of bearing anie rule, and sent home into Liguria where he was borne, and there appointed to remaine. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, pacified the armie, but not without danger to haue bene slaine by a mutinie raised by one of the legions: for he was stricken downe, and left for dead among the slaine carcasses. But he withylie reuenged himselfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chastised the rebels, and brought the Ile into metelic god quiet, he sued and obtained to be discharged of that roome, because as he alledged, the souldiers could not brooke him, for that he kept them in dutifull obedience, by correcting such as offended the lawes of armes.

The lieutenant in danger.

Clodius Albinus lieutenant.

**T**hen was Clodius Albinus appointed to haue the rule of the Romane armie in Britaine: whose destruction when Seuerus the emperor sought, Albinus perceiued it quicklie: and therefore choosing forth a great power of Britains, passed with the same ouer into France to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, so that nere to the citie of Lions they ioined in battell and fought right soze, in so much that Seuerus was at point to haue receiued the ouerthrow by the high prowesse and manhood of the Britains: but yet in the end Albinus lost the field, and was slaine. Then Heraclitus as lieutenant began to gouerne Britaine (as writeth Spartianus) being sent thither by Seuerus for that purpose before. And such was the state of this Ile about the yeare of our Lord 195. In which season, because that king Lucius was dead, and had left no issue to succeed him, the Britains (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongst themselves, and so continued till the comming of Seuerus, whome the British chonographers affirme to reigne as king in this Ile, & that by right of succession in blood, as descended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Julius Cesar, as before ye haue heard.

Seuerus.

**T**his Seuerus as then emperor of Rome, began to rule this Ile (as authors affirme) in the yeare of our Lord 207, and gouerned the same 4 yeares and od moneths. At length hearing that one Fulgentius as then a leader of the Picts was entered into the borders of his countrie on this side Durham, he raised an host of Britains and Romans, with the which he marched towards his enemies: and meeting with the said Fulgentius in a

place nere vnto Poike, in the end after soze fight Seuerus was slaine, when he had ruled this land for the space almost of fife yeares, as before is said, and was after buried at Poike, leauing behind him two sonnes, the one named Geta, and the other Bassianus. This Bassianus being borne of a British woman, succeeded his father in the gouernment of Britaine, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord 211. The Romans would haue had Geta created king of Britaine, bearing more fauour to him because he had a Romane ladie to his mother; but the Britains moued with the like respect, held with Bassianus. And therupon warre was raised betwixt the two brethren, who conning to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was slaine, and Bassianus with aid of the Britains remained victor, and so continued king, till at length he was slaine by one Carausius a Britaine, borne but of low birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well esteemed. In somuch that obtaining of the senat of Rome the keeping of the coasts of Britaine, that he might defend the same from the malice of strangers, as Picts and others, he drew to him a great number of souldiers and speciallie of Britains, to whome he promised that if they would make him king, he would cleerlie deliuer them from the oppression of the Romane seruitude. Whereupon the Britains rebelling against Bassianus, ioined themselves to Carausius, who by their support vanquished and slue the said Bassianus, after he had reigned 6 or (as some affirme) 30 yeares.

Thus farre out of the English and British writers, the which how farre they varie from likelihood of truth, you shall heare in the next chapter what the approued historiographers, Grækes and Latines, Herodianus, writing of these matters, haue recorded.

**The ambitious mind of the old emperor Seuerus, he arriueth in Britaine with a mightie power to suppress the rebellious Britains, the emperours politike prouision for his souldiers in the fens and bogs: the agilitie of the Britains, their nimblenesse, the painting of their bodies with diuerse colours, their furniture, their great sufferance of hunger, cold, &c: diuerse conflicts betweene the Romans and the Britains, their subtile traines to deceiue their enemies, the Romans pitifullie distressed, Seuerus constraineth the Caledonians to conclude a league with him; he falleth sicke, his owne sonne practiseth to make him away: the Britains begin a new rebellion, the cruell commandement of Seuerus to kill and slea all that came to hand without exception, his age, his death, and sepulchre: Bassianus ambitiouslie usurpeth the whole regement, he killeth his brother Geta, and is slaine himselfe by one of his owne souldiers.**

### The xxij. Chapter.

**T**he emperor Seuerus receiuing aduertisement from the lieutenant of Britaine, that the people there moued rebellion, & wasted the countrie with roads and forraies, so that it was needful to haue the prince himselfe to come thither with a great power to resist the enemies, he of an ambitious mind reioiced not a little for those newes, because he saw occasion offered to aduance his renowne and fame with increase of new victories now in the west, after so manie triumphs purchased and got by him in the east and north parts of the world. Whereupon though he was of great age,

yet

Antoninus  
and Geta.

The emper-  
our Seuerus  
was arriveth  
in Britaine.

Herodianus.

The meaneth of  
the north  
Britains of  
saunge Brit-  
tains as we  
now call them.

The turn-  
ture of the sa-  
uage Brit-  
tains.

yet the desire that he had still to win honour, caused him to take in hand to make a iournie into this land, and so being furnished of all things necessarie, he set forwards, being carried for the more part in a litter for his more ease: for that beside his feebleness of age, he was also troubled with the gout. He took with him his two sonnes, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, upon purpose as was thought, to avoid occasions of such inconvenience as he perceived might grow by discord moved betwixt them through flatterers and malicious hypocrits, which sought to set them at variance: which to bring to passe, he perceived there should want no means whilst they continued in Rome, amidst such pleasures & idle pastimes as were daile there frequented: and therefore he caused them to attend him in this iournie into Britaine, that they might learne to live soberlie, and after the manner of men of warre.

Seuerus being thus on his iournie towards Britaine, staied not by the waie, but with all diligence sped him forth, and passing the sea berie swiftlie, entered this Ile, and assembled a mightie power together, meaning to assaile his enemies, and to pursue the warre against them to the uttermost. The Britains greatly amazed with this sudden arrival of the emperor, and hearing that such preparation was made against them, sent ambassadours to him to intreat of peace, and to excuse their rebellious doings. But Seuerus delaing time for answer, as he that was desirous to achieve some high enterprise against the Britains, for the which he might deserve the surname of Britannicus, which he greatly coveted, still was busie to prepare all things necessarie for the warre; and namely, caused a great number of bridges to be made to lay over the bogs and marshes, so that his souldiers might have place to stand upon, and not to be incumbered for lacke of firme ground when they should cope with their enemies: for the more part of Britaine in those daies (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fens & marsh ground, by reason of the often flowings and washings of the sea tides: by the which marshy grounds the enemies being thereto accustomed, would run and swim in the waters, and wade up to the middle at their pleasure, going for the more part naked, so that they passed not on the mud and mirres, for they knew not the use of wearing cloths, but wore hopes of iron about their middles and necks, esteeming the same as an ornament and token of riches, as other barbarous people did gold.

Moreover they marked, or (as it were) painted their bodies in diverse sorts and with sundrie shapes and figures of beasts and fowles, and therefore they used not to wear any garments, that such painting of their bodies might the more apparantlie be seene, which they esteemed a great braverie.

They were as the same Herodianus writeth, a people given much to war, and delighted in slaughter and bloodshed, using none other weapons or armour but a slender buckler, a saucine, and a sword tied to their naked bodies: as for headpiece or halbergeon, they esteemed not, because they thought the same should be an hinderance to them when they should passe over any marsh, or be driven to swim any waters, or flee to the bogs.

Moreover, to suffer hunger, cold, and frauell, they were so used and inured therewith, that they would not chuse to lie in the bogs and mirres covered up to the chin, without caring for meate for the space of diverse daies together: and in the woods they would live upon roots and barks of trees. Also they used to prepare for themselves a certaine kind of meate, of the which if they received but so much as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke them-

selves satisfied, and feele neither hunger nor thirst. The one halfe of the Ile or little lesse was subiect unto the Romans, the other was governed of themselves, the people for the most part having the rule in their hands.

Seuerus therefore meaning to subdue the whole, and understanding their nature, and the manner of their making warre, provided him selfe of all things expedient for the annoiance of them and helpe of his owne souldiers, and appointing his sonne Geta to remaine in that part of the Ile which was subiect to the Romans, he took with him his other sonne Antoninus, and with his armie marched forth, and entered into the confines of the enemies, and there began to waste and forrey the countrey, whereby they ensued diverse conflicts and skirmishes betwixt the Romans and the inhabitants, the victorie still remaining on the Romans side: but the enemies easily escaped without any great losse unto the woods, mountains, bogs, and such other places of refuge as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romans durst not follow, nor once approach, for feare to be intrapped and inclosed by the Britains that were ready to returne and assaile their enemies upon every occasion of advantage that might be offered.

This manner of dealing so troubled the Romans, and so hindered them in their proceedings, that no speedie end could be made of that warre. The Britains would oftentimes of purpose laie their cattell, as oxen, kine, sheepe, and such like, in places convenient, to be as a snare to the Romans; and when the Romans should make to them to fetch the same away, being distant from the residue of the armie a good space, they would fall upon them and distresse them. Beside this, the Romans were much annoyed with the unwholesomnesse of the waters which they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to strake abroad, they were snatched up by ambushes which the Caledonians laid for them, and when they were so feeble that they could not through want of strength keepe pace with their fellows as they marched in order of battell, they were slaine by their owne fellows, least they should be left behind for a prey to the enemies. Whereby there died in this iournie of the Roman armie, at the point of fiftie thousand men: but yet would not Seuerus returne, till he had gone through the whole Ile, and so came to the uttermost parts of all the countrey now called Scotland, and at last backe againe to the other part of the Ile subiect to the Romans, the inhabitants whereof are named (by Dion Cassius) *Mætae*. But first he forced the other, whom the same Dion nameth Caledonij, to conclude a league with him, upon such conditions, as they were compelled to depart with no small portion of the countrey, and to deliver unto him their armour and weapons.

In the meane time, the emperor Seuerus being worne with age fell sicke, so that he was constrained to abide at home within that part of the Ile which obeyed the Romans, and to appoint his sonne Antoninus to take charge of the armie abroad. But Antoninus not regarding the enemies, attempted little or nothing against them, but sought waies how to win the favour of the souldiers and men of warre, that after his fathers death (for which he daile looked) he might have their aid and assistance to be admitted emperor in his place. Now when he saw that his father bare out his sickness longer time than he would have wished, he practised with physicians and other of his fathers servants to dispatch him by one meane or other.

Whilst Antoninus thus negligentlie looked to his charge, the Britains began a new rebellion, not onlie those that were lately joined in league with the emperor,

Dion Cassius.



emperour, but the other also which were subiects to the Romane empire. Seuerus took such displeasure, that he called together the souldiers, and commanded them to invade the countie, and to kill all such as they might meet within any place without respect, and that his cruell commandement he expressed in these verses taken out of Homer:

Uados. 3.

*Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cademque cruentam,  
Non factus grauida mater quem gessit in aluo  
Horrendam effugiat cadem.*

But while he was thus disquieted with the rebellion of the Britains, and the disloyall practices of his sonne Antoninus, which to him were not unknowne, (for the wicked sonne had by diuers attempts discovered his traitorous and vnmaturall meanings) at length, rather through sorrow and griefe, than by force of sicknesse, he wasted awaie, and departed this life at Worke, the third daie before the nones of Februarie, after he had gouerned the empire by the space of 17 yeares, 8 moneths, & 33 daies. He liued 65 yeres, 9 moneths, & 13 daies: he was borne the third ides of April. By that which before is recited out of Herodian and Dion Cassius, of the manners & vices of those people, against whom Seuerus held warre here in Britaine, it maie be coniectured, that they were the Picts, the which possessed in those daies a great part of Scotland, and with continual incursions and rodes wasted and destroyed the borders of those countries which were subiect to the Romans. To keepe them backe therefore and to represse their incursions, Seuerus (as some write) either restored the former wall made by Adrian, or else newlie built an other ouerthwart the Ale from the east sea to the west, containing in length 232 miles. This wall was not made of stone, but of turfe and earth supported with stakes and piles of wood, and defended on the backe with a deepe trench or ditch, and also fortified with diuerse towers and turrets built & erected vpon the same wall or rampire so nere together, that the sound of trumpets being placed in the same, might be heard betwixt, and so warning giuen from one to another vpon the first deserting of the enemies.

Herodianus.  
Dion Cassius.  
Eutropius.  
Dion Cassius.

Eutropius.  
Orosius.

Dion Cassius.

Beda.

Hector Boetius.

Polydorus.  
Herodianus.  
211

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our Lord 211, his son Antoninus otherwise called also Bassianus, would faine haue usurped the whole government into his owne hands, attempting with bribes and large promises to corrupt the minds of the souldiers: but when he perceived that his purpose would not forward as he wished in that behalfe, he concluded a league with the enemies, and making peace with them, returned backe towards Worke, and came to his mother and brother Geta, with whom he took order for the buriall of his father. And first his bodie being burnt (as the manner was) the ashes were put into a vessel of gold, and so conueied to Rome by the two brethren and the emperesse Julia, who was mother to Geta the younger brother, and mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Bassianus, & by all meanes possible sought to maintaine loue and concord betwixt the brethren, which now at the first took vpon them to rule the empire equally together. But the ambition of Bassianus was such, that finally vpon desire to haue the whole rule himselfe, he found meanes to dispatch his brother Geta, breaking one daie into his chamber, and slaying him euen in his mothers lap, and so possessed the government alone, till at length he was slaine at Edessa a citie in Mesopotamia by one of his owne souldiers, as he was about to entrust his points to do the office of nature, after he had reigned the space of 6 yeares, as is aforesaid. Where we are to note Gods iudgment, providing that he which had shed mans blood, should also die by the sword.

Sextus Aurelius.

Of Carausius an obscure Britaine, what countries he gaue the Picts, and where vpon, his death by Alecius his successor, the Romans foiled by Asclepiodotus duke of Cornwall, whereof Walbrooke had the name, the couctous practice of Carausius the vsurper.

## The xxiiij. Chapter.



Carausius a Britan of vni-  
knowne birth, as witnesseth  
the British histories, after he  
had vanquished & slaine Bassianus (as the same histories make mention) was of the Britains made king and ruler over them, in the yere of our Lord 218, as Galfredus saith: but W. H. noteth it to be in the yere 286. This Carausius either to haue the aid & support of the Picts, as in the British historie is contained, either else to be at quietnesse with them, being not otherwise able to resist them, gaue to them the countries in the south parts of Scotland, which tolne to England on the east marches, as Pers, Louthian, and others.

But here is to be noted, that the British writers affirme, that these Picts which were thus placed in the south parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scythia by Fulgentius, to aid him against Seuerus, and that after the death of Seuerus and Fulgentius, which both died of hurts receiued in the battell fought betwixt them at Worke: the Picts took part with Bassianus, and at length betrayed him in the battell which he fought against Carausius: for he corrupting them by such subtilie practices as he vsed, they turned to his side, to the overthrow and utter destruction of Bassianus: for the which traitorous part they had those south countries of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scottish writers it should appeare, that those Picts which aided Fulgentius and also Carausius, were the same that long before had inhabited the north parts of Britaine, now called Scotland. But whatsoeuer they were, truth it is (as the British histories record) that at length one Alecius was sent from Rome by the senat with 2 legions of souldiers to subdue Carausius, which he did, and slue him in the field, as the same histories make mention, after he had reigned the space of 7, or 8, yeares: and in the yere of our saluation two hundred, ninetie, three.

Alecius in hauing vanquished and slaine Carausius took vpon him the rule and government of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 293. This Alecius, when he had restored the land to the subiection of the Romans, did vse great crueltie against such Britains as had maintained the part of Carausius, by reason whereof he purchased much euill will of the Britains, the which at length conspired against him, and purposing to chase the Romans altogether out of their countie, they procured one Asclepiodotus (whome the British chronicles name duke of Cornwall) to take vpon him as chiefe captaine that enterprise. Wherevpon the same Asclepiodotus assembling a great armie, made such sharpe warres on the Romans, that they being chased from place to place, at length withdrew to the citie of London, and there held them till Asclepiodotus came thither, and preuoked Alecius and his Romans so much, that in the end they issued forth of the citie, and gaue battell to the Britains, in the which much people on both parts were slaine, but the greater

218  
Galfred.

Polychron.  
Fabian.

Galfred.

Alecius.  
Of whom our  
British histories  
doe not say  
after that  
manner.  
293

test number died on the Romans side: and amongst others, Alecius himselfe was slaine. the residue of the Romans that were left aliue, retired backe into the citie with a capitaine of theirs named Livius Callus, and defended themselves within the walles for a time right valiantlie. Thus was Alecius slaine of the Britains, after he had reigned (as some suppose) about the terme of six yeares, or (as some other write) three yeares.

**A**sclepiodotus, duke of Cornewall, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 232. After he had vanquished the Romans in battell, as before is recited, he laid his siege about the citie of London, and finally by knightlie force entered the same, and slue the forenamed Livius Callus nere unto a brooke, which in those daies ran through the citie, & threw him into the same brooke: by reason whereof long after it was called Callus or Callus brooke. And at this present the streete where the same brooke did run, is called Malbrooke.

Then after Asclepiodotus had overcome all his enemies, he held this land a certaine space in good rest and quiet, and ministred iustice vprightlie, in rewarding the good, and punishing the euill. Till at length, through slanderous tongues of malicious persons, discord was raised betwixt the king and one Coill or Coilus, that was gouernour of Colchester: the occasion whereof appeareth not by writers. But whatsoeuer the matter was, there ensued such hatred betwixt them, that on both parts great armies were raised, and meeting in the field, they fought a sore and mightie battell, in the which Asclepiodotus was slaine, after he had reigned 30 yeares. Thus haue Geoffrey of Monmouth and our common chroniclers written of Carausius, Alecius, and Asclepiodotus, which gouerned here in Britaine.

But Eutropius the famous writer of the Romane histories, in the acts of Dioclesian hath in effect these words. About the same time Carausius, the which being borne of most base offspring, attained to high honour and dignitie by order of renowned chualtrie & seruice in the warres, receiued charge at Bolein, to keepe the seas quiet alongst the coasts of Britaine, France, and Flanders, and other countries thereabouts, because the Frenchmen, which yet inhabited within the bounds of Germanie, and the Saxons sore troubled those seas. Carausius taking oftentimes manie of the enemies, neither restored the goods to them of the countie from whence the enemies had bereft the same, nor yet sent anie part thereof to the emperours, but kept the whole to his owne vse. Whereupon when suspicion arose, that he should of purpose suffer the enemies to passe by him, till they had taken some prizes, that in their returne with the same he might incounter with them, and take that from them which they had gotten (by which subtilie practise he was thought greatly to haue enriched himselfe) Marimianus that was fellow in gouernment of the empire with Dioclesianus, remaining then in Gallia, and aduertised of these doings, commanded that Carausius should be slaine, but he hauing warning thereof rebelled, and blurping the imperiall ornaments and title, got possession of Britaine, against whom (being a man of great experience in all warlike knowledge) when warres had bene attempted and solued in vaine, at length a peace was concluded with him, and so he enioied the possession of Britaine by the space of seuen yeares, & then was slaine by his companion Alecius, the which after him ruled Britaine for the space of three yeares, and was in the end oppressed by the guile of Asclepiodotus gouernour of the ptoerie, or (as I maie call him) lord lieutenant of some pceinct and iurisdiction pertaining to the Romane empire. And so was Britaine reco-

uered by the foresaid Asclepiodotus about ten yeares after that Carausius had first blurped the gouernment there, and about the yeare of our Lord 300, as Polydor Iudgeth, wherein be varietly much from Fabian and others.

But to shew what we find further written of the subduing of Alecius, I thinke it not amisse to set downe what Mamertinus in his oration written in praise of Marimianus doth report of this maieste, which shall be performed in the chapter following.

The substance of that which is written touching Britaine in a panegyrike oration ascribed to Mamertinus, which he set forth in praise of the emperours Dioclesian and Maximian: it is intituled onelie to Maximian, whereas neuertheless both the emperours are praised; and likewise (as ye may perceiue) Constantius who was father to Constantine the great is here spoken of, being chosen by the two foresaid emperours, to assist them by the name of Caesar in rule of the empire: of whom hereafter more shall be said.

### The xxiiij. Chapter.

**A**t the compasse of the earth (most victorious Emperour) being now recovered through your noble prowesse, not onelie so farre as the limits of the Romane empire had before extended, but also the enemies borders being subdued, when Almaine had bene so often vanquished, and Sarmatia so often restrained & brought vnder, the people called Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi so often put to flight, the Goth submitting himselfe, the king of Persia by offering gifts suing for peace: one despitefull reproch of so mightie an empire and gouernement ouer the whole graued vs to the heart, as now at length we will not sticke to confesse, and to vs it seemed the moze intollerable, because it onelie remained to the accomplishing of your perfect renowne and glorie. And verilie as there is but one name of Britaine, so was the losse to be esteemed final to the common wealth of a land so plentifull of corne, so abundant with stoe of pastures, so flowing with beines of mettall, so gainfull with reuenues rising of customs and tributes, so enuironed with hauens, so huge in circuit, the which when Cesar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the first that entered into it, writ that he had found an other world, supposing it to be so big, that it was not compassed with the sea, but that rather by resemblance the great Ocean was compassed with it. Now at that time Britaine was nothing furnished with ships of warre: so that the Romans, soone after the warres of Carthage and Asia, had latelie bene exercised by sea against pirats, and afterwards by reason of the warres against Mithridates, were practised as well to fight by sea as land: besides this, the British nation then alone was accustomed but onelie to the Dicts and

200.

Mamertinus.

Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi, and people of Germanie and Polonie.

Dicts and Irishmen.

Asclepiodotus.

Malbrooke.

Asclepiodotus slaine.

Eutropius.

The courteous painting of Carausius.

Marimianus purposely to slay Carausius.

Polydor.

Eutropius.

and Irishmen, enemies halfe naked as yet a not bled to weare armor, so that the Britains for lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romane puissance, insomuch that Cesar might by that boiage onelie glozie in this, that he had sailed and passed ouer the Ocean sea.

But in this wicked rebellious robberie, first the nauie that in times past defended the coasts of Gallia, was led away by the pirat when he fled his waies: and beside this, a great number of other ships were built after the mould of ours, the legion of Romane souldiers was wonn, and brought to take part with the enimie, and diuers bands of strangers that were also souldiers were shut vp in the ships to serue also against vs. The merchants of the parties of Gallia were assembled and brought together to the musters, and no small numbers of barbarous nations procured to come in aid of the rebels, trusting to enrich themselves by the spoile of the prouinces: and all these were trained in the wars by sea, through the instruction of the first attemptors of this mischieuous practise.

Long sufferance of euill increaseth boldnesse in the author.

Caradins saune

And although our armie were inuincible in force and manhood, yet were they raw and not accustomed to the seas, so that the fame of a graecus and great trouble by warre that was toward by this shamefull rebellious robberie was blowne and sounded in ech mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Unto the enemies forces was added a long sufferance of their wicked practises without punishment, which had puffd by the presumptuous boldnesse of desperate people, that they bragged of our stay, as it had bene for feare of them, where as the disadvantage which we had by sea, seemed as it were by a fatall necessitie to deferre our victorie: neither did they beleue that the warre was put off for a time by aduise and counsell, but rather to be omitted through despair of doing anie good against them, insomuch that now the feare of common punishment being laid aside, one of the mates slue the archpirat or capteine rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of so great an exploit, to obtaine the whole gouernement into his hands.

This warre then being both so necessarie, so hard to enter vpon, so growne in time to a stubborne stiffenesse, and so well provided for of the enemies part, you noble emperour did so take it in hand, that so soone as you bent the thundering force of your imperiall maiestie against that enimie, ech man made account that the enterprise was already atchieued. For first of all, to the end that your diuine power being absent, the barbarous nations should not attempt anie new trouble (a thing chieflie to be foresene) it was provided for aforehand by intercession made vnto your maiestie: for you your selfe, you (I say) mightie lord Maximian eternall emperor, vouchsafed to aduance the com-

ming of your diuine excellencie by the next way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne. You therefore suddencly came to the Rhine, and not with anie armie of horsemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your presence did preserue and defend all that frontire: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteruailed anie the greatest armie that were to be found. For you (most inuincible emperor) furnishing and arming diuers nauies, made the enimie so vncertaine of his owne doing and hold of counsell, that then at length he might perceiue that he was not defended, but rather inclosed with the Ocean sea.

Here cometh to mind how pleasant and easfull the good lucke of those princes in gouerning the common wealth with praise was, which sitting still in Rome had triumphs and surnames appointed them of such nations as their capteins did banquish. Fronto therefore, not the second, but match with the first honoz of the Romane eloquence, when he yielded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renoume of the warre brought to end in Britaine, although he sitting at home in his palace within the citie, had committed the conduct and successe of that warre ouer vnto the same Fronto, it was confessed by him, that the emperor sitting as it were at the helme of the ship, deserued the praise, by giuing of perfect order to the full accomplishing of the enterprise. But you (most inuincible emperor) haue bene not onlie the appointer forth how all this boiage by sea, and prosecuting the warre by land should be demeaned, as appertained to you by vertue of your imperiall rule and dignitie, but also you haue bene an exhorter and setter forward in the things themselves, and through example of your assured constancie, the victorie was atchieued. For you taking the sea at Sluice, did put an irreuocable desire into their hearts that were readie to take ship at the same time in the mouth of the riuier of Saine, insomuch that when the capteins of that armie did linger out the time, by reason the seas and aire was troubled, they cried to haue the sailes hoised by, and signe giuen to lanch forth, that they might passe forward on their iourne, despising certaine tokens which threatened their woecke, and so set forward on a ratnie and tempestuous day, sailing with a crosse wind, for no forewind might serue their turne.

But what was he that durst not commir himselfe vnto the sea, were the same neuer so vnquiet, when you were once vnder saile, and set forward? One voice and exhortation was among them all (as report hath gone thereof) when they heard that you were once got forth vpon the water. What doe we doubt? what mean we to staie? He is now losed from land, he is forward on his waie, and peraduenture is already got ouer: Let vs put all things in

Fronto considered Cereus match.

prowe,

prose, let vs benter throughanie dangers  
of sea whatsoeuer. What is there that we  
may stand in feare of? we follow the empe-  
roure. Neither did the opinion of your good  
hap deceiue them: for as by report of them  
selues we doe vnderstand, at that selfe time  
there fell such a mist and thicke fog vpon  
the seas, that the enemies nauie laid at the  
Aile of wight watching for their aduersa-  
ries, and lurking as it were in await, these  
your ships passed by, and were not once  
perceiued, neither did the enemy then staie  
although he could not resist,

But now as concerning that the same  
vniuersall army fighting vnder your  
ensignes and name, streightwaies after  
it came to land, let fire on their ships; what  
moued them so to doe, except the admoni-  
tions of your diuine motion? What o-  
ther reason perswaded them to reterue no  
furtherance for their flight, if need were,  
nor to feare the doubtfull chances of war,  
nor as the prouerbe saith) to thinke the  
hazard of martiall dealings to be common,  
but that by contemplation of your prospe-  
rous hap, it was verie certaine that there  
needed no doubt to be cast for victorie to be  
obtained: There were no sufficient forces  
at that present among them, no mightie or  
puissant strength of the Romans, but they  
had onelie consideration of your vnsp-  
eakable fortunate successe comming from the  
heauens aboue. For whatsoeuer battell  
doth chance to be offered, to make full ac-  
count of victorie, resteth not so much in the  
assurance of the souldiers, as in the good  
lucke and felicitie of the capteine generall.

The good  
Aile in a cap-  
saw.

That same ringleader of the bngratious  
faction, what ment he to depart from that  
shore which he possessed? Why did he for-  
lake both his nauie and the haues? But  
that (most inuincible emperor) he stood  
in feare of your comming, whose sailes he  
beheld readie to approach towards him,  
how soeuer the matter should fall out, he  
chose rather to trie his fortune with your  
capteins, than to abide the present force of  
your highnes. Ah mad man! that vnderstood  
not, that whither so euer he fled, the pow-  
er of your diuine maiestie to be present in  
all places where your countenance & ban-  
ners are had in reuerence. But he fleeing  
from your presence, fell into the hands of  
your people, of you was he overcome, of  
your armies was he oppressed.

To be short, he was brought into such  
feare, and as it were still looking behind  
him, for doubt of your comming after him,  
that as one out of his wits and amazed, he  
wist not what to doe, he halted forward to  
his death, so that he neither set his men in  
order of battell, nor marshalled such power  
as he had about him, but onlie with the old  
authoris of that conspiracie, and the hired  
bands of the barbarous nations, as one  
forgetfull of so great preparation which he  
had made, ran headlong forward to his  
destruction, inasmuch (noble emperor)  
your felicitie yeeldeth this good hap to the

common wealt, that the victorie being at-  
chined in the behalfe of the Romane em-  
pire, there almost died not one Romane:  
for as I heare, all those fields and hills lay  
couered with none but onelie with the bo-  
dies of most wicked enemies, the same be-  
ing of the barbarous nations, or at the  
least-wise apparelled in the counterfet  
shapes of barbarous garments, glistering  
with their long yellow haire, but now  
with gashes of wounds and bloud all de-  
formed, and lieng in sundrie manners, as  
the pangs of death occasioned by their  
wounds had caused them to stretch forth  
or draw in their mained luns and mangled  
parts of their dieng bodies. And among  
these, the chiefe ringleader of the tharues  
was found, who had put off those robes  
which in his life time he had blurped and  
dishonoured, so as scarce was he couered  
with one peece of apparell whereby he  
might be knowne, so nere were his words  
true, vttered at the houre of his death,  
which he saw at hand, that he would not  
haue it vnderstand how he was slaine.

Allectus found  
dead.

He had despoil-  
ed himselfe of  
the imperiall  
robes, because  
he should not  
be knowne if  
he chanced to  
be slaine.

Thus verelie (most inuincible empe-  
roure) so great a victorie was appointed to  
you by consent of the immortall gods ouer  
all the enemies whome you assailed, but  
namelie the slaughter of the Frankeners  
and those your souldiers also, which (as be-  
fore I haue said) through missing their  
course by reason of the mist that lay on the  
seas, were now come to the citie of Lon-  
don, where they slue downe right in ech  
part of the same citie, what multitude soe-  
uer remained of those hired barbarous  
people, which escaping from the battell,  
ment (after they had spoiled the citie) to  
haue got awaie by flight. But now being  
thus slaine by your souldiers, the subjects  
of your prouince were both preserved from  
further danger, and tooke pleasure to be-  
hold the slaughter of such cruell enemies.  
What a manifold victorie was this, wor-  
thie vndoubtedlie of innumerable trium-  
phes! by which victorie Britaine is resto-  
red to the empire, by which victorie the na-  
tion of the Frankeners is vtterlie destrui-  
ed, & by which manie other nations found  
accessaries in the conspiracie of that wil-  
ked practise, are compelled to obedience. To  
conclude, the seas are purged and brought  
to perpetuall quietnesse.

Francorci sine  
Francia.

London in  
banger to be  
spoiled.

Glorie you therefore, inuincible empe-  
roure, for that you haue as it were got an  
other world, & in restoring to the Romane  
puissance the glory of conquest by sea, haue  
added to the Romane empire an element  
greater than all the compasse of the earth,  
that is, the mightie maine ocean. You haue  
made an end of the warre (inuincible em-  
perour) that seemed as present to threaten  
all prouinces, and might haue spread abroad  
and burst out in a flame, euen so largelie as  
the ocean seas stretch, and the mediter-  
rane gulfs doe reach. Neither are we igno-  
rant, although through feare of you that  
infection did fester within the bowels of  
Britaine

Britaine onelie, and proceeded no further, with what furie it would haue aduanced it selfe else where, if it might haue bene assured of means to haue ranged abroad so far as it wished. For it was bounded in with no border of mountaine, nor riuer, which garvillons appointed were garded and defended but euen so as the ships, although we had your martiall prowes and prosperous fortune redie to relæue vs, & was still at our elbowes to put vs in feare, so farre as either sea reacheth or wind bloweth.

The piracie of the Franken-  
ners called  
Francis of Fran-  
cones.

For that incredible boldnesse and worthie good hap of a fewe sillie captiues of the Frankeners in time of the emperor Probus came to our remembrance, which Frankeners in that season, conuenging awaie certeine vessels from the coastes of Pontus, waisted both Grecia and Asia, and not without great hurt and damage, arriuing vpon diuers parts of the shore of Libia, at length toke the citie of Saragose in Sicile (an haueu towne in times past highlie renowned for victories gotten by sea): & after this passing thorough the streits of Giberaltterra, came into the Ocean, and so with the fortunate successe of their rash presumptuous attempt, shewed how nothing is shut vp in safetie from the desperate boldnesse of pirats, where ships maie come and haue accessle. And so therefore by this your victorie, not Britaine alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is safetie restored, which might by the vse of the seas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gaine of commodities in time of peace.

Britains re-  
stored to qui-  
etnes.

The Brit-  
tains receiue  
Maximian  
with great  
joy and hum-  
bilitie.

Now Spaine (to let passe the coastes of Gallia) with hir shores almost in sight is inuertie: now Italie, now Africke, now all nations euen vnto the fens of Heotis are boid of perpetuall cares. Neither are they lesse ioisfull, the feare of danger being taken awaie, which to feele as yet the necessitie had not brought them: but they reioise so much the more for this, that both in the guiding of your prouidence, and also furtherance of fortune, so great a force of rebellion by seamen is calmed, vpon the entring into their borders, and Britaine it selfe which had giuen harbour to so long a mischiefe, is euidentlie knowne to haue tasted of your victorie, with hir onelie restitution to quietnesse. Not without good cause therfore immediatlie, when you hir long wished reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your maiestie was met with great triumph, & the Britains replenished with all inward gladnesse, came forth and offered themselves to your presence, with their wiues and childzen, reuerencing not onlie your selfe (on whom they set their eyes, as on one descended downe to them from heauen) but also euen the sailes and tackling of that ship which had brought your diuine presence vnto their coastes: and when you should set foot on land, they were readie to lie downe at

your feet, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, so desirous were they of you.

Neither was it anie maruell if they shewed them selues so ioisfull, sith after their miserable captiuitie so manie yerres continued, after so long abusing of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their childzen, at length yet were they now restored to libertie, at length made Romans, at length refreshed with the true light of the imperiall rule and gouernement: for beside the same of your clemencie and pittie, which was set forth by the report of all nations, in your countenance (Cesar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eyes mildnesse, in your ruddie cheekes bashfulnesse, in your words iustice: all which things as by regard they acknowledged, so with voices of gladnesse they signified on high. To you they bound themselves by bow, to you they bound their childzen: yea and to your childzen they bowed all the posteritie of their race and offspring.

The trulie (O perpetuall parents and lords of mankind) require this of the immortal gods with most earnest supplication and heartie praier, that our childzen and their childzen, and such other as shall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicated vnto you, and to those whom you now bring vp, or shall bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can we wish to them that shall succed vs, than to be enioiers of that felicitie which now we our selues enioy? The Romane common wealth dooth now comprehend in one coniunction of peace, all whatsoever at sundrie times haue belonged to the Romans, and that huge power which with too great a burden was thronke downe, and riuen in sunder, is now brought to ioine againe in the assured ioints of the imperiall gouernement. For there is no part of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that either it remaineth quiet through feare, or subdued by force of armies, or at the lestwise bound by clemencie. And is there anie other thing else in other parts, which if will and reason should moue men thereto, that might be obtained? Beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Britaine, which is so recovered by you, that those nations which are nere adioining to the bounds of that Ile, are obedient to your commandments: There is no occasion that may moue you to passe further, except the ends of the Ocean sea, which nature forbiddeth should be sought for. All is yours (most inuincible princes) which are accounted worthy of you, and thereof commeth it, that you may equallie prouide for euerie one, sith you haue the whole in your maiesties hands. And therefore as heretofore (most excellent emperor Dioclesian) by your commandment Asia did supplie the desert places of Thracia with inhabitants transported thither, as afterward

Dioclesian  
and Max-  
an.

Nations  
nere to Brit-  
taine obedi-  
ent.



Chapinted  
but hath  
been, but  
the 11, to  
be about  
1000.

Verificat  
fourth of  
1000.

(most excellent emperour Maximian) by your appointment, the Frankeners at length brought to a pleasant subiection, and admitted to liue vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacant fields of the Perutians, and those about the citie of Trier. And so now by your victories (invincible Constantius Cesar) whatsoever did lie vacant about Amiens, Beauois, Trois, and Langres, beginneth to flourish with inhabitants of sundrie nations: yea and moreover that your most obedient citie of Autun, for whose sake I haue a peculiar cause to reioise, by meanes of this triumphant victorie in Britaine, it hath received manie & diuerse artificers, of whom those prouinces were full, and now by their workmanship the same citie riseth by repairing of ancient houses, and restoring of publike buildings and temples, so that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherlie incorpotation to Rome, is againe to hir restored, when she hath you establisht for hir founder. I haue said (invincible emperour) almost more than I haue bene able, & not so much as I ought, that I may haue most iust cause by your clemencies licence, both now to end, & often hereafter to speake: and thus I cease.

What is to be obserued and noted out of the panegyrike oration of Mamertinus afore remembred, with necessarie collections, out of other Antiquaries.

### The xxv. Chapter.

**N**ow let vs consider what is to be noted out of this part of the foresaid oration. It should seeme that when the emperour Maximian was sent into Gallia by appointment taken betwixt him and Dioclesian, after he had quieted things there, he set his mind forthwith to reduce Britaine vnder the obedience of the empire, which was at that present kept vnder subiection of such princes as maintained their state, by the mightie forces of such number of ships as they had got together, furnished with all things necessarie, & namely of able seamen, as well Britains as strangers, among whom the Frankeners were chiefe, a nation of Germanie, as then highly renowned for their puissance by sea, nere to the which they inhabited, so that there were no rowers comparable to them.

Franci, or  
Frankeners,  
people of Ger-  
maine,

But because none durst stirre on these our seas for feare of the British fleet that passed to and fro at pleasure, to the great annoyance of the Romane subjects inhabiting alongst the coasts of Gallia, Maximian both to recover againe so wealthie and profitable a land vnto the obedience of the empire, as Britaine then was, and also to deliuer the people of Gallia subiect to the Romans, from danger of being daily spoiled by those rowers that were maintained here in Britaine, he prouided with all diligence such numbers of ships as were thought requisite for so great an enterprise, and digging them in handy places, took order for their setting for-

ward to his most abuantage for the easie atchining of his enterprise. He appointed to passe himselfe from the coasts of Flanders, at what time other of capteines with their fleets from other parts should likewise make saile towards Britaine. By this meanes Alecdus that had usurped the title & dignitie of king or rather emperour ouer the Britains, knew not where to take heed, but yet vnderstanding of the naue that was made readie in the mouth of Saine, he ment by that which maie be coniectured, to intercept that fleet, as it should come forth and make saile forwards: and so for that purpose he late with a great number of ships about the Ile of Wight.

But whether Asclepiodotus came ouer with that naue which was rigged on the coasts of Flanders, or with some other, I will not presume to affirme either to or fro, because in deed Mamertinus maketh no expresse mention either of Alecdus or Asclepiodotus: but notwithstanding it is euident by that which is contained in his oration, that not Maximian, but some other of his capteins gouerned the armie, which Aue Alecdus, so that we maie suppose that Asclepiodotus was chieftaine ouer some number of ships directed by Maximians appointment to passe ouer into this Ile against the same Alecdus: and so maie this, which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that which we doe find in Eutropius.

Eutropius,

Here is to be remembred, that after Maximian had thus recovered Britaine out of their hands that usurped the rule thereof from the Romans, it should seeme that not onelie great numbers of artificers & other people were conueied ouer into Gallia, there to inhabit and furnish such cities as were run into decaye, but also a power of warlike youths was transported thither to defend the countrie from the inuasion of barbarous nations. For we find that in the daies of this Maximian, the Britains expelling the Perutians out of the citie of Pons in Venand, held a castell there, which was called Brestamons after them, whereupon the citie was afterward called Pons, retaining the last syllable onlie, as in such cases it hath often happened.

Moreover this is not to be forgotten, that as Humfrey Lhoyd hath very well noted in his booke intituled *Fragmenta historiae Britannicae*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegyrike oration doth make first mention of the nation of Picts, of all other the ancient Romane writers: so that not one before his time once nameth Picts or Scots. But now to retorne where we left.

The state of this Iland vnder bloudie Dioclesian the persecuting tyrant, of Alban the first that suffered martyrdome in Britaine, what miracles were wrought at his death, whereof Lichfield took the name; of Coilus earle of Colchester, whose daughter Helen was married to Constantius the emperour, as some authours suppose.

### The xxvj. Chapter.

**A**fter that Britaine was thus recovered by the Romans, Dioclesian and Maximian ruling the empire, the Iland tasted of the crueltie that Dioclesian exercised against the christians, in persecuting them with all extremities, continuallie for the space of ten yeeres. A. J. i. mongst

Beda and  
Gyldas.

mongst other, one Alban a citizen of Wilerlamchester, a towne now bearing his name, was the first that suffered here in Britaine in this persecution, being converted to the faith by the zealous christian Amphibalus, whom he receiued into his house: in somuch that when there came sergeants to seeke for the same Amphibalus, the foresaid Alban to preserve Amphibalus out of danger, presented himselfe in the apparell of the said Amphibalus, & so being apprehended in his stead, was brought before the iudge and examined: and for that he refused to do sacrifice to the false gods, he was beheaded on the top of an hill ouer against the towne of Wilerlamchester aforesaid where afterwards was builded a church and monasterie in remembrance of his martyrdome, in somuch that the towne there reformed, after that Wilerlamchester was destroyed, toke name of him, and so is vnto this day called saint Albons.

It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wrought at the time of his death, in somuch that one which was appointed to doe the execution, was converted, and refusing to doe that office, suffered also with him: but he that toke vpon him to doe it, reioiced nothing thereat, for his eies fell out of his head dolone to the ground, together with the head of that holie man which he had then cut off. There were also martyred about the same time two constant witnesses of Christ his religion, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon Artwiske. Moreover, a great number of Christians which were assembled together to heare the word of life, preached by that vertuous man Amphibalus, were slaine by the wicked pagans at Lichfield, wherof that towne toke name, as you would say, The field of dead corpses.

To be brieft, this persecution was so great and greuous, and thereto so vniuersall, that in maner the Christian religion was thereby destroyed. The faithfull people were slaine, their bookes burnt, and churches ouerthrowne. It is recorded that in one moneths space in diuers places of the world there were 17000 godlie men and women put to death, for professing the christian faith in the daies of that tyrant Dioclesian and his fellow Marimian.

Coelus earle of Colchester began his dominion ouer the Britains in the yere of our Lord 262. This Coelus or Coell ruled the land for a certeine time, so as the Britains were well content with his gouernement, and liued the longer in rest from inuasion of the Romans, because they were occupied in other places: but finally they finding time for their purpose, appointed one Constantius to passe ouer into this Ile with an armie, the which Constantius put Coelus in such dread, that immediatlie vpon his arriuall Coelus sent to him an ambassage, and concluded a peace with him, couenanting to pay the accustomed tribute, & gaue to Constantius his daughter in marriage called Helen, a noble ladie and a learned. Shortly after king Coell died, when he had reigned (as some write) 27 yeres, or (as other haue) but 13 yeres.

But by the way touching this Coelus, I will not denie, but assuredly such a prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helen, whom he married vnto Constantius the Romane lieutenant that was after emperour, I leaue that to be decided of the learned. For if the whole course of the liues, as well of the father and the sonne Constantius and Constantine, as likewise of the mother Helen, be consideratlie marked from time to time, and yere to yere, as out of authors both Graeke and Latine the same may be gathered, I feare least such doubt may rise in this matter, that it will be harder to proue Helen a Britaine, than Constantine to be borne in Brittain (as Nicephorus auoucheth). But for somuch

Lib. 7. cap. 18.

Beda.  
See the booke  
of acts and  
monuments  
set forth by  
master Fox.John Rossus.  
Warwicens.  
in lib. de Wigornien. episc.  
Lichfield  
wherof it  
toke name.

Gyldas.

Ran. Cestren.  
March. West.  
Constantius.

Coelus.

262  
Fabian.Gal. Mon.  
Fabian.  
Caxton.

as I meane not to step from the course of our countrey writers in such points, where the receiued opinion may seeme to warrant the credit of the historie, I will with other admit both the mother and sonne to be Britains in the whole discourse of the historie following, as though I had forgot what in this place I haue said.

A further discourse of the forenamed  
10 Constantius and Helen, his regiment ouer this Iland, his behauiour and talke to his sonne and counsellors as he lay on his death-bed, a deuise that he put in practise to vnderstand what true Christians he had in his court, his commendable vertues, that the Britains in his time embraced the christian faith is proued.

## The xxvij. Chapter.



Constantius a senator of Rome began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 289, as our histories report. This Constantius (as before ye haue heard) had to wife Helen the daughter of the foresaid king Coel, of whome he begat a sonne named Constantius, which after was emperour, and for his worthie doings surnamed Constantine the great. S. Ambrose following the common report, writeth that this Helen was a maid in an true: and some againe write, that she was concubine to Constantius, and not his wife. But what soeuer the was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romane histories, that Constantius being the daughters sonne of one Crispus, that was brother to the emperour Claudius, came into Britaine, and quieted the troubles that were raised by the Britains, and there (as some write) married the foresaid Helen, being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yet [after] he was constrained to forsake, and to marrie Theodoza the daughter in law of Hercules Marimianus, by whome he had six sonnes, and finally was created emperour, together with the said Galerius Marimianus, at what time Dioclesianus and his fellow Hercules Marimianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the same vnto them. The empire was then diuided betwixt them, so that to Constantius the regions of Italie, Affrike, France, Spaine and Britaine were assigned; & to Galerius, Illyricum, Croatia, and all the east parts. But Constantine being a man void of ambition, was contented to leaue Italie and Affrike, supposing his charge to be great enough to haue the gouernement in his hands of France, Spaine, and Britaine (as Eutropius saith.) But as touching his reigne ouer the Britains, we haue not to say further than as we find in our olde writers recorded: as for his gouernement in the empire, it is to be considered, that first he was admitted to rule as an assistant to Marimian vnder the title of Cesar: and so from that time if ye shall account his reigne, it may comprehend 11, 12, or 13 yeres, yea more or lesse, according to the blurtistie found in writers. Howbeit, if we shall reckon his reigne from the time onelic that Dioclesian and Marimian resigned their title vnto the empire, we shall find that he reigned not fallie thre yeres. For whereas betwene the slaughter of Alectus, and the coming of Constantius, are accounted 8 yeres and 10 moneths, not onelic those eight yeres, but also some space of time before may be ascribed vnto Constant.

Constantius.

Math. Will.  
saith 30.  
289Orosius  
Beda.Cyprian.  
Fabian.

Constantius: for although before his coming ouer into Britaine now this last time (for he had bene here afore, as it well appeereth) Asclepiodotus gouerning as legat, albeit under Constantius, who had a great portion of the west parts of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue said, of Cesar, yet he was not said to reigne absolutelie, till Dioclesian and Maximian resigned. But now to conclude with the doings of Constantius, at length he fell sicke at Dorke, and there died, about the yere of our Lord 306.

This is not to be forgotten, that whilst he laie on his death-bed, somewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his sonne Constantine was come, and escaped from the emperours Dioclesian and Maximian, with whom he remained as a pledge (as after shall be partly touched) he receiued him with all joy, and raising himselfe vp in his bed, in presence of his other sonnes & counsellours, with a great number of other people and strangers that were come to visit him, he set the crowne vpon his sonnes head, and adorned him with other imperall robes and garments, erecting as it were him selfe the office of an herald, and withall spake these wordes vnto his said sonne, and to his counsellours there about him: Now is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleasant: I haue heere a large epitaph and monument of buriall, to wit, mine owne sonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be emperor in my place, which by Gods good helpe shall wipe away the teares of the Christians, and reuenge the crueltie exercised by tyrants. This I reckon to chance vnto me in stead of most felicitie.

After this, turning himselfe to the multitude, he commanded them all to be of god comfort, meaning those that had not forsaken true vertue and godliness in Christ, which Christ he undertooke should continue with his sonne Constantine in all enterprises, which in warres or otherwise he should take in hand. That deuise also is worthy to be had in memorie, which he put in practise in his life time, to vnderstand what true and sincere Christians were remaining in his court. For whereas he had bene first a persecuter, and after was conuerted, it was a matter easie to perswade the world, that he was no earnest Christian: and so the policie which he thought to worke, was the sooner brought to passe, which was this.

He called together all his officers and seruants, seining himselfe to chuse out such as would doe sacrifice to duels, and that those onelie should remaine with him and keepe their office, and the rest that refused to do so, should be thrust out, and banished the court. Wherebyon all the courtiers diuided themselves into companies: and when some offered willingly to doe sacrifice, and other some boldly refused: the emperor marking their dealings, sharpelie rebuked those which were so readie to dishonour the liuing God, accounting them as traitours to his diuine maiestie, and not worthy to remaine within the court gates: but those that constantlie stood in the possession of the christian faith, he greatly commended, as men worthy to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thenceforth they should be as chiefe counsellours and defenders both of his person and kingdome, esteeming more of them than of all the treasure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, he was a graue prince, sober, by right, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mind ever free from colictous desire of great riches: insonmuch that when he should make any great feast to his friends, he was not ashamed to borrow plate and silver vessel to serue his turne, and to furnish his cupbord for the time, being contented for himselfe to be serued in cruets & earthen vessels. He was wont

to haue this saying in his mouth, that better it was that the subjects should haue store of monie and riches, than the prince to keepe it close in his treasure, where it serued to no vse. By such courteous dealing the prouinces which were in his charge flourished in great wealth and quietnesse. He was a verie wise and politike prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, and verie skillfull in the practise of warres, so that he stood the Romane empire in great stead, and was therefore highlie beloued of the soldiers, insonmuch that immediatlie after his decesse, they proclaimed his sonne Constantine emperor.

That the christian faith was embraced of the Britains in this season, it may appeere, in that Hilarius bishop of Poitiers writeth to his brethren in Britaine, and Constantine in an epistle (as Theodoretus saith in his first booke and tenth chapter) maketh mention of the churches in Britaine: which also Sozomenus doth affirme. For the Britains after they had receiued the faith, defended the same euen with the shedding of their blood, as Amphibalus, who in this Constantius daies being apprehended, suffered at Redburne nere to Wreelanchester, about 15 yeres after the martyrdom of his host S. Albane.

He died in the yere 306. as Mart. West. hath noted, and reigned ouer the Britains but 11. yeres as Galf. saith.

291. John Bale.

Constantine created emperor in Britaine, he is solicited to take vpon him the regiment of those countries that his father gouerned, he is requested to subdue Maxentius the vsurping tyrant, Maximanus his father seeketh to depose him, Constantines death is purposed by the said Maximanus the father & his sonne Maxentius, Fausta the daughter of Maximanus & wife to Constantine detecteth hir fathers trecherie to hir husband, Maximanus is strangled at Constantines commandement, league and alliance betwene him and Licinius, he is slaine, the emperesse Helen commended, the crosse of Christ found with the inscription of the same, what miracles were wrought thereby, of the nailes wherewith Christ was crucified, Constantine commended, the state of Britaine in his time.

### The xxxviij Chapter.

Constantine being the son of the forenamed Constantine, begot of his first wife Helen, the daughter (as some affirme) of Coell late king of the Britains, began to reigne in the yere of our Lord 306. This worthy prince begotten of a British woman, & borne of hir in Britaine (as our writers doe affirme) and created certeinlie emperor in Britaine, did doubtlesse make his native countrie partaker of his high glorie and renowne, which by his great proues, politike wisdom, worthie gouernment, and other his princelie qualities most abundantly planted in his noble person, he purchased and got thorough the circuit of the whole earth, insonmuch that for the high enterprises and noble acts by him happily brought to passe and atchieued, he was surnamed (as before is said) the great Constantine. Whilst this Constantine remained at Rome in manner as he had bene a pledge with Calpurnius in his fathers life time, he being then but young, fled from thence, and with all post hast returned to his father into Britaine, killing or houghing by the waie all such hoises as were appointed to stand at innes readie for such as should ride in post, least being pursued, he should haue bene overtaken, and brought backe againe by such as might be sent to pursue him.

Constantine. 306

Eutropius. Sexus Aurelius Victor.

At his coming into Britaine, he found his father

**Crocus king  
of the Al-  
mains.**

**Parentius  
the tyrant.**

**Disimulati-  
on.**

**Ranulphus  
Cestrensis.**

**Faulsta the  
daughter of  
Marimianus  
and wife to  
Constantine.**

**Marfiles.**

**Marimianus  
slaine.  
Ann. Chri. 322.**

**Licinius cho-  
sen fellow  
with Mari-  
manus in the  
empire.**

ther soze bereft with sicknesse, whereof thortlie after he died, and then was he by helpe of such as were about him, incouraged to take vpon him as emperour: and namelic one Crocus king of the Almains, which had accompanied his father thither, assisted him thereto, so that being proclaimed emperour, he took vpon him the rule of those countries which his father had in government, that is to saie, France, Spaine, the Alpes, and Britaine, with other prouinces here in the west: and ruling the same with gre at equitie and wisdom, he greatly won the fauour of the people, insonmuch that the same of his politike government and courteous dealing being spred abroad, when Parentius the tyrant that occupied the rule of the empire at Rome, and in Italie by wrongfull vsurping & abusing the same, was growen into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians, Constantine was earnestlie by them requested to come into Italie, and to helpe to subdue Parentius, that he might reforme the state of things there.

This Parentius was sonne to Hercules Marimianus, and Constantine had married Faulsta the daughter of the said Marimianus. Now so it was, that Marimianus, immediatlie after that his sonne Parentius had taken the rule vpon him, sought meanes to haue deposed him, and to haue resumed and taken offsones into his owne hands the government of the empire. But soliciting Dioclesian to do the like, he was much repproued of him for his vntreasonabie and ambitious purpose: so that when he perceived that neither Dioclesian would be thereto agreeable, nor induce the souldiers to admit him, they hauing already established his sonne, began to deuise waies how to assure the state more strongly to his said sonne. And hearing that his sonne in late Constantine was minded to come into Italie against him, he purposed to practise Constantines destruction, insonmuch that it was iudged by this which followed, that Hercules Marimianus did but for a colour seeme to mislike that which his said son Parentius had done, to the end he might the sooner accomplish his intent for the dispatching of Constantine out of the waie.

Wherevpon (as it were) fleeing out of Italie, he came to Constantine, who as then hauing appointed lieutenants vnder him in Britaine, remained in France, and with all ioy and honour that might be, receiued his father in law: the which being earnestlie bent to compass his purpose, made his daughter Faulsta priuie thereto: which ladie (either for feare least the concealing thereof might turne hir to displeasure, either else for the entire loue which she bare to hir husband) revealed hir fathers wicked purpose. Wherevpon whilest Constantine went about to be reuenged of such a traitorous practise, Hercules fled to Marfiles, purposing there to take the sea, and so to retire to his sonne Parentius into Italie. But per he could get awaie from thence, he was strangled by commandement of his sonne in late Constantine, and so ended his life, which he had spotted with manie cruell acts, as well in persecuting the professours of the christian name, as others.

In this meane time had Marimianus adopted one Licinius to assist him in gouernance of the empire, proclaiming him Cesar. So that now at one selfe time Constantine gouerned France and the west parts of the empire, Parentius held Italie, Affrike, and Aegypt: and Marimianus which likewise had bene elected Cesar, ruled the east parts, and Licinius Illyrium and Grecia. But thortlie after, the emperour Constantine joined in league with Licinius, and gaue to him his sister in marriage, named Constantia, for more sweetie of faithfull friendship to induce betwixt them. He sent him also against

Marimianus, who gouerning in the east part of the empire, purposed the destruction of Constantine and all his partakers: but being vanquished by Licinius at Tarsus, he thortlie after died, being eaten with lice. Constantine after this was called into Italie, to deliuer the Romans and Italians from the tyrannie of Parentius, which occasion so offered, Constantine gladly accepting, passed into Italie, and after certeine victories got against Parentius, at length slue him.

After this, when Marimianus was dead, who prepared to make warre against Licinius, that had married Constantia the sister of Constantine, he finally made warre against his brother in law the said Licinius, by reason of such quarrels as fell out betwixt them. In the which warre Licinius was put to the worse, and at length comming into the hands of Constantine, was put to death, so that Constantine by this meanes got the whole empire vnder his rule and subiection. He was a great fauourer of the Christian religion, insonmuch that to aduance the same, he took order for the conuerting of the temples dedicated to the honour of idols, vnto the seruice of the true and almightie God. He commanded also, that none should be admitted to serue as a souldier in the warres, except he were a christian, nor yet to haue rule of any countie or armie. He also ordeined, the weeke before Easter, and that which followed to be kept as holie, and no person to do any bodilie works during the same.

He was much counselled by that noble and most vertuous ladie his mother, the emperesse Helen, who being a godlie and deuout woman, did what in hir laie, to moue him to the setting forth of Gods honour and increase of the christian faith, wherein as yet he was not fullie instructed. Some writers alledge, that she being at Jerusalem, made diligent search to find out the place of the sepulchre of our Lord, and at length found it, though with much adoe: for the infidels had stopped it by, and couered it with a heape of filthie earth, and builded aloft vpon the place, a chappell dedicated to Venus, where yong women bled to sing songs in honour of that vngodly goddess. Helen caused the same to be ouerthrowne, the earth to be remoued, and the place cleansed, so that at length the sepulchre appeared, and fast by were found there buried in the earth thre crosses and the nailes. But the crosse wherevpon our Saviour was crucified, was knowne by the title written vpon it, though almost worne out, in letters of Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine: the inscription was this, *Iesus Nazareus rex Iudeorum*. It was also perceived which was that crosse by a miracle (as it is reported, but how trulie I can not tell) that should be wrought thereby: for being laid to a sicke woman, onlie with the touching thereof she was healed. It was also said, that a dead man was raised from death to life, his bodie onlie being touched therewith. Wherevpon Constantine moued with these things, forbade that from thenceforth any should be put to death on the crosse, to the end that the thing which afore time was accounted infamous and repprochfull, might now be had in honour and reuerence.

The emperesse Helen hauing thus found the crosse, builded a temple there, & taking with hir the nailes, returned with the same to hir sonne Constantine, who set one of them in the crest of his helmet, another in the bydle of his horse, and the third he cast into the sea, so to aduance and pacifie the furious tempests and rage thereof. She also brought with hir a parcell of that holie crosse, and gaue it to hir sonne the said Constantine, the which he caused to be closed within an image that represented his person, standing vpon a pillar in the market place of Constantine, or (as some

Christians  
honoured  
cherishes.

Polydor.  
The pialist  
the emperesse  
Helen.

328

Polydor.

Polydor.

The common  
bairn of  
Constantine.

some late writers haue) he caused it to be inclosed in a coffer of gold, adorne with rich stones and pearls, placing it in a church called *Sepphania*, the which church he inuend with many great gifts and precious ornaments. Many works of great zeale and vertue are remembred by writers to haue bene done by this Constantine and his mother Helen, to the setting forth of Gods glorie, and the aduancing of the faith of Christ. But to be briefe, he was a man in whome many excellent vertues and good qualities both of mynde and bodie manifestlie appeared, chieflie he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and there with very fortunate, an earnest louer of iustice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

But now to speake somewhat of the state of Britaine in his tyme, we shall vnderstand, that as before is recorded, at his going ouer into France, after that he was proclaimed emperor, he left behind him in Britaine certayne gouernours to rule the land, and amongst other one *Mariminus* a right valiant capitaine. He toke with him a great part of the youth of Britaine, and diuerse of the chiefe men amongst the nobilitie, in whose approued manhood, loialtie, and constancie, he conceiued a great hope to go thorough with all his enterpryses, as with the which being accompanied and compassed about, he passed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italie, and in euery place ouercame his enemies.

Gubelmus  
Malmesbury  
writing in the  
warres vnder  
Constantine.

Some write that Constantine thus conueying ouer sea with him a great armie of Britains, and by their industrie obtaining victorie as he wished, he placed a great number of such as were discharged out of wages, and licensed to giue ouer the warre, in a part of Gallia towards the west sea coast, where their posteritie remaine vnto this daie, maruellouslie increased afterwards, and somewhat differing from our Britains, the Welshmen, in manners and language. Amongst those noble men which he toke with him when he departed out of this land (as our writers doe testifie) were three vnckles of his mother Helen, that is to say, *Hoelmus*, *Traherne*, and *Marinus*, whome he made senators of Rome.

Galfridus  
Mau. West.

Of Octavius a British lord, his reigne ouer the Britains, he encountereth with Traherne first nere Winchester, and afterwards in Westmerland: Octavius being discomfited fleeth into Norway, Traherne is slaine, Octavius sendeth for *Maximianus*, on whom he bestoweth his daughter and the kingdome of Britaine: the death of Octavius, Helena builded the wals of Colchester and London, she dieth and is buried, Constantine departeth this life, Britaine reckoned among the prouinces that reined the christen faith, Paulus a Spaniard is sent into Britaine, he dealeth roughlie with the people, Martinus the Lieutenent excuseth them as innocent, his vnluckie end, Paulus returneth into Italie.

### The xxix. Chapter.

**N**ow in the meane time that Constantine had obtained and ruled the whole empire, Britaine as it were hauing recovered libertie, in that one of his children being his king, had got the gouernment of the whole earth, remained in better quiet than afore time she had done. But yet in the meane season, if we shall credit the British chronicle and Geoffrey of Monmouth the interpreter thereof; there was a British lord, named Octavius or Octavian, as the old English chronicle nameth him, that was duke of the Welshes, and ap-

Octavius.  
Caxton.  
Welshes in-  
habited the  
countrey  
which the

pointed by Constantine to be ruler of the land in his absence, the which Octavius (after that Constantine had recovered Rome and Italie, and was so busied in the affaires of the empire in those parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britaine) seized into his hands the whole dominion of Britaine, and held himselfe for king.

This Octavius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britains in the yere of our Lord 329, prouoked Constantine to send against him one of his mothers vnckles, the foresaid Traherne. This Traherne, as some name him Traherne, entred this land with three legions of souldiers, and in a field nere vnto Winchester, was encountered by Octavius and his Britains, by whome after a sore battell there stricken betwixt them, in the end Traherne was put to flight and chased, inso much that he was constrained to forsake that part of the land, and to draw towards Scotland. Octavius hauing knowledge of his passage, followed him, and in the countrey of Westmerland, which gaue him battell, but in that battell Octavius was put to the worse, and constrained to forsake the land, fled into Norway, there to purchase aid, and being readie with such power as he there gathered, that of Britains and Norwegians, to returne into Britaine. Before his landing, he was aduertised that an earle of Britaine which bare him hartie good will, had by treason slaine Traherne. Octavius then committing to land, citizens got possession of Britaine, which should be (as Fabian gathereth) about the yere of our Lord 329, in the 20 yere of the reigne of the emperor Constantine, and about two yeres after that the said Octavius first toke vpon him to rule as king.

After this (as the British chronicle affirmeth) Octavius gouerned the land right noblie, and graciously to the contentation of the Britains. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no issue but one daughter, he was counselled to send vnto Rome for one *Maximianus*, a noble young man, cosine to the emperor Constantine, on the part of his mother Helen, to come into Britaine, and to take to his wife the said daughter of Octavius, and so with hir to haue the kingdome. Octavius at the first meant to haue giuen hir in marriage vnto one *Conan Peridoc* duke of Cornewall, which was his nephew: but when the lords would not thereto agree, at the length he appointed one *Maurice* sonne to the said Conan to go to Rome to fetch the forenamed *Maximianus*. Maurice according to his commission and instruction in that behalf received, came to Rome, and declared his message in such effectuall sort, that *Maximianus* consented to go with him into Britaine, and so taking with him a conuenient number, set forward, and did so much by his iournies, that finally he landed here in Britaine. And notwithstanding that *Conan Peridoc* paid not so much to haue bene doing with him, for malice that he conceiued towards him, because he saw that by his meanes he should be put beside the crowne, yet at length was *Maximianus* safely brought to the kings presence, and of him honorably receiued, and finally the marriage was knit up, and solemnized in all princelie manner. Shortly after, Octavius departed out of this life, after he had reigned the terme of fiftie and foure yeres, as Fabian gathereth by that which diuers authors doe write, how he reigned till the daies that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Roman empire which began to gouerne in the yere of our Lord (as he saith) 382, which is to be vnderstood of Gratian his reigne after the deccasse of his vnckle Valens, for otherwise a doubt maie rise, because Valentinian the father of Gratian admitted the said Gratian to the title of Augustus in the yere of our Lord 351.

West Saxons  
after held.  
The name of  
Geselesse  
came in with  
the Saxons  
of Gamp, &c.

Octavius.

Galfridus.

329

Fabian.

Galfridus.

This agreeth  
nor altogether  
with that  
which Hector  
Boetius writ-  
teth, as in the  
Scottish chro-  
nicle appea-  
reth.

Traherne

slaine.

See in the

Scottish

chronicles

more of these

matters.

Math. West.

saith 316.

Maximianus  
is sent for.

Conan Peri-  
dore duke of  
Cornewall.

This agreeth  
not with that  
which is  
found in the  
Scottish chro-  
nicles.

Maximianus  
cometh into  
Britains.

Octavius re-  
parieth this  
life.

282.

ff. iiij.

But



But to leane the credit of the long reigne of Octavianus, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains since the time of Constantius, vnto our Britissh and Scotissh wryters, let vs make an end with the gouernement of that noble emperour Constantine, an assured branch of the Britains race, as borne of that worthie ladie the emperesse Helen, daughter to Correll earle of Colchester, and after king of Britaine (as our histories doe witness.) Vnto the which emperesse Constantine bare such dutifull reuerence, that he did not onelie honour hir with the name of emperesse, but also made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in manie things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and goodlie admonitions, to the advancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of those that professed the true christian religion. For the loue that she bare vnto Colchester and London, she walled them about, and caused great bricke and huge tiles to be made for the performance of the same, whereof there is great store to be seene euery yet to this present, both in the walls of the towne and castell of Colchester, as a testimonie of the workmanship of those daies. She liued 79 yeares, and then departed this life about the 21 yeares of hir sonnes reigne. First she was buried at Rome without the walls of the citie with all funerall pompe, as to hir estate appertained: but after hir corps was removed and brought to Constantinople, where it was entombed interred. Hir sonne the emperour Constantine liued till about the yeare of Christ 340, and then decessed at Picomedia in Asia, after he had ruled the empire 32 yeares and 08 moneths.

340  
The decessed  
of the emperour  
Constantine.

340  
The decessed  
of the emperour  
Constantine.

We find not in the Romane wryters of any great stir here in Britaine during his reigne more than the Britissh and Scotissh wryters haue recorded: so that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietnesse, it maie be supposed, that the Britains liued in rest vnder his gouernement, and likewise after vnder his sonnes that succeeded him in the empire, till about the yeare 360, at what time the Picts and Scots invaded the south parts of the land.

360.

But now to end with Octavianus, that the christian faith remained still in Britaine, during the supposed time of this pretended kings reigne, it maie appeare, in that amongst the 36 prouinces, out of the which there were assembled about 300 bishops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a synod held there against the Eusebians, Britaine is numbred by Athanasius in his second apologie to be one. And againe, the said Athanasius in an epistle which he writeth to the emperour Iouinianus reciteth, that the churches in Britaine did consent with the churches of other nations in the confession of faith articulated in the Nicene councill. Also mention is made by wryters of certeine goodlie & learned men, which liued in offices in the church in those daies, as Westitus bishop of London, which went ouer to the synod held at Arles in France, and also one Iulius Corinnus sonne to Salomon duke of Cornwall, and bishop of Anglessey, who instructed the people that inhabited the parts now called Northwales, and them of Anglessey aforesaid verie diligentlie.

Synodus  
anno. 331.

Marcellinus,  
lib. 14.  
Paulus a notario.

But now to speake somewhat of things chancing in Britaine about this season (as we find recorded by the Romane wryters) some trouble was likelie to haue growne vnto the Britains by receiuing certeine men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britaine, whome the emperour Constantius would haue punished, because they had taken part with Marcianus his aduersarie. Paulus a Spaniard and notarie was sent ouer by him, with commission to make inquirie of them, and to see them brought to light to answer their transgressions: which Paulus

lus began to deale roughlie in the matter, whereof he was called Catera, and to rage against the Britains and partakers with the fugitives, in that they had receiued and mainfeined them, as he alledged: but in the end being certified by Marcianus the lieutenant of their innocence, and fearing least his extreame rigour might alienate the hearts of the inhabitants altogether, and cause them to withdraw their obedience from the Romane empire, he turned the execution of his furie from them vnto the Romans, and made hauocke of those that he suspected, till the said Marcianus felt at square with him, & thinking on a time to kill him, he dyed his sword and smote at him. But such was his age and weaknesse, that he was not able to kill him or giue him any deathlie wound: wherefore he turned the point of his sword against himselfe, and so ended his life, being contented rather to die than see his countrymen and subiects of the empire so to be abused. After this the said Paulus returned backe againe into Italie from whence he came, after whose departure, it was not long yet he also was slaine, and then all the Scots and Picts fore disquieted the Romane subiects, for the suppressing of whose attempts Lupicinus was sent ouer out of Gallia by Julianus, as shall be declared out of Amianus Marcellinus, after we haue first shewed what we find written in our owne wryters concerning the Scots and Picts, who now began to rob and spoile the Britissh inhabitants within the Romane prouinces here in this Ile, and that euen in most outrageous maner.

Marcianus  
lieutenant.

Maximianus or Maximus gouerneth this Ile, why wryters speake ill of him, strife betwixt him and Conan duke of Cornewall, Maximus is proclaimed emperour in Britaine, he transporteth the British youth seruiceable for warres into France, little Britaine in France why so called, eleuen thousand maids sent thither to match with Conans people, whereof some were drowned, and other some murdered in the way by Guanius king of Hunnes and Melga king of Picts, they the into Ireland, murder requited with murder, the words of Gylidas concerning Maximus.

### The xxx. Chapter.

After the decessed of Octavianus or Octavian (as the old English chronicle nameth him) Marcianus or Maximus (as the Romane wryters call him) began to rule the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 383, he was the sonne of one Leonine, and cosen germane to Constantine the great, a valiant personage, & hardie of stomack: but yet because he was cruell of nature, and (as Fabian saith) somewhat persecuted the christians, he was infamed by wryters: but the chiefe cause why he was euill reported, was for that he slue his sonne, reigne lord the emperour Gratianus, as after shall appeare, for other wise he is supposed worthie to haue had the rule of the empire committed to his hands in each respect. Betwixt him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornwall, chanced strife and debate, so that Conan got him into Scotland, and there purchasing aid, returned, and comming ouer Humber, wasted the countrie on each side. Marcianus thereof hauing aduersisement, raised his powder and went against him, and so fighting with him diuers battels, sometime departed awaie with victorie, and sometime with losse. At length through mediation

Maximianus or Maximus

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ation of friends, a peace was made betwixt them; finally this Maximianus or (as the Romane histories say) Maximus, was by the souldiers chosen and proclaimed emperor here in Britaine: although some write that this was done in Spaine.

After he had taken upon him the imperall dignitie, upon desire to haue enlarged his dominion, he assembled together all the chosen youth of this land meet to do seruice in the warres; with the which he passed ouer into France, & there (as our writers record) he first subdued the countrie ancientlie called Armorica, and sune in battell the king thereof called Imball. This done he gaue the countrie vnto Conan Meridoc, which was there with him, to hold the same of him, and of the kings of great Britaine for ever. He also commanded that the said countrie from thenceforth should be called litle Britaine, and so was the name changed. What people sooner inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britains than any other: for Armorica in the British tongue significth as much as a countrie lieng vpon the sea.

Conan then placing himselfe and his Britains in that quarter of Gallia, auoided all the old inhabitants, peopling that countrie onelic with Britains, which abhorring to ioint themselves with women borne in Gallia, Conan was counselled to send into Britaine for maids to be coupled with his people in marriage. Here vpon a messenger was dispatched vnto Dionethus at that time duke of Cornwall, and gouernour of Britaine vnder Maximianus, requiring him to send ouer into litle Britaine 11000 maids, that is to say, 8000 to be bestowed vpon the meaner sort of Conans people, and 3000 to be bestowed in marriage with the nobles and gentlemen. Dionethus at Conans request, assembled the appointed number of maids, and amongst them he also appointed his daughter Ursula, a ladie of excellent beautie, to go ouer and to be giuen in marriage to the foresaid Conan Meridoc, as he had earnestlie requested.

These number of maids were shipped in Thames, and passing forward toward Britaine, were by force of weather and rage of wind scattered abroad, and part of them drowned, and the residue (among whom was the foresaid Ursula) were laine by Guanius king of the Hinnies, and Melga king of the Picts, into whose hands they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were sent by the emperor Gratian to the sea coasts of Germanie, to oppresse and subdue all such as were friends and maintainers of the part of Maximianus. We find in some booke, that there were sent ouer at that time 51000 maids, that is to say, 11000 gentlewomen, and 40000 other.

After that Guanius and Melga had murdered the foresaid virgins, they entred into the north parts of Britaine, where the Scots now inhabit, and began to make forewarre on the Britains, whereof when Maximus was aduertised, he sent into Britaine one Gratianus with three legions of souldiers, who bare himselfe so manfully against the enimies, that he constrained the said Guanius and Melga to flie out of the land, and to withdraw into Ireland. In this meane while, Maximus hauing laine the emperor Gratian at Lyons in France, and after entring into Italie, was laine himselfe at Aquila (after he had gouerned the Britains eight yeeres) by the emperor Theodosius, who came in aid of Valentian, brother to the said emperor Gratian, as ye may find in the abridgement of the histories of Italie.

But here yet before we make an end with this Maximus or Maximianus, I haue thought good to set downe the words which we find in Gylidas, where he writeth of the same Maximus, vndoubtedly a

Britaine borne, neyther to the emperesse Helen, and begotten by a Romane. At length (saith Gylidas) the spring of tyrants budding vp, and now increasing into an huge wood; the Ale being called after the name of Rome, but holding neither maners nor lawes according to that name, but rather casting the same from it, sendeth forth a branch of his most bitter planting, to wit Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to gard him, and apparelled in the imperall robes which he neuer wore as became him, nor put them on in lawfull wise, but after the custome of tyrants was put into them by the mutining souldiers: which Maximus at the first by craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his periturie and false suggestion) vnto his wicked gouernement the countries & prouinces next adioining, against the imperall state of Rome, stretching one of his wings into Spaine, and the other into Italie, placed the throne of his most vniust empire at Trier, and shewed such rage in his wood dealing against his soueraigne lords, that the one of the lawfull emperours he expelled out of Rome, and the other he bereft of his most religious and godlie life. Now without long tarriance, compassed about with such a furious and bold gard as he had got together, at the citie of Aquila he loseth his wicked head, which had cast downe the most honourable heads of all the world from their kingdome and empire.

From thenceforth Britaine being deprived of all his warlike souldiers and armies, of his gouernors also (though cruell) and of an huge number of his youth (the which following the steps of the foresaid tyrant, neuer returned home againe) such as remained being vtterlie vnskillfull in feats of warre, were trodden downe by two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north, and as men thus quite dismayd, lament their miserable case, not knowing what else to do for the space of manie yeeres together. By reason of whose graueous inuasion and cruell oppression therewith the was miserable disquieted, he sendeth his ambassadoys vnto Rome, making lamentable sute euen with teares to haue some power of men of warre sent to defend him against the enimies, promising to be true subiects with all faithfulness of mind, if the enimie might be kept off and remoued. Thus saith Gylidas, and more, as in place hereafter you shall find recited.

What Gratianus it was that was sent ouer from Rome into Britaine by Maximus, in what estimation the British souldiers haue bene, the priue treason of Andragatius whereby Gratian came to his end: Maximus and his sonne Victor doo succeed him in the empire, they are both laine, Marcus the Romane lieutenant succeeding them is murdered, Gratianus also his successour hath the same end, the election of Constantine a Britaine borne, his praise and dispraise reported by writers, he goeth into France, maketh his sonne Constance partaker with him of the empire, a sharpe encounter betwixt his power and two brethren that had the keeping of the Pyrene hills, the issue of the battell.

### The xxxj. Chapter.

At now where the British histories, and such of our English writers as follow them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romane, sent ouer with three legions of souldiers by Maximus, as before ye haue heard: we maie

Confabrinus  
Helene imperatricis.

Statorum a  
circio, I. i. Forum  
ad aquilone.

The British  
souldiers  
which came  
to Maximus  
was  
Britannicus  
France.

Dionethus  
duke of Corn-  
wall,  
Maximus sent  
with.

Ursula the  
daughter of  
Dionethus.

Guanius and  
Melga.

Sextus Aureli-  
us.

Lib. 30.

maie suppose that it was Gratianus the Britaine, that afterwards usurped the imperiall dignitie here in Britaine, in the daies of the emperor Honorius. For it standeth neither with the concurrence of time nor yet with reason of the historie, that it should be Gratianus, surnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grandfather to the emperor Gratianus, against whom Spartacus rebelled. And yet I remember not that anie of the Romane writers make mention of anie other Gratianus, being a stranger, that should be sent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romane armie, except of the foresaid Gratianus Funarius, who (as appeareth by Amian. Marcellinus) was generall of the Romane armie here in this Ile, and at length being discharged, returned home into Hungarie (where he was borne) with honour, and there remaining in rest, was at length spoiled of his goods by the emperor Constantius as confiscate, for that in tyme of the ciuill warres he had receiued Parentius, as he past thorough his countrie.

But let vs grant, that either Gratianus the Britaine, or some other of that name, was sent ouer into Britaine (as before is said) by Sparimus, least otherwise some error may be doubted in the writers of the British histories, as hauing happlie mistaken the time and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to serue vnder Sparimus, where peraduenture that which they haue read or heard of him, chanced long before that time by them supposed: and so thorough mistaking the thing, haue made a wrong report, where neuertheless it standeth with great likelihood of truth, that some notable seruice of chualrie was atchieued by the same Gratianus Funarius whilst he remained here in this Ile, if the truth might be knowne of that which hath bene writtten by authors, and happlie by the same Am. Marcellinus, if his first thirtene booke might once come to light and be extant.

But now to end with Sparimus, William of Malmesburie (as ye haue heard) writeth, that not Sparimus, but rather Constantine the great first peopled Armoica: but yet he agreeth, that both Sparimus, and also Constantinus the usurper, of whom after ye shall heare, led with them a great number of the Britains out of this land, the which Sparimus or Sparimianus and Constantinus afterwards being slaine, the one by Theodosius, and the other by Honorius, the Britains that followed them to the warres, part of them were killed, and the residue escaping by flight, withdrew vnto the other Britains which Constantine the great had first placed in Armoica. And so when the tyrants had left none in the countrie but rude people, nor anie in the towne but such as were giuen to sloth and gluttonie, Britaine being void of all aid of his valiant youth, became a prey to his next neighbours the Scots and Picts.

Where is yet to be considered, in what place the souldiers of the British nation were had in those daies, with whose onelie puissance Sparimus durst take vpon him to go against all other the forces of the whole Romane empire: and how he prospered in that dangerous aduenture, it is exprest sufficientlie in the Romane histories, by whose report it appeareth, that he did not onlie conquer all the hither parts of France and Germanie, namely on this side the Rhine, but also found meanes to intrap the emperor Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithful friend called Andragatius, who was admirall of the seas pertaineing to the empire. It was therefore agreed betwixt them, that this Andragatius (with a chosen companie of the armie) should be carried in secret wise in a coe to ward Lions, as if it had bene Constantia Posthumia the emperesse, wife to the em-

peror Gratian, byting abroad there withall, that the said emperesse was coming for wards on her waie to Lions, there to meet with her husband, for that vpon occasion she was verie desirous to commune with him about certeine earnest businesse.

When Gratian heard hereof, as one mistrusting no such dissimulation, he made hast to meete his wife, and coming at length without anie great guard about him, as one not in doubt of anie treason, approached the coe, where supposing to find his wife, he found those that streightwaies murdered him: so was he there dispatched quite of life by the said Andragatius, who leapt forth of the coe to worke that feate when he had him once within his danger.

Thus did the emperor Gratian finish his life in the 29 yere of his age, on the 25 of August, in the yere of Christ 383, and then died. Sparimus succeeded him (making his sonne Flavius Victor Nobilissimus his assistant in the empire) reigning five yeres and two daies. In the beginning of his reigne Valentinian the younger made great suit to him to haue his fathers bodie, but it would not be granted. Afterwards also Sparimus was earnestlie requested to come to an enteruiew with the same Valentinian, who promised him not onelie a safe conduct, but also manie other beneficiall good turnes beside. Howbeit Sparimus durst not put himselfe in anie such hazard, but rather ment to pursue Valentinian as an usurper, and so at length chased him into Gallunonie, where he was slaine to such a streight, that if Theodosius had not come to releue him, Sparimus had slaine him thence also, or else by laughter rid him out of the waie.

But when Sparimus thought himselfe most assured, and so established in the empire, as he doubted no perils, he liued carelesse of his owne safeguard, and therefore dismissed his British souldiers, who retiring into the north-west parts of Gallia, placed themselves there among their countreimen, which were brought ouer by the emperor Constantius, whilst Sparimus passing the residue of his time in delights and pleasures, was surprised in the end and slaine by Theodosius nere vnto Aquilia, the 27 of August, in the yere of Grace 388, and in the beginning of the first yere of his reigne, or rather usurpation, as more rightlie it maie be feared. His sonne Flavius Victor surnamed Nobilissimus was also dispatched and brought to his end, not farre from the place where his father was slaine, by the practise of one Arbogastes a Goth, which Flavius Victor was by the said Sparimus made regent of the Frankens, and partaker (as before is said) with him in the empire.

After this, the Ile of Britaine remained in metelie god quiet by the space of twentie yeres, till one Sparcus (that was then legat, or as we maie call him lord lieutenant or deputie of Britaine for the Romans) was by the souldiers here proclaimed emperor against Honorius, which Sparcus was soon after killed in a tumult raised among the people within few daies after his usurpation began. Then one Gratianus a Britaine borne succeeded in his place, who was also slaine in the fourth moneth, after he had taken vpon him the imperiall ornaments. The souldiers not yet herewith pacified, proceeded to the election of an other emperor, or rather usurper, and so pronounced a noble gentleman called Constantine, borne also in Britaine, to be emperor, who took that honour vpon him in the 409 yere after the birth of our Saviour, continuing his reigne by the space of two yeres and od moneths, as the Romane histories make mention. Some report this Constantine to be of no great towardlie disposition worthie to gouerne an empire, and that the souldiers chose him rather for the name sake, because they would

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his Flavius Victor  
us Nobilissimus  
begat the  
said Valentinian  
the younger  
of Eborac  
H. Lloyd

Valentinian  
put in danger  
by Sparimus

Eusebius  
388

Arbogastes

Gratianus  
Sparimus  
the regent  
four yeres  
was slain  
the British  
Rome.

409

W.H. out of  
Paulus Diacon.  
lib. 12. & alijs.

Tripart. hist. lib.  
9. cap. 21.

would haue another Constantine, more than for a  
nie vertues or sufficient qualities found in his per-  
son. But other commend him both for manhood and  
wisdom, wherein to speake a truth, he deserued sin-  
gular commendation, if this one note of usurpation  
of the imperiall dignitie had not stained his other  
noble qualities. But herein he did no more than ma-  
nie other would haue done, neither yet after his in-  
uesture did so much as was looked for at his hands.

Constantine being placed in the imperiall throne,  
gathered an armie with all possible inducure, pur-  
posing out of hand to go ouer therewith into France,  
and so did, thinking thereby to win the possession of  
that countrie out of the hands of Honorius, or at the  
least to worke so, as he should not haue the souldiers  
and people there to be against him, if he mist to  
come in league with the Sueuicines, Alanes, and  
Caudales, which he sought to perforce. But in the  
end, when neither of these his deuises could take  
place, he sent ouer for his sonne Constans (whome in  
his absence his aduersaries had thorne a monke) &  
making him partaker with him in the empire, cau-  
sed him to bring ouer with him another armie, which  
under the conduct of the same Constans he sent into  
Spainne to bring that countrie vnder his obedi-  
ence.

This Constans therefore comming vnder the pas-  
sages that lead ouer the Pyrenine mountains, Win-  
dinus and Merianianus two brethren, vnto whome  
the keeping of those passages was committed to de-  
fend the same against the Caudals, and all other e-  
nemies of the empire, were readie to resist him with  
their seruants and countreymen that inhabited ther-  
abouts, giuing him a verie sharpe encounter, and at  
the first putting him in great danger of an ouer-  
throw, but yet at length by the valiant prowes of his  
British souldiers, Constans put his aduersaries to  
flight, and killed the two capteins, with diuers other  
men of name that were partakers with him in the  
necessarie defense of that countrie against the en-  
emies. When Constans had thus repelled those that  
resisted him, the custodie of the passages in the Py-  
renine mountains was committed vnto such bands  
of Picts and other, as were appointed to go with him  
about the attaining of this enterpryse, who hauing  
the possession of those streits or passages in their  
hands, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to  
inuaue Spainne, who being once entered, pursued the  
former inhabitants with fire and sword, settled them-  
selues in that countrie, and drove out the Romans.

Honorius sendeth earle Constantius  
to expell Constantine out of Gallia, the end  
of Constantinus the father and Constans the  
sonne, the valure and prowesse of the British  
souldiers, the British writers reprooue of nec-  
essaries for that they haue inferred fables into their  
workes, whereas they might haue deposed  
matters of truth.

### The xxxij. Chapter.

**T**he emperor Honorius,  
perceiuing the reeling state  
of the empire, determined  
suddenly to recover it, be-  
fore it fell altogether into ru-  
ine: and therefore sent one  
Constantius an earle to  
drive Constantine out of  
Gallia, which he accordingly performed: for after  
certaine bickerings, he slue the said Constantine  
at Arles, although not with great bloodshed. He

pursued also the residue of the Britains, driving  
them to the verie sea coasts, where they throwed  
themselves among the other Britains, that before  
were settled in the countrie there, ancientlie called  
(as before we said) Armorica, that is, a region li-  
eng on the sea coast: for Ar in the British tong  
signifieth upon; and Moure, pertaining to the sea.  
And as this Constantine the father was slaine by  
Constantius, so was Constans the sonne killed at

10 Vienna by one of his owne capteins named Ce-  
roncius. Whereby it came to passe, that Honorius  
shortlie after, hauing thus obtained the victorie of  
both these usurpers, recovered the Ile, but yet not till  
the yeare next following, and that by the high indu-  
strie and great diligence of that valiant gentleman  
earle Constantius. The slaughter of Constantine  
& his sonne happened in the 1 yeare of the 297 O-  
lympiad, 465 after the comming of Cesar, 1162  
after the building of Rome, the dominicall letter  
being A, and the golden number 13, so that the reco-  
uering of the Iland fell in the yeare of our Lord 411.

Here also is estimes to be considered the valure  
of the British souldiers, who following this last re-  
membered Constantine the usurper, did put the Ro-  
mane state in great danger, and by force brake  
through into Spainne, vanquishing those that kept  
the streits of the mountains betwixt Spainne and  
Gallia, now called France, an exploit of no small  
consequence, sith thereby the number of barbarous  
nations got free passage to enter into Spainne,  
whereof ensued manie battels, sackings of cities and  
townes, and wasting of the countreies, according-  
lie as the furious rage of those fierce people was  
moued to put their crueltie in practise.

¶ If therefore the Britaine writers had consid-  
red and marked the valiant exploits and noble en-  
terprises which the British aids, armies and legions  
attained in seruice of the Romane emperours (by  
whome whilest they had the gouernement ouer this  
Ile, there were at sundrie times notable numbers  
conueied forth into the parties of beyond the seas,  
as by Albinus and Constantius, also by his sonne  
Constantine the great, by Maximus, and by this  
Constantine, both of them usurpers) if (I saie) the  
British writers had taken good note of the num-  
bers of the British youth thus conueied ouer from  
hence, & what notable exploits they boldlie attempt-  
ed, & no lesse manfullie attained, they need not  
to haue giuen care vnto the fabulous reports for-  
ged by their Wardes, of Arthur and other their pri-  
nces, worthy in deed of verie high commendation.

And pittie it is, that their same should be brought  
by such means out of credit, by the incredible and  
fond fables which haue bene deuised of their acts so  
unlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the  
gests written by Ariost the Italian in his booke in-  
titled Orlando furioso, sith the same writers had other-  
wise true matter inough to write of concerning the  
worthie feats by their countreymen in those daies  
60 in foreign parts boldlie enterprised, and no lesse  
valiantlie accomplished, as also the warres which  
now and then they mainteined against the Ro-  
mans here at home, in times when they felt them-  
selues oppressed by their tyrannicall gouernment,  
as by that which is written before of Caratacus, Bo-  
adicia, Cartimandua, Tenuisus, Calgacus, or  
Caldus (as some name him) and diuers other, who  
for their noble valiances deserue as much praise,  
as by tong or pen is able to be expressed. But now  
to returne vnto the British historie: we will pro-  
ceed in order with their kings as we find them in  
the same mentioned, and therefore we haue thought  
good to speake somewhat further of Gratian, from  
whome we haue digressed.

His souldiers  
were Picts,  
and placed a-  
mong other  
men of warre  
that serued  
vnder the en-  
signes of the  
empire, and  
named after  
Honorius,  
Honoriciani,  
Blondus.

Gratians rough regiment procureth his owne destruction, the coming of his two brethren Guanius and Melga with their armies, the Scots and Picts plague the Britains, they send for aid to Rome, Valentinian sendeth Gallus Rauenna to releue them, the Romans refuse anie longer to succour the Britains, whom they taught how to make armour and weapons, the Scots and Picts enter afresh into Britaine and preuaile, the Britains are brought to extreme miserie, ciuill warres among them, and what mischiefe dooth follow therevpon, their lamentable letter to Aëtius for succour against their enemies, their sute is denied, at what time the Britains ceased to be tributaries to the Romans, they send ambassadors to the K. of Britaine in France, and obtaine their sute.

### The xxxij. Chapter.

Gratia-  
nus,



Gratianus then, whome Marimus or Mariminus had sent into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his maister was slaine, toke vpon him the rule of this our Britaine, and made himselfe king therof, in the yeare 390. He was a Britaine borne, as Polydor writeth, coniecturing so, by that he is named of authors to be Municeps, that is to saie, a free man of the countrie or cite where he inhabited. For his sternesse and rough gouernement, he was of the Britains (as the histories alledge) slaine and dispatched out of the waite, after he had reigned the space of foure yeares, or rather foure moneths, as should seme by that which is found in autentike writers. Then the forenamed kings Guanius and Melga, which (as some write) were brethren, returned into this land with their armies increased with new supplies of men of warre, as Scots, Danes, the Norwegians, and destroyed the countrie from side to side. For the Britains in this season were sore infeebled, and were not able to make anie great numbers of souldiers, by reason that Marimus had led forth of the land the floure and chiefeest choise of all the British youth into Gallia, as before ye haue heard.

Of the Ro-  
mane souldi-  
ers as Blon-  
dus saith,

Galfrid.  
Caxton.

Galfrid.  
Mach. West.  
Caxton,

Gylidas.

Gylidas maketh no mention of these two kings Guanius and Melga of the Hunnes, but rehearsing this great destruction of the land, declareth (as before ye haue heard) that the Scots and Picts were the same that did all the mischiefe, whome he calleth two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots coming out of the north-west, and the Picts out of the north-east, by whome (as he saith) the land was ouerrun, and brought vnder foot manie yeares after. Therefore the Britains being thus vered, spoiled, and cruellie persecuted by the Scots and Picts (if we shall so take them) sent messengers with all speed vnto Rome to make sute for some aid of men of war to be sent into Britaine. Wherevpon immediately a legion of souldiers was sent thither in the yeare 414, which easilie repelled the enemies, and chased them backe with great slaughter, to the great comfort of the Britains, the which by this meanes were deliuered from danger of utter destruction, as they thought.

But the Romans being occasioned to depart againe out of the land, appointed the Britains to make a wall (as had bene aforesaid) by the emperours Adrian, Antoninus and Seuerus) ouerthwart the countrie from sea to sea, stretching from Denelton vnto the cite of Aclud, whereby the enemies might be staied from entering the land: but this wall being made of turfs and sods, rather than with stones, after the departure of the Romans was easi-

Beda and  
Polychron,

lie ouerthrowne by the Scots and Picts, which stones returned to inuade the confines of the Britains, and so entering the countrie, wasted and destroyed the places before them, according to their former custome. Herevpon were messengers with most lamentable letters againe dispatched towards Rome for new aid against those cruell enemies, with promise, that if the Romans would now in this great necessitie helpe to deliuer the land, they should be assured to find the Britains euermore obedient subiects, and redie at their commandement. Valentinianus (pitieing the case of the poore Britains) appointed another legion of souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leading) to go to their succours, the which arriuing in Britaine set on the enemies, and giuing them the ouerthrow, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue out of the countrie.

The Romans thus hauing obtained the victorie, declared to the Britains, that from thenceforth they would not take vpon them for euerie light occasion so painefull a iourne, alledging how there was no reason why the Romane ensignes, with such a number of men of warre, should be put to trauell so far by sea and land, for the repelling and brating backe of a sort of scattering rouers and pilfing theues. Wherefore they aduised the Britains to looke to their duties, and like men to induceur themselves to defend their countrie by their owne force from the enemies inuasions. And because they iudged it might be an helpe to the Britains, they set in hand to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Ile, in the same place where the emperour Seuerus caused his trench and rampire to be cast. This wall which the Romans now built with helpe of the Britains, was 8 fot in bredth and 12 in length, trauersing the land from east to west, & was made of stone.

After that this wall was finished, the Romans exhorted the Britains to plaie the men, and shewed them the way how to make armes & weapons. Besides this, on the coast of the east sea where their ships lay at rode, & where it was doubted that the enemies would land, they caused towres to be erected, with spaces betwixt, out of the which the seas might be discouered. These things ordered, the Romans bad the Britains farewell, not minding to returne thither againe. The Romans then being gon out of the land, the Scots and Picts knowing thereof, by & by came againe by sea, & being more emboldened than before, because of the deniall made by the Romans to come any more to the succor of the Britains, they toke into possession all the north and uttermost bounds of the Ile, euen vnto the foresaid wall, therein to remaine as inhabitants. And whereas the Britains got them to their wall to defend the same, that the enemies should not passe further into the countrie, they were in the end beaten from it, and diuers of them slaine, so that the Scots and Picts entred vpon them and pursued them in more cruell maner than before, so that the Britains being chased out of their cities, towres, and dwelling houses, were constrained to flie into desert places, and there to remaine and liue after the maner of sauage people, and in the end began to rob and spoile one another, so to auoid the danger of staruing for lacke of food: and thus at the last the countrie was so destroyed and wasted, that there was no other shift for them that was left aliue to liue by, except onelie by hunting and taking of wild beasts and foules. And to augment their miserie, the commons imputing the fault to rest in the lords and gouernors, arose against them in armes, but were vanquished and easilie put to flight at two severall times, being beaten downe and slaine (through lacke of skill) in such numbers, especiallie the latter time, that

Gylidas.  
Polydorus.  
Beda.  
Mach. West.

Blondus.

Gallio de  
Rauenna  
sent into  
Britaine.

A wall was  
ouerthwart  
the Island.  
Beda.

Gylidas  
Beda.

Gylidas.

This chaunce  
in the year  
as M. Mach.

He G. Bede  
Rebellion.



that the residue which escaped, withdrew into the craggie mountains, where within the bushes and caves they kept themselves close, sometimes coming downe and fetching away from the herds of beasts and flocks of sheepe which belonged to the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie, great booties to relieue them withall. But at length oppressed with extreme famine, when neither part could long remaine in this state, as needing one anothers helpe, necessity made peace betwixt the lords and commons of the land, all iniuries being pardoned and clerelie forgiven. This ciuill warre decayed the force of the Britains, little lesse than the tyrannicall practices of Maximus, for by the avoiding of the commons thus out of their houses, the ground laie unfilled, wherof ensued such famine for the space of thre yeres together, that a wonderfull number of people died for want of sustenance.

Thus the Britains being brought generallie into such extreme miserie, they thought good to trie if they might purchase some aid of that noble man Actius, which at that time remained in France as yet called Gallia, governing the same as lieutenant vnder the emperor Honorius: and hereupon taking counsell together, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof insueth.

To Actius thrise consull.

**H**elamentable request of vs the Britains, beseeching you of aid to be ministered vnto the prouince of the Romane empire, vnto our countrie, vnto our wiues and children at this present, which stand in most extreme perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the sea, and the sea driueth vs backe vnto them againe. Hereof rise two kinds of death, for either we are slaine, or drowned, and against such euils haue we no remedie nor helpe at all. Therefore in respect of your clemencie, succor your owne we most instantlie require you, &c.

Notwithstanding the Britains thus sought for aid at hands Actius as then the emperours lieutenant, yet could they get none; either for that Actius would not, as he that passed little how things went, because he bare displeasure in his mind against Valentinian as then emperor; or else for that he could not, being otherwise constrained to imploye all his forces in other places against such barbarous nations as then invaded the Romane empire. And so by that means was Britaine lost, and the tribute which the Britains were accustomed to pay to the Romans ceased, iust fife hundred yeres after that Julius Caesar first entred the Ile.

The Britains being thus put to their shifts, manie of them as hunger-starued were constrained to yeld themselves into the griping hands of their enemies, whereas other yet keeping within the mountains, woods and caves, bryake out as occasion serued vpon their aduersaries, and then first (saith Gyl-das) did the Britains not putting their trust in man but in God (according to the saying of Philo, where mans helpe faileth, it is needfull that Gods helpe be present) make slaughter of their enemies that had bene accustomed manie yeres to rob and spoile them in maner as before is recited, and so the bold attempts of the enemies ceased for a time, but the wickednesse of the British people ceased not at all. The enemies departed out of the land, but the inhabitants departed not from their naughtie doings, being not so readie to put backe the common enemies, as to exercise ciuill warre and disoord among

themselves. The wicked Irish people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Picts settled themselves first at that season in the bittermost bounds of the Ile, and there continued, making insurrections oftentimes vpon their neighbours, and spoiling them of their goods.

This with more also hath Gyl-das, and likewise Beda written of this great desolation of the British people: wherein if the words of Gyl-das be well weighed and considered, it may lead vs to thinke, that the Scots had no habitations here in Britaine, but onely in Ireland, till after this season, and that at this present time the Picts, which before inhabited within the Isles of Orkenie, now placed themselves in the north parts of Scotland, and after by pcesse of time came and nestled themselves in Aouthian, in the Shers, and other countries more nere to our borders. But to proceed.

The British histories affirme, that whilst the Britains were thus persecuted by these two most cruell and fierce nations the Scots and Picts, the noble and chiefe men amongst them consulted together, & concluded to send an honorable ambassage vnto Al-drocnus as then king of little Britaine in Gallia, which Aldrocnus was the fourth from Conan Apert-doe the first king there of the British nation. Of this ambassage the archbishop of London named Cutheline or Cutheline was appointed the chiefe and principall, who passing ouer into little Britaine, and comming before the presence of Aldrocnus, so declared the effect of his message, that his suit was granted. For Aldrocnus agreed to send his brother Constantine ouer into great Britaine with a conuenient power, vpon condition, that the victorie being obtained against the enemies, the Britains should make him king of great Britaine.

Thus it is apparent, that this land of Britaine was without anie certaine gouernour (after that Gratian the vsurper was dispatched) a number of yeres together, but how manie writers in their account do varie. Fabian deposeth by diuers coniectures that the space betwixt the death of Gratian, and the beginning of the reigne of the said Constantine, brother to Aldrocnus, continued nine and thirtie yeres, during which time the Britains were sore and miserable afflicted by the inuasions of the Scots and Picts, as before ye haue heard by testimonies taken out of Beda, Gyl-das, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other writers both British and English.

What the Roman historiographer Marcellinus reporteth of the Scots, Picts, and Britains vnder the emperor Iulianus, Valentinianus and Valens, they send their vicegerents into Britaine, the disquietnesse of that time, London called Augusta, the worthie exploits of Theodosius in this Iland against the enimie, Valentinus a banished malefactor deuileth his destruction, he is taken and executed, he reformeth manie disorders and inconueniences, the first entering of the Saxons into Britaine, they are dawninged at the verie sight of the Romane ensignes, the Saxons lying in wait for their enemies are slaine euerie mothers sonne.

### The xxxiiij. Chapter.

**A**t now stith no mention is made of the Scots in our histories, till the daies of Maximus the vsurper or tyrant, as some call him, who began his reigne here in Britaine about the yere of our Lord 383, and that till after

Gylfridus.  
Gyl-das his  
words are to  
be considered.

An ambassage  
sent from the  
Britains vnto  
Aldrocnus  
king of Brit-  
taine in  
France.

Constantine  
the brother of  
Aldrocnus.

Fabian.

Maximus.

he had bereft the land of the chiefest forces thereof, in taking the most part of the youth ouer with him: we find not in the same histories of anie troubles wrought to the Britains by that nation. Therefore we haue thought good here to come backe to the former times, that we may shew what is found mentioned in the Romane histories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scots and Picts, as also the Saxons, and especiallie in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentieth booke intreating of the doings of the emperor Julianus, he saith as followeth.

In this state stood things in Illyricum or Slaunia, and in the east parts, at what time Constantius bare the office of consull the tenth time, and Julianus the third time, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 360. when in Britaine quietnesse being disturbed by roads made by the Scots and Picts, which are wild and savage people, the frontiers of the countrie were wasted, and feare oppressed the provinces wearied with the heape of passed losses. The emperor [he meaneth Julianus] as then remaining at Paris, and hauing his mind troubled with manie cares, doubted to go to the aid of them beyond the sea, as we haue shewed that Constantius did, least he should leaue them in Gallia without a ruler, the Almaines being euen then prouoked and stirred vp to crueltie and warre.

He thought good therefore to send Lupicinus vnto these places to bring things into frame and order, which Lupicinus was at that time master of the armorie, a warlike person and skilfull in all points of chualtrie, but proud and high-minded beyond measure, and such one as it was doubted long whether he was more couetous or cruell. Herevpon the said Lupicinus setting forward the light armed men of the Heruli and Bataui, with diuers companies also of the people of Thessa now called Bulgarie; when winter was well entred and come on, he came himselfe to Bulleine, and there prouiding ships, and imbarcking his men, when the wind serued his purpose, he transported ouer vnto Sandwich, and so marched forth vnto London, from thence purposing to set forward, as vpon aduise taken according to the qualitie of his businesse he should thinke meet and expedient.

In the meane time, whylest Lupicinus was busie here in Britaine to repress the enimies, the emperor Constantius displaced certaine officers, and among other he deppriued the same Lupicinus of the office of the master of the armorie, appointing one Cinnabarius to succed him in that roome, before anie such thing was knowen in these parties. And where it was doubted least that Lupicinus (if he had vnderstood so much whylest he was yet in Britaine) would haue attempted some new trouble, as he was a man of a stout and loftie mind, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was sent a notarie vnto Bulleine, to watch that none should passe the seas ouer into Britaine till Lupicinus were returned: and so returning ouer from thence yer he had anie knowledge what was done by the emperor, he could make no sturre, hauing no such assistants in Gallia, as it was thought he might haue had in Britaine, if he should haue moued rebellion there.

The same Marcellinus speaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus, being elected emperor, had admitted his brother Valens as fellow with him in gouernement, hath these words. In this season as though trumpets had blowne the sound to battell through out the whole Romane empire; most cruell nations being stirred vp, inuaded the borders next adioining, the Almaines wasted and destroyed the parts of Gallia and Aethia, as the Sarmatians

and Quadi did Daunonia, the Picts, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Attacots vered the Britains with continuall troubles, and greuous damages; the Austrians and the people of the Alpes ouerran the countrie of Aethia more sharpelie than in time past they had done; the pillring troops of the Goths spoiled Thracia; the king of Persia set in hand to subdue the Armentians, and sought to bring them vnder his obeisance, hasting with all speed toward Armenia, pretending (though vntrue) that now after the deccasse of Iouinius, with whom he had contracted a league and bond of peace, there was no cause of let what he ought not to recouer those things, which (as he alledged) did belong to his ancestors: and so forth.

Afterouer, the same Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wise, where he speaketh of the said Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and hasting to Arier, he was troubled with greuous newes that were brought him, giuing him to vnderstand, that Britaine by a conspiracie of the barbarous nations was brought to utter pouertrie, that Pectadius one of the emperours house earle of the sea coast, hauing charge of the parties towards the sea, was slaine, and that the generall Bulcho-baudes was circumvented by traines of the enimies. These things with great horrour being knowne, he sent Seuerus as then erle, (as I may call him lord steward of his household) to reforme things that were amisse, if hap would so permit, who being shortly called backe, Iouinius going thither, and with speed hasting forward, sent for more aid and a great polver of men, as the instant necessitie then required. At length, for manie causes, and the same greatlie to be feared, the which were reported and aduertised out of that Ile, Theodosius was elected and appointed to go thither, a man of approued skill in warlike affaires, and calling together an hardie youthfull number of the legions and cohorts of men of warre, he went forth, no small hope being conceiued of his good speed; the same wherof speed and went afore him.

A litle after, Marcellinus adding what people they were that troubled the Britains in this wise, saith thus. This shall suffice to be said, that in this season the Picts diuided into two nations Dicalidones, and Victoriones, and in like manner the Attacotti a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering here and there, made solble worke in places where they came.

The confines of France were disquieted by the Frankeners and Saxons borderers vnto them, euerie one as they could breaking forth, & doing great harme by cruell spoile, fire, and taking of prisoners. To withstand those doings if god fortune would giue him leaue, that most able capteine going vnto the uttermost bounds of the earth, when he came to the coast of Bullen which is leuered from the contrarie coast on the other side by the sea, with a narrow streight, where sometime the water goeth verie high and rough, & shortly after becommeth calme & pleasant, without hurt to those that passe the same, transporting ouer at leasure, he arrived at Sandwich (or rather Richburrow) where there is a quiet road for vessels to lie at anchor.

Wherevpon the Bataui and Heruli, with the souldiers of the legions called Louij, and Victores, being companies that trusted well to their owne strength, marched forth & drew towards London, an ancient citie, which now of late hath bin called Augusta. Herewith diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, he set vpon the troops of his enimies as they were abroad to forrey the countrie, pestered with burdens of their spoiles and pillage, and Quadi lie putting them to flight, as they were leading away those prisoners which they had taken, with their

Ammianus  
Marcellinus  
lib. 20.  
The emperor  
Julianus.

360.

Scots and  
Picts trouble  
the state of  
this Ile.

Lupicinus  
sent into  
Britaine.

Bataui now  
Hollanders.

Rumpis.

Of the displa-  
cing of these  
men the lea-  
re may be  
seen in Am.  
Mar.

Lib. 26.

Ammianus  
Marcellinus  
lib. 26.

The Almaines  
The Saxons  
The Sarmatians.

Lib. 27.

Commen-  
tary.

Commen-  
tary.

Theodosius  
sent into  
Britaine.

Theodosius  
sent into  
Britaine.

Theodosius  
sent into  
Britaine.

Bataui  
Hollanders.

Augusta  
London.

bodies of cattell, he bereft them of their price, the which the poore Britains that were tributaries had lost. To be briefe, restoring the whole, except a small portion bestowed amongst the wearie souldiers, he entred the citie which before was oppressed with troubles, but now suddenly refreshed, because there was hope of reliefe and assured preservation.

After this, when Theodosius was comforted with prosperous successe to attempt things of greater importance, and searching waies holw with good aduise to worke suerlie: whilst he remained doubtfull what would issue, he learned as well by the confession of prisoners taken, as also by the information of such as were fled from the enimies, that the scattered people of sundrie nations which with practise of great crueltie were become fierce and vndanted, could not be subdued but by policie secretlie practised, and sudden inuasions. At length therefore setting forth his proclamations, and promising pardon to those that were gone awaie from their captiues or charge, he called them backe againe to serue: and also those that by licence were departed and laie scattered here and there in places abroad. By this meanes, when manie were returned, he being on the one side earnestlie pꝛouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to haue one Ciuilis by name sent to him to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britaine in stead of the other gouernours, a man of sharpe wit, and an earnest maintainer of iustice. He likewise required that one Dulcinius a capteine renowned in knowledge of warlike affaires might be sent ouer to him for his better assistance. These things were done in Britaine.

Theodosius requireth to haue Ciuilis sent to him.  
Dulcinius.

London called Anglilla.

Againe, in his eight and twentieth booke, the same Marcellinus reciting further what the same Theodosius attibued in Britaine, hath in effect these words: Theodosius verelie a capteine of worthe fame, taking a valiant courage to him, and departing from Augusta, which men of old time called London, with souldiers assembled by great diligence, did succour and relieue greatlie the decayed and troubled state of the Britains, preventing euerie conuenient place where the barbarous people might lie in wait to do mischief: and nothing he commanded the meane souldiers to do, but that wherof he with a cherefull mind would first take in hand to shew them an example. By this meanes accomplishing the roome of a valiant souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble capteine, he discomfited and put to flight sundrie nations, whome presumption (nourished by securitie) emboldened to inuade the Roman prouinces: and so the cities and castels that had bene sore endangered by manifold losses and displeasures, were restored to their former state of wealth, the foundation of rest and quietnesse being laid for a long season after to issue.

Valentinus, Valeria now Suermarke.

But as these things were a doing, one wicked practise was in hand like to haue burst forth, to the greivous danger of setting things in broile, if it had not bene staied euen in the beginning of the first attempt. For there was one Valentinus, borne in the parties of Valeria adioining to Pannonia, now called Suermarke, a man of a proud and loftie stomack, brother to the wife of Mariminus, which Valentinus for some notable offence had bene banished into Britaine, where the naughty man that could not rest in quiet, deuised how by some commotion he might destroy Theodosius, who as he saw was onelie able to resist his wicked purposes. And going about manie things both priuillie and apertlie, the force of his vnmearasable desire to mischief still increasing, he sought to procure aswell other that were in semblable wise banished men, & inclined to mischief like him selfe, as also diuers of the souldi-

ers, alluring them (as the time serued) with large promises of great wealth, if they would ioine with him in that enterprise. But euen now in the berie nicke, when they shuld haue gone in hand with their brigatious exploit, Theodosius warned of their intent, boldlie aduanced himselfe to see due punishment executed on the offenders that were forthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conspiracie.

Theodosius committed Valentine with a few other of his trustie complices vnto the capteine Dulcinius, commanding him to see them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike skill (wherein he passed all other in those daies) what might follow, he would not in anie wise haue anie further inquirie made of the other conspirators, least through feare that might be spread abroad in manie, the troubles of the prouinces now well quieted, should be againe renewed. After this, Theodosius disposing himselfe to redresse manie things as need required, all danger was quite removed: so that it was most apparent, that fortune fauored him in such wise, that she left him not destitute of hir furtherance in anie one of all his attempts. He therefore restored the cities & castels that were appointed to be kept with garrisons, and the borders he caused to be defended and garded with sufficient numbers to keepe watch and ward in places necessarie. And hauing recovered the prouince which the enimies had gotten into their possession, he so restored it to the former state, that upon his motion to haue it so, a lawfull gouernour was assigned to rule it, and the name was changed, so as from thenceforth it should be called Valentia for the princes pleasure.

Dulcinius is appointed to put Valentinius to death.

A part of Britaine called Valentia.

The Areani, a kind of men ordeined in times past by our elders (of whome somewhat we haue spoken in the acts of the emperor Constance) being now by little and little fallen into vices, he removed from their places of abiding, being openlie conuicted, that allured with bribes and faire promises, they had oftentimes betraied vnto the barbarous nations what was done among the Romans: for this was their charge, to runne vp and downe by long iournies, and to giue warning to our captiues, what sturte the people of the next confines were about to make.

Theodosius therefore hauing ordered these & other like things, most worthilie & to his high fame, was called home to the emperours court, who leauing the prouinces in most triumphant state, was highlie renowned for his often and most profitable victories, as if he had bene an other Camillus or Turcorum Papius, and with the fauor and loue of all men was conueied vnto the sea side, and passing ouer with a gentle wind, came to the court, where he was receiued with great gladnesse and commendation, being immediatlie appointed to succed in the roome of Valence Iouinus that was maister of the hostes. Finallie, he was called by the emperor Gratianus, to be associated with him in the imperiall estate, after the death of Valence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauioꝝ 379, and reigned emperor, surnamed Theodosius the great, about 16 yeares and 2 daies.

The practise of Theodosius.

379  
Wil. Har.

Hereto also maie that be applied which the foresaid Marcellinus writeth in the same booke, touching the inuasion of the Sarons, the which (as Wolf Lazius taketh it) entred then first into great Britaine, but were repelled of the emperor Valentinianus the first, by the conduct and guiding of Suerus. The same yeere (saith he) that the emperours were the third time consuls, there brake forth a multitude of Sarons, & passing the seas, entred strongly into the Roman confines: a nation fed oftentimes with the slaughter of our people, the bzunt of

Wolf Lazius.  
Suerus.

Seuerus  
coronell of the  
footmen.

whose first inuasion earlie Honnens sustained, one which was appointed to defend those parties, an appointed capteine, & with continuall trauell in warres verie expert. But then incounting with desperate and forlorne people, when he perceiued some of his souldiers to be ourththrowne and beaten downe, and himselfe wounded, not able to abide the often assaults of his enemies, he obtained this by informing the emperour what was necessarie and ought to be done, inasmuch that Seuerus, maister of (as I maie call him) coronell of the footmen, was sent to helpe and releue things that stood in danger: the which bringing a sufficient power with him for the state of that businesse, when he came to those places, he diuiding his armie into parts, put the Saronis in such feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not so much as take weapon in hand to make resistance, but being amazed with the sight of the glittering ensignes, & the eagles figured in the Romane standards, they straight made sute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in sundrie wise (because it was iudged that it should be profitable for the Romane commonwealth) truce was granted vnto them, and manie yong men (able for seruice in the warres) deliuered to the Romans according to the covenants concluded.

After this the Saronis were permitted to depart without impeachment, & so to returne from whence they came, who being now out of all feare, and preparing to go their waies, diuers bands of footmen were sent to lie in wait in a certeine hid ballie so ambushed, as they might easilie breake forth vpon the enemies as they passed by them. But it chanced far other wise than they supposed, for certeine of those footmen stirred with the noise of them as they were coming, brake forth out of time, and being suddenly discovered whilst they hastened to hitte and knit themselves together, by the hideous crie and shout of the Saronis they were put to flight. Yet by and by closing together againe, they staid, and the extremite of the chance ministering to them force (though not sufficient) they were driuen to fight it out, and being beaten downe with great slaughter, had died euerie mothers sonne, if a troope of horsemen armed at all points (being in like maner placed in an other side at the entering of the waie to assaile the enemies as they should passe) aduertised by the dolefull noise of them that fought, had not speedilie come to the succour of their fellowes.

Then ran they together more cruellie than before, and the Romans bending themselves towards their enemies, compassed them in on each side, and with drawne swords slue them downe right, so that there was not one of them left to returne home to their native countrie to bring newes how they had sped, nor one suffered to liue after anothers death, either to reuenge their ruine, or to lament their losse. Thus were the limits of the Romane empire preserved at that time in Britaine, which should seeme to be about the yere of our Lord 399.

Thus were the Romans, as commonlie in all their martiall affaires, so in this incounter verie fortunate, the happie issue of the conflict falling out on their side. And strange it is to consider and marke, how these people by a celestiall kind of influence were begotten and borne as it were to proweesse and renowne; the course of their dealings in the field most aptlie answering to their name. For (as some suppose) the Romans were called of the Græke word *ῥωμαῖοι*, signifieng power and mightinesse: and in old time they were called Valentians, *A valendo*, of preuailing: so that it was no maruell though they were victorious subduers of foren people, sithens they were by nature created and appointed to be conquer

ers, and thereof had their denomination.

What the poet Claudianus saith of the state of Britaine in the decase of the Romane empire, of the Scots and Picts cruellie vexing the Britains, they are afflicted by inuasion of barbarous nations, the practise of the Saxons, of the Scots first coming into this Island, and from whence, the Scottish chronographers noted for curiositie and vanitie.

## The xxxv. Chapter.

After this, in the time of the emperour Honorius, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, did often times invade the frontiers of the Romane prouince in Britaine, as appereth by that which the poet Claudianus writeth, in attributing the honour of preserving the same frontiers vnto the said emperour, in his booke intituled *Panegyricum tertij consularis* (which fell in the yere 396) as thus:

*Ille leues Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos  
Edomuit, Scotumq; vago mucrone secutus,  
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas,  
Et gemina fulgens utroq; sub axe trophæa,  
Tethyos altera refusus calcavit arenas.*

The nimble Mores and Picts by right  
so cald, he hath subdued,

And with his wandring sword likewise  
the Scots he hath pursued:

He brake with bold couragious oare  
the Hyperborean waue,

And shining vnder both the poles  
with double trophies braue,

He marcht vpon the bubbling sands  
of either swelling seas.

The same Claudianus upon the fourth consularship of Honorius, saith in a tetrastrichon as followeth:

*Quid rigor æternus cali? quid frigora profundi?  
Ignotum fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso  
Orcaes, in caluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,  
Sætorum cumulus stetit glacialis Hyberne.*

What lasting cold? what did to them  
the frostie climats gaine?

And sea vnknowne? be moistened all  
with blood of Saxons slaine

The Orkneys were: with blood of Picts  
hath Thule waxed warme,

And yf Ireland hath beuaild  
the heaps of Scottish harme.

The same praise giueth he to Stilico the sonne in law of Honorius, and maketh mention of a legion of souldiers sent for out of Britaine in the periphrasis or circumlocution of the Gottish bloude warres:

*Venit & extremis legio præsentia Britannis,  
Quæ Scotis dat frana truci ferroq; notata  
Perleget exanimis Pictis moriente figuras.*

A legion eke there came from out  
the farthest Britains bent,

Which brideled hath the Scots so sterne:  
and marks with iron brent

Vpon their liuelesse limbs dooth read,  
whiles Picts their liues relent.

He rehearseth the like in his second *Panegyricum* of Stilico, in most ample and pithie manner insuing:

*Inde Calidonia velata Britannia monstro,  
Ferro Picta genas, cuius vestigia verris  
Carulus, Oceanis æstus mentitur amictus,  
Me quoq; vicinus pereuntem gentibus inquit,  
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotum Hybernæ  
Mouit, & infesto spumavit remige Thetis,*

*Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem  
Scotica, ne Pictum timerem, ne littore toto  
Prosperem dubijs venturum Saxona ventum.*

Then Britaine whom the monsters did  
of Calidone surround,  
Whose cheekes were pearst with scording Steele,  
whose garments swept the ground,  
Resembling much the marble heiv  
of ocean seas that boile,  
Said, She whom neighbour nations did  
conspire to bring to spoile,  
Hath Silico inuited strong, when  
raisd by Scots entice  
All Ireland was, and enemies ores  
the salt sea some did slice,  
His care hath causd, that I all feare  
of Scottish broiles haue bard,  
Ne doe I dread the Picts, ne looke  
my countrie coasts to gard  
Gainst Saxon troops, whom changing winds  
sent sailing hitherward.

Britains af-  
fected by in-  
vasion of bar-  
barous nations.

Thus maie it appere, that in the time when the  
Romane empire began to decaie, in like manner as  
other parts of the same empire were invaded by bar-  
barous nations, so was that part of Britaine which  
was subiect to the Romane emperors greivouslie af-  
flicted by the Scots and Picts, and also by the Sax-  
ons, the which in those daies inhabiting all alongst  
the sea coasts of low Germanie, even from the Elbe  
vnto the Rhine, did not onelie trouble the sea by con-  
tinuall rousing, but also used to come on land into di-  
uerse parts of Britaine and Gallia, invading the  
countries, and robbing the same with great rage and  
crueltie.

Sidon. Apol. li.  
3. Epist.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth,  
writing to Pammatus. The messenger did assuredlie  
affirme, that latelie ye blew the trumpet to warre in  
your nation, and betwixt the office one while of a ma-  
riner, and another while of a souldier, wasted about  
the crooked shoies of the ocean sea against the fleet  
of the Saxons, of whome as manie rousers as ye be-  
hold, so manie archpirats ye suppose to see: so doe they  
altogether with one accord command, obeie, teach,  
and learne to plaie the parts of rousers, that even  
now there is god occasion to warne you to beware.  
This enimie is more cruell than all other enimies.  
He assaileth at vnwares, he escapeth by forsaing the  
danger afore hand, he despiseth those that stand a-  
gainst him, he throweth downe the vnwarie: if he be  
followed he snappeth them by that pursue him, if he

The pirasie  
of the Sax-  
ons.

like he escapeth.

Of like effect for prose hereof be those verses  
which he wrote vnto Pammatus his panegyrike or-  
ration, following in Latine and in English verse.

*Tot maria intrant duce te, longeq; remotas  
Sole sub occiduo gentes, et hincia Cæsar  
Signa Calidonis transiit ad usq; Britanno.  
Fuderit & quanquam Scutum, cum Saxone Pictum,  
Hostes quæsiuit quem iam natura verabat,  
Quære plus homines, &c.*

10

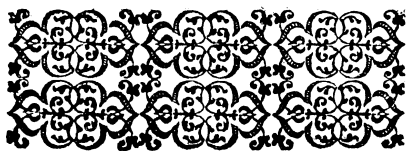
So manie seas I entred haue,  
and nations farre by west,  
By thy conduct, and Cæsar hath  
his banners borne full prest  
Vnto the furthest British coast,  
where Calidonians dwell,  
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,  
though he subdued fell,  
Yet would he enimies seeke vnkowne  
whom nature had forbid, &c.

20

Thus much haue we thought good to gather out  
of the Romane and other writers, that ye might per-  
ceiue the state of Britaine the better in that time of  
the decaie of the Romane empire, and that ye might  
haue occasion to marke by the waie, how not onelie  
the Scots, but also the Saxons had attempted to in-  
uade the Britains, before anie mention is made of  
the same their attempts by the British and English  
writers. But whether the Scots had anie habitation  
within the bounds of Britaine, till the time supposed  
by the Britaine writers, we leane that point to the  
iudgement of others that be travelled in the search of  
such antiquities, onelie admonishing you, that in the  
Scottish chronicle you shall find the opinion which  
their writers haue conceiued of this matter, and also  
manie things touching the acts of the Romans  
done against diuerse of the Britains, which they pre-  
sume to be done against their nation, though sha-  
dowed vnder the generall name of Britains, or of  
other particular names, at this date to most men be-  
knowne. But whensoever the Scots came into this  
Ile, they made the third nation that inhabited the  
same, comming first out of Scythia, or rather out of  
Spain (as some suppose) into Ireland, and from  
thence into Britaine; next after the Picts, though  
their writers fetch a farre more ancient beginning  
(as in their chronicles at large appereth) referring  
them to the reading thereof, that desire to under-  
stand that matter as they set it forth.

Polydor.

Thus farre the dominion and tribute of the Romans ouer this land of Britaine,  
which had continued (by the collection of some chronographers) the  
space of 483. yeeres. And heere we thinke it con-  
uenient to end this fourth booke.







# THE FIFT BOOKE

## of the Historie of England.

Constantinus at the generall  
*sute of the Britains undertaketh*  
to gouerne this Iland, he is crowned  
king, his three sonnes, he is traitorously  
slaine of a Pict, Constantius the eldest sonne of  
Constantine hauing bene a monke is created king,  
the ambitious & lie practises of duke Vortigern  
to aspire to the government, he procureth certaine Picts and

Scots to kill the king who had retained them for the  
gard of his person, his craftie deuises and deepe  
dissimulation vnder the pretence of in-  
nocencie, he winneth the peoples  
harts, and is chosen their  
king.

### The first Chapter.



Thus ended our  
former booke with  
the end of the Ro-  
mane power ouer  
this Iland, wherein  
the state of the I-  
land vnder them  
is at full described;  
it remaineth now  
that we proceed to  
declare, in what  
state they were af-  
ter the Romans  
had refused to gouerne them anie longer. Wherefore  
we will addeesse our selues to saie somewhat tou-  
ching the succession of the British kings, as their hi-  
stories make mention.

Constantinus.

Gal. Mon.  
Math. Westm.

Caxton saith  
12000, but  
Gal. and o-  
thers say  
but 1000.

The British  
historie disa-  
greeth from  
the Scotish.

Math. West.  
saith 435.

Constantinus the brother of Alboenus king of  
little Britaine, at the sute and earnest request of the  
archbishop of London, made in name of all the Bri-  
tains in the Ile of great Britaine, was sent into the  
same Ile by his said brother Alboenus vpon coue-  
nants ratified in manner as before is recited, and  
brought with him a conuenient power, landing with  
the same at Cotenelle in Devonshire. Immediatlie  
after his coming on land, he gathered to him a great  
power of Britains, which before his landing were  
hid in diuerse places of the Ile. Then went he forth  
with them, and gaue battell to the enemies, whom he  
vanquished: & slue that tyrannicall king Guanius  
there in the field (as some booke haue.) Notwith-  
standing, this agreeth not with the Scotish writers, which af-  
firm that they got the field, but yet lost their king  
named Dongard (as in their historie ye maie read.)

But to proceed as our writers report the matter.  
When the Britains had thus overcome their en-  
emies, they conueied their captaine the said Constanti-  
ne into Ciceter, and there in fulfilling their pro-  
mise and covenant made to his brother, crowned  
him king of great Britaine, in the yere of our Lord  
433, which was about the fift yere of the emperor

Valentinianus the second, and thirde yere of Clodius  
king of the Frankners after called Frenchmen,  
which then began to settle themselves in Gallia,  
whereby the name of that countrey was afterwards  
changed and called France. Constantine being thus  
established king, ruled the land well and noble, and  
defended it from all intiaction of enemies during his  
life. He begat of his wife three sonnes (as the British  
historie affirmeth) Constantius, Aurelius Ambrosi-  
us, and Alar surnamed Pendragon. The eldest, be-  
cause he perceived him to be but dull of wit, and not  
verie toward, he made a monke, placing him with-  
in the abbie of Amphibalus in Winchester.

Finallie this Constantine, after he had reigned  
ten yeres, was traitorously slaine one day in his  
owne chamber (as some write) by a Pict, who was in  
such fauor with him, that he might at all times haue  
free acceste to him at his pleasure. Neither the Ro-  
mane writers, nor Beda, make anie mention of this  
Constantine: but of the other Constantine they  
write, which immediatlie after the usurper Gratian  
was dispatched out of the way (as before ye haue  
heard) was advanced to the rule of this land, and  
title of emperor, onelie in hope of his name, and for  
no other respect of towardnesse in him, afore time  
being but a meane souldier, without anie degree of  
honour. The same Constantine (as writers record)  
going ouer into Gallia, adorned his sonne Constanti-  
us with the title and dignitie of Cesar, the which  
before was a monke, and smallie as well the one as  
the other were slaine, the father at Arles by earle  
Constantius, that was sent against him by the em-  
perour Honorius; and the sonne at Vienna (as be-  
fore ye haue heard) by one of his owne court called  
Gerontius (as in the Italian historie ye may see  
more at large.) This chanced about the yere of our  
Lord 415.

This haue we thought good to repeat in this  
place, for that some may suppose that this Constanti-  
ne is the same that our writers take to be the bro-  
ther of Alboenus king of little Britaine, as the cir-  
cumstance of the time and other things to be consi-  
dered may giue them occasion to thinke, for that  
there is not so much credit to be yeldest to them that  
haue written the British histories, but that in some  
part men may with iust cause doubt of sundrie mat-  
ters contained in the same: and therefore haue we in  
this booke bene the more diligent to shew what the  
Romans and other forreine writers haue registred  
in their booke of histories touching the affaires of  
Britaine, that the reader may be the better satisfied  
in the truth. But now to returne to the sequelle of the  
historie as we find the same written by the British  
chroniclers.

After that Constantine was murdered (as be-  
fore ye haue heard) one Vortigernus, or Vortigernus,  
a man of great authoritie amongst the Britains,  
wrought so with the residue of the British nobilitie,  
that Constantius the eldest sonne of their king the  
fore-remembered Constantine, was taken out of the  
abbie of Winchester where he remained, and was  
streight

In a groue of  
bushes as  
Gal. saith.  
Math. West.  
Beda.  
Orosius.  
Blondus.

415

This Vorti-  
gernus was  
thane of the  
Gentiles and  
Cornwall.  
as Rad. C. 11.  
reporteth.  
Gal. Mon.

straightwaies created king, as lawfull inheritour to his father.

We haue heard how Constantius was made a monke in his fathers life time, because he was thought to be too soft and childish in wit, to haue anye publicke rule committed to his hands: but for that cause speciallie did Vortigern seek to aduance him, to the end that the king being not able to gouerne of himselfe, he might haue the chiefest swaie, and so rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for himselfe to attaine at length to the kingsome as by that which followed was more apparentlie perceived.

Constantius.  
the West.  
Saxons.

the Scot.

Constantius  
murdered.

The subtle  
dealing of  
Vortigern.

Aurelius Ambrosius.  
the Scot.  
the Scot.

Vortigern  
chosen king of  
Britaine.

This Constantius then the sonne of Constantine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Vortigern, was made king of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 443. But Constantius bare but the name of king: for Vortigern abusing his innocencie and simple discretion to order things as was requisite, had all the rule of the land, and did what pleased him. Whereupon first, where there had bene a league concluded betwixt the Britains, Scots and Picts, in the daies of the late king Constantine, Vortigern caused the same league to be renewed, & wages an hundred Picts, and as many Scots to be attendant as a guard vpon the kings person, diuers of the which (corrupting them with faire promises) he procured by subtle meanes in the end to murder the king, and immediatlie vpon the deed done, he caused the murderers to be strangled, that they should not afterwards disclose by whose procurement they did that deed. Then caused he all the residue of the Scots and Picts to be apprehended, and as it had bene vpon a zeale to see the death of Constantius seuereley punished, he framed such indictments and accusations against them, that chiefely by his meanes (as appeared) the guiltlesse persons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the British people beinge wonderfullie pleased therewith, and giuing great commendations to Vortigern for that deed. Thus Constantius was made auaile in manner as before ye haue heard, after he had reigned (as most writers affirme) the space of five yeres.

After his death was knowne, those that had the bringing up and custodie of his two yonger brethren, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendragon, mistaking the wicked intent of Vortigern, whose dissimulation and mischieuous meaning by some great likelihoods they suspected, with all speed got them to the sea, and fled into little Britaine, there keeping them till it pleased God otherwise to provide for them. But Vortigern could so well dissemble his craftie workings, and with such conuenance and cloaked maner could shadow and colour the matter, that most men thought and iudged him verie innocent and void of euill meaning: insomuch that he obtained the fauour of the people so greatlie, that he was reputed for the onely saie and defender of the common wealth. Whereupon it came to passe, that when the counsell was assembled to elect a new king, for so much as the other sonnes of king Constantine were not of age sufficient to rule, Vortigern himselfe was chosen, diuers of the nobles (whom he had procured thereto) giuing their voices to this his preferment, as to one best deserving the same in their opinion and iudgement. This Vortigern, as by indirect meanes and sinister proceedings he aspired to the regiment, hauing no title thereto, otherwise than as blind fortune vouchsafed him the preferment: so when he was possessed, but not interested in the same, he vncaused the crooked conditions which he had couertly concealed, and in the end (as by the sequels you shall see) did pull shame and infamie vpon himselfe.

Vortigern furniseth the tower with a garrison, he bewraith his crueltie, Aurelius and Pendragon brethren to the late king Constantius flee into Britaine Armorike, what common abuses and finnes did vniuersally concur with a plentifull yeere, the Scots and Picts reuenge the death of their countymen, Vortigern is in doubt of his estate, the Britains send for succour to the Saxons, they come vnder the conduct of Hengist and Horsa two brethren, where they are assigned to be located, they vanquish the Scots, disagreement in writers touching the Saxons first coming into this land.

## The second Chapter.

Vortigern, by such diu-  
ly meanes and unconscion-  
able practises (as you heare)  
stealing away the hearts of  
the people, was chosen and  
made king of Britaine, in the  
yere of our Lord 446, in the  
consulship of Actius, 1197 of  
Rome, 4 of the 305 Olympiad, 4112 of the world,  
the dominicall letter going by F, the prime by 10,  
which fell about the 21 yere of the emperour Valen-  
tiniianus, the same yere that Heronius began to  
reigne ouer the Frenchmen. Before he was made  
king, he was earle or duke of the Britons, a people  
which held that part of Britaine where afterwards  
the west Saxons inhabited. Now when he had with  
treason, fraud, and great deceit at length obtained  
that for the which he had long looked, he first of all fur-  
nished the tower of London with a strong garrison  
of men of warre.

Then studieng to aduance such onely as he knew  
to be his speciall friends and fauourers, he sought by  
all meanes how to oppresse other, of whose good will  
he had neuer so little mistrust, and namelie those that  
were affectionate towards the lineage of Constantine  
he hated deadly, and deuised by secret meanes  
which way he might best destroy them. But these his  
practises being at the first perceived, caused such as  
had the gouernance of the two yong gentlemen  
with all speed to get them ouer (as ye haue heard) in-  
to Britaine Armorike, there to remaine out of dan-  
ger with their vncle the king of that land. Diuers  
of the Britains also, that knew themselves to be in  
Vortigerns displeasure, sailed ouer dailely vnto  
them, which thing brought Vortigern into great  
doubt and feare of his estate.

It chanced also the same time, that there was  
great plenty of corne, & store of fruit, the like wherof  
had not bene seene in many yeres before, and  
thereupon ensued riot, strife, lecherie, and other vi-  
ces verie heinous, & yet accounted as then for small  
or rather none offenses at all. These abuses & great  
enormities reigned not onely in the temporalltie,  
but also in the spiritualtie and these rulers in the  
same: so that euery man turned the point of his  
speare (euen as he had consented of purpose) against  
the true and innocent person. The commons al-  
so gaue themselves to voluptuous lust, drunken-  
nesse, and idle loitering, wherof followed fighting,  
contention, enuie, and much debate. Of this plenty  
therefore ensued great pride, and of this abundance  
no lesse haughtinesse of mind, whereupon followed  
great wickednesse, lacke of god gouernement and  
sober temperance, and in the necke of these as a iust  
punishment, death and mortalitie, so that in some  
countreies scarce the quicke sufficed to burie the dead.

And for an augmentation of more mischance, the  
Scots and Picts hearing how their countymen  
were thus

Vorti-  
gerne.

4 4 6

Hector Boet.

4 1 5

Fabian.

Gyltas

Plentie of  
wealth accom-  
panied with  
store of finnes.

Scots and

through

through the false suggestion of Vortigern, had bene wrongfullie and most cruellie put to death at London, began with fire & sword to make sharpe & cruell warre against the Britains, wasting their countrie, spoiling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrow in a pitcht field, as in the Scottish histories more plainlie appeareth. To be briefe, the Britains were brought into such danger and miserie, that they knew not what way to take for remedie in such present perill, likelie to be overrun and utterly vanquished of their enemies. In the meane time Vortigern not onelie troubled with these imminent euils, but fearing also the returne of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter Pendragon, began to consider of the state of things, and esteeming it most sure to worke by aduise, called together the principall lords and chiefe men of the realme to haue their counsell and opinion, how to proceed in such a weightie businesse: and so debating the matter with them, measured both his owne force, and also the force of his enemies, and according to the condition and state of the time, diligentlie considered and searched out what remedie was to be had and provided.

At length after they had thoroughlie pondered all things, the more part of the nobles with the king also were of this mind, that there could be no better way deuised, than to send into Germanie for the Saxons to come to their aid: the which Saxons in that season were highlie renowned for their valiancie in armes, and manifold aduentures heretofore atchiued. And so forthwith messengers were dispatched into Germanie, the which with monie, gifts, and promises, might procure the Saxons to come to the aid of the Britains against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons glad of this message, as people desirous of intertainment to serue in warres, choosing forth a picked companie of lustie yong men vnder the leading of two brethren Hengist and Horsa, got them aboard into certaine vessels appointed for the purpose, and so with all speed directed their course towards great Britaine.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 449, and in the second yeare of Vortigerns reigne, as the most autentike writers both British and English seeme to gather, although the Scottish writers, and name Hector Boetius doe varie herein, touching the iust account of yeares, as to the perusers of the writings atwell of the one as the other may appeare. But others take it to be in the 4 yeare of his reigne: whereto Beda seemeth to agree, who noteth it in the same yeare that Martianus the emperour began to rule the empire, which was (as appeareth by the consularie table) in the consularie of Protopogenes and Austerius, and third yeare of Speroneus king of France.

These Saxons thus arriuing in Britaine, were courteously receiued, & hartlie welcomed of king Vortigern, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabit, and forthwith led them against the Scots and Picts, which were entred into Britaine, wasting & destroing the countrie before them. Whereupon comming to ioine in battell, there was a fore fight betwixt the parties for a while. But at length when the Saxons called to their remembrance that the same was the day which should either purchase to them an euermouring name of manhood by victorie, or else of reproch by repulse, began to renew the fight with such violence, that the enemies not able to abide their fierce charge, were scattered and beaten downe on eich side with great slaughter.

The king hauing gotten this victorie, highlie rewarded the strangers according to their well deseruings, as by whose promise he had thus vanquished

his enemies, which (as some write) were came as farre as Stamford, and used at that time to fight with long darts and speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelie with long swords and axes.

Some haue written that the Saxons were not sent for, but came by chance into the Ile, and the occasion to be this. There was an ancient custome among the English Saxons a people in Germanie, as was also at the first among other nations, that when the multitude of them was so increased, that the countrie was not able to susteine and find them, by commandement of their princes, they should chuse out by lots a number of yong and able persons fit for the wars, which should go forth to seek them new habitations: and so it chanced to these, that they came into great Britaine, and promised to serue the king for wages in his warres.

Hengist the Saxon shooteth at the crowne and scepter of the kingdome by craftie and subtile practises, a great number of forren people arriue in Britaine for the augmentation of his power, of the faire ladie Rowen his daughter, whereof Wednesdaye and Fridaye tooke their name, of the Iutes, Saxons, and Angles, Vortigern being inflamed with the loue of Hengists daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigern giueth Hengist all Kent, the Saxons come ouer by heaps to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie moue the king to auoid them, he is deprived of his kingdome, the miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

### The third Chapter.

**N**OW Hengist, being a man of great wit, rare pollicie, and high wisdom, understanding the kings mind, who wholie trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, & herewithall perceiuing the fruitfulness of the countrie, presently began to consider with himselfe, by what wiles and craft he might by little little settle here, and obtaine a kingdome in the Ile, and so establish the same to him and his for ever.

Wherefore first he indueozed with all speed possible to sence that part of the countrie, which was giuen him and his people, and to inlarge and furnish it with garisons appointed in places most conuenient. After this he did what he could to perswade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that the land being fortified with such strength, the enemies might be put in feare, and his subiects holden in rest. The king not foreseeing the hap that was to come, did not despise this counsell tending to the destruction of his kingdome, and so was more aid sent for into Germanie: whereupon now at this second time there arriued here 16 vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the ladie Rowen or Konig (daughter to Hengist) a maid of excellent beautie and comelinesse, able to delight the eyes of them that should behold hir, and speciallie to win the heart of Vortigern with the dart of concupiscence, whereunto he was of nature much inclined, and that did Hengist well perceiue.

There came ouer into this land at that time, and some after, three maner of people of the German nation, as Saxons, Vices or Jutes, and Angles, ouer the which the said Hengist and Horsa being brethren, were capteines & rulers, men of right noble parentage in their countrie, as descended of that ancient prince Moden, of whom the English Saxon kings

Gyldas.  
Wol. Malm.  
Bed.  
The Saxons  
sent for.

roooo hath  
Hector Boet.  
Gyldas and  
Beda mention  
of the but of  
3 places of  
calles, but  
H. Gor Boet.  
is 330.

4 4 9  
Wol. Malm.

Scots van-  
quished by the  
Saxons.

Gal. Mo.

Hengist pro-  
poseth at the  
first to con-  
quer the  
Britains.

Polyder.

Wol. Malm.  
18 fables of  
places of the  
Scottish writers,  
and 5000 men in  
the same.  
The Saxons  
call this place  
Cecles.  
or Kales.  
our old writers  
call it Cogan.  
nes.

The Vices  
Jutes are called  
Juthi.  
Alex. New

consonant,  
and fridaie,  
whereof they  
came.  
B. 2.

Cor Tacitus.

Polydor.

Konowen, or  
Konowen  
Hengist's  
daughter.

Wil. Malm.

Gal. Mon.

Saith, sohat  
it signifies.

kings do for the more part fetch their pedigree, as lineallie descended from him, unto whome also the English people (falselie reputing him for a god) consecrated the fourth daie of the weeke, as they did the first to his wife Frea: so that the same daies toke name of them, the one being called Wodensdaie, and the other Freadaie, which words after in continuance of time by corruption of speech were somewhat altered, though not much, as from Wodensdaie, to Wednesday, and from Freadaie to Fridaie. The foresaid Woden was father to Wecta, the father of Wictigastus that was father to the foresaid Hengistus and Hoculus.

But now to rehearse further touching those three people which at this time came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie. Of the Wites or Jutes (as Bede recordeth) are the Kentishmen descended, and the people of the Isle of Wight, with those also that inhabit ouer against the same Isle. Of the Sarons came the east, the south, & the west Sarons. Hoeruer, of the Angles proceeded the east Angles, the middle Angles or Mercies, and the Northerne men. That these Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth also by Cornelius Tacitus, who called them Anglij, which word is of three syllables (as Polydor saith:) but some write it Angli, with two syllables. And that these Angli, or Anglij were of no small force and authoritie in Germanie before their coming into this land, maie appeare, in that they are numbred amongst the twelue nations there, which had lawes and ancient ordinances apart by themselves, according to the which the state of their common wealth was gouerned, they being the same and one people with the Thuringers, as in the title of the old Thuringers lawes we find recorded, which is thus: *Lex Angliorum & Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum*. The law of the Angles and Werinians that is to saie the Thuringers, which Thuringers are a people in Saronie, as in the description of that countrie it maie appeare.

But now to the matter. Hengist perceiuing that his people were highlie in Hoxtigerne's fauour, began to handle him craftilie, deuising by what means he might bring him in loue with his daughter Konowen, or Konowen, (as some write) which he beleued well would easilie be brought to passe, because he vnderstood that the king was much giuen to sensuall lust, which is the thing that often blindeth wise mens vnderstanding, and maketh them to dote, and to lose their perfect wits: yea, and oftentimes bringeth them to destruction, though by such pleasant poison they feele no bitter taste, till they be brought to the extreme point of confusion in deed.

A great supper therefore was prepared by Hengist, at the which it pleased the king to be present, and appointed his daughter, when euerie man began to be somewhat merrie with drinke, to bring in a cup of gold full of good and pleasant wine, and to present it to the king, saieing; Wastail. Which she did in such comelie and decent maner, as she that knew how to do it well inough, so as the king maruelled greatly thereat, and not vnderstanding what she ment by that salutation, demanded what it signified. To whom it was answered by Hengist, that the withed him well, and the meaning of it was, that he should drinke after hir, joining thereto this answer, Drinke haile. Whereupon the king (as he was informed) toke the cup at the damels hand, and drinke.

Finallie, this yong ladie behaued hir selfe with such pleasant words, comelie countenance, and amiable grace, that the king beheld hir so long, till he felt himselfe so farr in loue with hir person, that he burned in continuall desire to inioy the same: inasmuch that Hoxtie after he forsooke his owne wife, by the

which he had three sonnes, named Hoxtmerus, Castrinus, and Halcantus, and required of Hengist to haue his daughter, the said Konowen, or Konowen in marriage. Hengist at the first seemed strange to grant to his request, and excused the matter, for that his daughter was not of estate and dignitie meet to be matched with his maiestie. But at length as it had bene halfe against his will he consented, and so the marriage was concluded & solemnized, all went being assigned unto Hengist in reward, the which countrie was before that time gouerned by one Cuozongus (though not with most equall iustice) which Cuozongus was subiect unto Hoxtigerne, as all other the potentats of the Isle were.

This marriage and liberalitie of the king towards the strangers much offended the minds of his subjects, and hastened the finall destruction of the land. For the Sarons now vnderstanding the affinitie had betwixt the king and Hengist, came so fast ouer to inhabit here, that it was wonder to consider in how short a time such a multitude could come together: so that because of their great number and approved puissance in warres, they began to be a terror to the former inhabitants the Britains. But Hengist being no lesse politike in counsell than valiant in armes, abusing the kings lacke of discretion, to serue his owne turne, perswaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Decca and his sonne named Ebusa, being men of great valure, to the end that as Hengist defended the land in the south part: so might they keepe backe the Scots in the north.

Whereupon by the kings consent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coasting about the land, they sailed to the Isles of Orknie, and soe bered the people there, and likewise the Scots and Picts also, and finallie arrived in the north parts of the realme, now called Northumberland, where they settled themselves at that present, and so continued there euer after: but none of them taking vpon him the title of king, till about 99 yeeres after their first coming into that countrie, but in the meane time remaining as subiects vnto the Saron kings of Kent. After their arrivall in that prouince, they oftentimes fought with the old inhabitants there, and ouercame them, chasing away such as made resistance, and appeased the residue by receiuing them vnder allegiance.

When the nobles of Britaine saw and perceiued in what danger the land stood, by the daile repaire of the huge number of Sarons into the same, they first consulted together, and after resorting to the king, moued him that some order might be taken for the auoiding of them, or the more part of them, least they should with their power and great multitude vtterlie oppress the British nation. But all was in vaine, for Hoxtigerne so esteemed and highlie fauoured the Sarons, and namelie by reason of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that he little regarded his owne nation, no nor yet a thing esteemed his owne naturall kinsmen and chiefe friends, by reason whereof the Britains in fine depriued him of all kinglie honour, after that he had reigned 16 yeeres, and in his steed crowned his sonne Hoxtmer.

Gyldas and Beda make no mention of Hoxtmer, but declare that after the Sarons were receiued into this land, there was a couenant made betwixt them and the Britains, that the Sarons should defend the countrie from the inuasion of enemies by their knightlie force: and that in consideration thereof, the Britains should find them prouision of vittels: wherewith they held them contented for a time. But afterwards they began to pike quarrels, as though they were not sufficientlie furnished of their due proportion of vittels, threatening that if they were

Polydor.  
Fabian.

Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm.

Gal. saith he  
was Hengist's sonne,  
and Ebusa  
his vnicles  
sonne.

Decca and Ebusa leaders  
of Sarons.

Wil. Malm. de  
Regib.

Fabian.  
The great  
numbers of  
strangers sub-  
jected to the  
Britains.

Hoxtigerne  
depriued.

Gyldas.  
Beda.  
H. Hunt.

The mis-  
erable destruc-  
tion made by  
the Saxons  
in this land.

were not prouided more largelis thereof, they would surleie spoile the countrie. So that without deferring of time, they performed their wordes with effect of deeds, beginning in the east part of the Ile, & with fire and sword passed forth, wasting and destroying the countrie, till they came to the uttermost part of the west: so that from sea to sea, the land was wasted and destroyed in such cruell and outrageous manner, that neither citie, towne, nor church was regarded, but all committed to the fire: the priests slaine and murdered even afore the altars, and the prelates with the people without anie reuerence of their estate or degree dispatched with fire and sword, most lamentable to behold.

Want of the Britains seeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fled to the mounteins, of the which diuers being apprehended, were cruellie slaine, and other were glad to come forth and yeld themselves to eternall bondage, for to haue relafe of meate and drinke to asswage their extremitie of hunger. Some other got them out of the realme into strange lands, so to saue themselves; and others abiding still in their countrie, kept them within the thicke woods and craggie rocks, whither they were fled, liuing there a poore wretched life, in great feare and vniuerselle of mind.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrauene to their houses, the Britains began to take courage to them againe, issuing forth of those places where they had lien hid, and with one consent calling for aid at Gods hand, that they might be preferred from utter destruction, they began under the conduct of their leader Autellus Ambrose, to prouoke the Saxons to battell, and by the helpe of God they obtained victorie, according to their owne desires. And from thence forth, one while the Britains, and an other while the Saxons were victors. So that in this British people, God (according to his accustomed maner) as it were present Israell, tried them from time to time, whether they loued him or no, untill the yeare of the siege of Babon hill, where afterwards no small slaughter was made of the enemies: which chanced the same yeare in the which Gyl-das was borne (as he himselfe witnesseth) being about the 44 yeare after the coming of the Saxons into Britaine.

So Gyl-das  
was borne in  
the yeare of  
our Lord 493.

Thus haue Gyl-das & Beda (following by likelihood the authoritie of the same Gyl-das) written of these first warres begun betwene the Saxons and Britains. But now to go forth with the historie, according to the order of our chronicles, as we doe find recorded touching the doings of Vortimer that was elected king (as ye haue heard) to gouerne in place of his father Vortigerne.

Vortimer is created king in the roome of his father Vortigerne, he giueth the Saxons fore and sharpe barrels, a combat fought betwene Catigerne the brother of Vortimer and Horsus the brother of Hengist, wherein they were both slaine, the Britains drue the Saxons into the Ile of Tenet, Rowen the daughter of Hengist procureth Vortimer to be poisoned, the Saxons returne into Germanie as some writers report, they ioine with the Scots and Picts against the Britains and discomfit them.

### The fourth Chapter.

Vortimer.

Fabian.  
Galf. Mon.  
Math. West.  
saith 454.  
464



This Vortimer being eldest sonne to Vortigerne, by the common assent of the Britains was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 464. which was in the fourth yeare of the empe-

rouer Leo the fift, and about the first yeare of Childericus king of France, as our common account runneth, which is far disagreeing from that whereof W. Harrison doth speake in his chronologie, who noteth Vortigerne to be deposed in the 8 after his exaltation to the crowne, 454 of Christ, and 5 current after the coming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the 4420 of the world, and 8 of Perconus, as by his chronologie doth more at large appeare.

But to proceed, Vortimer being thus advanced to the government of the realme, in all hast made sore warre against the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battell vpon the river of Derwent, where he had of them the vpper hand. And the second time he fought with them at a place called Epiford, or Aglithrop, in the which encounter Catigrine or Catiger-nus the brother of Vortimer, and Horsus the brother of Hengist, after a long combat betwixt them two, either of them slue other: but the Britains obtained the field (as saith the British historie.) The third battell Vortimer fought with them nere to the sea side, where also the Britains chased the Saxons, & drue them into the Ile of Tenet. The fourth battell was stricken nere to a moze called Colc-moze, the which was sore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great danger to the Britains, because the foresaid moze inclosed a part of their host so stronglie, that the Britains could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enemies shot, albeit in the end the Saxons were put to flight, & manie of them drowned and swallowed vp in the same moze. Beside these foure principall battells, Vortimer had diuers other conflicts with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norfolk, also nere to Colchester in Essex: for he left not till he had bereft them of the more part of all such possessions as before time they had got, so that they were constrained to keepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentimes assailed them with such ships as he then had. When Rowen the daughter of Hengist perceived the great losse that the Saxons sustained by the martiall prowesse of Vortimer, she found means that within a while the said Vortimer was poisoned, after he had ruled the Britains by the space of 6 or 7 yeares and od moneths.

By the British historie it should seeme, that Vortimer before his death handled the Saxons so hardlie, keeping them besieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were constrained to sue for licence to depart home into Germanie in safetie: and the better to bring this to pas, they sent Vortigerne, (whome they had kept still with them in all these battells) vnto his sonne Vortimer, to be a meane for the obtaining of their sute. But whilest this treatie was in hand, they got them into their ships, and leauing their wives and children behind them, returned into Germanie. Thus far Galf. Mon. But how vnlikelie this is to be true, I will not make anie further discourse, but onelie refer euerie man to that which in old autentike historiographers of the English nation is found recorded, as in Will. Malmes. Henr. Hunt. Marianus, and others: vnto whom in these matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Britains, we maie vndoubtedly and safely giue most credit.

William Malmes. writing of this Vortimer, or Quortigerne, and of the warres which he had against the Saxons, varieth in a maner altogether from Geoffrey of Monmouth, as by his wordes here following ye maie perceiue. Quortimer, the sonne of Vortimer (saith he) thinking not good long to dissemble the matter, for that he saw himselfe and his countriemen the Britains preuented by the craft of the English Saxons, set his full purpose to drine them

The river of  
Derwent.

Epiford.

The Ile of  
Tenet.

Hen. Hunt.  
Colc-moze.

Fabian.  
Tetford in  
Norfolke.  
Colchester.

Will. Malmes.



Hengist had  
the barone in  
this battell  
such ka. Hug.  
Dorland  
Caugen:  
Heng.

458

Polydor.

The Brit-  
tains discom-  
fied by the  
Saxons.

Sigebertus.

them out of the realme, and kindled his father to the like attempt. He therefore being the author and procurer, seven yeares after their first coming into this land, the league was broken, and by the space of 20 yeares they fought oftentimes together in manie light encounters, but foure times they fought puiſſance against puiſſance in open field: in the first battell they departed with like fortune, whilest the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons lost their capteine Horsa that was brother to Hengist, and the Britains lost Catigerne an other of Hoxtimers sonnes.

In the other battells, when the Englishmen went euer awaie with the upper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Hoxtimer being taken out of this world by course of fatall death, the which much differing from the soft and milde nature of his father, right noble would haue gouerned the realme, if God had suffered him to haue liued. But these battells which Hoxtimer gave to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) should appeare by that which some writers haue recorded, to haue chanced before the supposed time of Hoxtimers or Guoxtimers attaining to the crowne, about the 6 or 7 yeare after the first coming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengist. And hereto W. Harison giueth his consent, referring the mutuall slaughter of Hoxus and Catigerne to the 6 yeares of Martianus, & 455 of Christ. Howbeit Polydor Virgil saith, that Hoxtimer succeeded his father, and that after his fathers deceasse the English Saxons, of whom there was a great number then in the Ile, comming ouer daile like swarmes of bees, and hauing in possession not onelie Kent, but also the north parts of the realme towards Scotland, together with a great part of the west cuntry, thought it now a fit time to attempt the fortune of waite: and first therefore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, upon the sudden they turned their weapons points against the Britains, and most cruellie pursued them, as though they had receiued some great iniurie at their hands, and no benefit at all. The Britains were maruelouslie abashed herewith, perceiving that they should haue to doe with Hengist, a capteine of so high renoume, and also with their ancient enemies the Scots and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but either they must fight or else become slaues. Wherefore at length, dread of bondage stirred by manhood in them, so that they assembled together, and boldlie began to resist their enemies on each side: but being too weake, they were easilie discomfited and put to flight, so that all hope of defense by force of armes being vtterlie taken awaie, as men in despair to preuaile against their enemies, they fled as sheepe scattered abroad, some following one capteine and some another, getting them into desert places, woods and marshy grounds, and mozeouer left such towne and fortresses as were of no notable strength, as a prey vnto their enemies.

Thus saith Polydor Virgil of the first breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and the Britains, which chanced not (as should appeare by that which he writeth thereof) till after the death of Hoxtimer. Howbeit he denieth not that Hengist at his first coming got seates for him and his people within the countie of Kent, and there began to inhabit. This ought not to be forgotten, that king Hoxtimer (as Sigebertus hath written) restored the christian religion after he had vanquished the Saxons, in such places where the same was decayed by the enemies invasion, whose dytt was not onelie to ouerrun the land with violence, but also to erect their owne lawes and liberties without regard of clemencie.

Vortigern is restored to his regiment, in what place he abode during the time of his sonnes reigne, Hengist with his Saxons re-enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are appointed to meet on Salisburie plaine, the priue treason of Hengist and his power whereby the Britains were slaine like sheepe, the manhood of Edol earle of Gloucester, Vortigern is taken prisoner, Hengist is in possession of three prouinces of this land, a description of Kent.

### The fifth Chapter.



After all these bloudie boiles and tempestuous tumults ended, Hoxtigerne was restored and set againe into the kingdome of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 471. All the time of his sonnes reigne, he had remained in the parties now called Wales, where (as some write) in that meane time he builded a strong castle called Ceneron, or Cuaneren, in the west side of Wales nere to the river of Guana, upon a mountaine called Cloaticus, which some referre to be builded in his second returne into Wales, as shall be shewed hereafter. And it is so much the more likelie, for that an old chronicle, which Fabian had sight of, affirmeth, that Hoxtigerne was kept under the rule of certaine gouernors to him appointed in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaved himselfe in such commendable sort towards his sonne, in aiding him with his counsell, and otherwise in the meane season whilest his sonne reigned, that the Britains by reason thereof began so to fauour him, that after the death of Hoxtimer they made him king againe.

Shortlie after that Hoxtigerne was restored to the rule of the kingdome, Hengist aduertised thereof, returned into the land with a mightie armie of Saxons, whereof Hoxtigerne being admonished, assembled his Britains, and with all speed made towards him. When Hengist had knowledge of the huge host of the Britains that was comming against him, he required to come to a communication with Hoxtigerne, which request was granted, so that it was concluded, that on what day a certaine number of Britains, and as manie of the Saxons should meet together upon the plaine of Salisburie. Hengist hauing deuised a new kind of treason, when the day of their appointed meeting was come, caused euerie one of his allowed number secretlie to put into his hose a long knife (where it was ordeined that no man should bring anie weapon with him at all) and that at the verie instant when this watchword should be vttered by him, Nempt your sexes, then should euerie of them plucke out his knife, and slae the Britaine that chanced to be next to him, except the same should be Hoxtigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not slaine.

At the day assigned, the king with his appointed number or traine of the Britains, mistrusting nothing lesse than anie such manner of vnfaithfull dealing, came vnto the place in order before prescribed, without armor or weapon, where he found Hengist readie with his Saxons, the which receiued the king with amiable countenance and in most loosing sort: but after they were a little entred into communication, Hengist meaning to accomplish his deuised purpose, gaue the watchword, immediatlie whereupon the Saxons drew out their knives, and suddenly fell on the Britains, and slue them as sheepe being fallen within the danger of wolues. For the Britains

March. West.  
saith 461.  
471

Caerleion  
Arwifke.

March. West.  
saith 4000.  
He might easily  
returne, for except he  
be deceived he  
was neuer  
drawen out after  
he had once  
set foot within  
this Ile.

Nempt your  
sexes, what it  
it were mellos

There died of  
the nobles of  
Britaine 450,  
as Gal. saith.

Britains had no weapons to defend themselves, except anie of them by his strength and manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Ran. Cestren.  
Fabian.

Gal. saith 70.  
Math. West.  
Ran. Cestren.

Amongst other of the Britains, there was one Edol earle of Gloucester, or (as other say) Chester, which got a stake out of an hedge, or else where, and with the same so defended himselfe and laid about him, that he slue 17 of the Saxons, and escaped to the towne of Ambrie, now called Salisburie, and so saved his owne life. Hoxtiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constrained to deliver unto Hengist three prouinces or countries of this realme, that is to say, Kent & Essex, or as some write, that part where the south Saxons after did inhabit, as Sussex and other: the third was the countrie where the East Angles planted themselves, which was in Dorseth and Suffolke. Then Hengist being in possession of those three prouinces, suffered Hoxtigerne to depart, & to be at his libertie.

Wil. Malm.

William Malmesburie writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Hoxtigerne, during whose reigne, after the decaie of his sonne Hoxtimer, nothing was attempted against the Saxons, but in the meane time Hengist by colorable craft procured his sonne in law Hoxtigerne to come to a banquet at his house, with three hundred other Britains, and when he had made the m well and warme with often quaffing and emptying of cups, and of purpose touched euerie of them with one bitter talant or other, they first fell to multiplieng of malicious words, and after to blowes that the Britains were slaine, euerie mothers sonne so yielding by their ghosles euen amongst their pots. The king himselfe was taken, and to redeeme himselfe out of prison, gaue to the Saxons three prouinces, and so escaped out of bondage.

Thus by what meane soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agree) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other countries in this realme, and began to reigne there as absolute lord & gouernor, in the yere of our Lord (as some write) 476, about the fift yere of Hoxtigerne's last reigne: but after other, which take the beginning of this kingdome of Kent to be when Hengist had first gitt thereof, the same kingdome began in the yere 455, and contained the countrie that stretcheth from the east Ocean vnto the riuer of Thames, hauing on the southeast Southerie, and vpon the west London, vpon the northeast the riuer of Thames aforesaid, and the countrie of Essex.

476.

Kingdome of Kent.

The heptarchie or seuen kingdoms of this land, Hengist causeth Britaine to be peopled with Saxons, the decaie of Christian religion, the Pelagians with their hereticall and false doctrine infect the Britains, a synod summoned in Gallia for the redresse thereof, the Scots assist the Britains against the Saxons, who renew their league with the Picts, Germane and Lupus two bishops of Germanie procure the British armie to be newlie christened, the terror that the Britains vnder bishop Germans fortunate conduct draue into the Saxons by the outcrie of Alleluia, and got the victorie, bishop Germane departeth out of the land, and to redresse the Pelagian heresie commeth againe at the clergies request, he confirmeth his doctrine by a miracle, banisheth the Pelagians out of the land, the death of Germane, murther requited with murther.

### The vij. Chapter.



Hengist and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after shall appeare) in seuen parts of this realme, are called by writers Reguli, that is, little kings or

rulers of some small dominion: so that Hengist is counted a little king, who when he had got into his hands the foresaid three prouinces, he caused more Saxons to come into Britaine, and bestowed them in places abroad in the countrie, by reason whereof the christian religion greatlie decayed within the land, for the Saxons being pagans, did what they could to extinguishe the faith of Christ, and to plant againe in all places their heathenish religion, and worshipping of false gods: and not onelie here, by was the true faith of the Christians brought in danger dailie to decaye, but also the erroneous opinions of the Pelagians greatlie preuailed here amongst the Britains, by meanes of such vnfound preachers as in that troublefome season did set forth false doctrine amongst the people, without all manner of reprehension.

Certaine yeres before the comming of the Saxons, that heresie began to spread within this land verie much, by the lewd industrie of one Apollonius Agriola, the sonne of Seruerus Sulpitius (as Bale saith) a bishop of that soie. But Pelagius the author of this heresie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obtayne saluation by his owne free will and merit, and without assistance of grace, as he that was borne without originall sinne, &c.

This erroneous doctrine being taught therefore, and mainteined in this troublefome time of warres with the Saxons, soe disquieted the godlie minded men amongst the Britains, who not meaning to recuse it, nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked persuasions vsed by the professors thereof, thought god to send ouer into Gallia, requiring of the bishops there, that some godlie and profound learned men might be sent ouer from thence into this land, to defend the cause of the true doctrine against the naughty teachers of so blasphemous an error. Whereupon the bishops of Gallia soe lamenting the miserable state of the Britains, and desirous to relieue their present need, speciallie in that case of religion, called a synod, and therein taking counsell to consider who were most meet to be sent, it was decreed by all their consents in the end, that one Germane the bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Trois should passe ouer into Britaine to confirme the Christians there in the faith of the celestiall grace. And so those two vertuous learned men taking their iournie, finallye arriued in Britaine, though not without some danger by sea, through stormes & rage of winds, stirred (as hath bene thought of the superstitious) by the malice of wicked spirits, who purposed to haue hindered their proceedings in this their good and well purposed iournie. After they were come ouer, they did so much good with confuting the wicked arguments of the aduersaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the word of God, and holinesse of life, that those which were in the wrong waie, were sone brought into the right path againe.

About the same time also, one Palladius was sent from Celestinus bishop of Rome, vnto the Scots, to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and to purge them from the heresie of the said Pelagius. This Palladius exhorted Constantinus the king of Scots, that in no wise he should aid the Saxons being infidels against the Britains: whose exhortation took so good effect, that the said Constantinus did not onelie soe beare to assist the Saxons, but contrarie holpe the Britains in their warres against them, which thing did mainteine the state of the Britains for a time from falling into vtter ruine and decaie. In the meane time, the Saxons renewed their league with the Picts, so that their powers being ioined together, they began afresh to make soe warres vpon the Britains,

The very christian religion.

Beda.

Beda.

A synod held in Gallia.

Germane and Lupus.

Beda. Palladius.

Constantinus king of Scots.

P. H. H. Beda.

Britains, who of necessity were constrained to assemble an armie, & mistrusting their owne strength, required aid of the two bishops, Germane and Lupus, who passing forward with all speed came into the armie, bringing with them no small hope of good lucke to all the Britains there being assembled. This was done in Kent.

The armie of the Britains newlie christened.

Not so much was the diligence of the bishops, that (the people being instructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians, earnestlie came by troops to receive the grace of God offered in baptism, so that on Easter day which then ensued, the more part of the armie was baptised, and so went forth against the enemies, who hearing thereof, made halt towards the Britains, in hope to overcome them at pleasure. But their approach being knowne, bishop Germane took upon him the leading of the British host, and over against the passage thorough the which the enemies were appointed to come, he chose forth a faire ballie inclosed with high mountains, and within the same he placed his new washed armie. And when he saw the enemies now at hand, he commanded that everie man with one generall voice should answer him, crying aloud the same cry that he should begin. So that even as the enemies were ready to give the charge upon the Britains, supposing that they should have taken them at unwarres, and before any warning had been given, suddenly bishop Germane and the priests with a loud and shrill voice called Alleluia, thrice: and therewith all the multitudes of the Britains with one voice cried the same cry, with such a loud shout, that the Saxons were therewith so amazed and astonished (the echo from the rocks and hills adjoining, redoubling in such wise the cry) that they thought not onlie the rocks and cliffs had fallen upon them, but that even the skie it selfe had broken in peeces and come tumbling downe upon their heads: whereupon therewithal they lay downe their weapons, they took them to their feet, and glad was he that might get to be foremost in running away. Panic of them for half were drowned in a river which they had to passe. Polydore taketh that river to be Trent. The Britains having thus vanquished their enemies, gathered the spoile at good leaseure, & gave God thanks for the victorie thus got without blood, for the which the holie bishops also triumphed as best became them. Now after they had settled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, from whence they came (as is before rehearsed.)

March, West.

448.

By one author it should appere that this battell was wonne against the Scots and Picts, about the yere of our Lord 448, a little before the coming of the Saxons into this land under Hengist, in which yere Germane first came hither to weed out the heresie of Pelagius, as by the same author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, some chonographers alledge out of Prosper & other, and note the first coming of Germane to have bene in the 429 yere of Christ, and under the consullship of Florentius and Dionysius. And this should seeme to agree with the truth, for that after some, the foresaid Germane should die at Ravenna, about the yere of our Lord 450, as Vincentius noteth, which was the verie yere of the coming of the Saxons: notwithstanding, when or wherefoever he died, it was not long after his returne into Gallia, upon his first iourne made hither into this land, who no sooner obtained the victorie before mentioned, but word was brought againe unto him, that erstwhile the heresie of the Pelagians was spread abroad in Britaine, and therefore all the priests or cleargie made request to him that it might stand with his pleasure to come over againe, and de-

send the cause of true religion which he had before constrained.

Whereupon bishop Germane granted so to do, and therfore taking with him one Seuerus (that was disciple unto Lupus, and ordained at that time bishop of Triers) took the sea, and came againe into Britaine, where he found the multitude of the people steadfast in the same belife wherein he had left them, & perceived the fault to rest in a few: whereupon inquiring out the authors, he condemned them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifest miracle by restoring a yong man that was lame (as they saie) unto the right use of his limbs, he confirmed his doctrine. Then followed preaching to persuade amendment of errors, and by the generall consent of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being banished the land, were delivered unto bishop Germane and to his fellow Seuerus, to conuince them away in their companie unto the parties beyond the seas, that the region might so be delivered of further danger, and they receive the benefit of due amendment.

Germane returned hither againe into Britaine.

By this meane it came to passe, that the true faith continued in Britaine sound and perfect a long time after. Things being thus set in good order, those holie men returned into their countries, the foresaid bishop Germane went to Ravenna to sue for peace to be granted unto the people of Britaine. Armoike, where being received of the emperor Valentinian and his mother Placidia in most reuerend manner, he departed in that citie out of this transitorie life, to the eternall ioyes of heauen. His bodie was afterwards conveyed to the citie of Auterre, where he had bene bishop with great opinion of holines for his sincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortly after was the emperor Valentinian slaine by the friends of that noble man named Aetius, whome he had before caused to be put to death.

Anno 450, as Vincentius noteth, lib. 20. ca. 15. The emperor Valentinian slaine.

By this it may appere, that bishop Germane came into this realme both the first and second time, whilst as well Hengist, as also Vortigerne were living: for the said Valentinian was murdered about the yere of our Lord 454, where the said kings liued and reigned long after that time, as may appere both before and after in this present booke.

454

What part of the realme the Saxons possessed, Vortigerne buildeth a castell in Wales for his safetie, Aurelius and Vter both brethren returne into Britaine, they assaile the usurper Vortigerne, and with wild fire burne both him, his people, his fort, and all the furniture in the same,

Vortigerne committeth incest with his owne daughter, seined and ridiculous wondrous of S. Germane, a shepheard made a king.

### The seventh Chapter.

**I**N this will we returne to Vortigerne, of whome we read in the British historie, that after the Saxons had constrained him to deliver into their hands a great part of the south and east parts of the realme, so that they had in possession London, Poike, Lincolne, & Winchester, with other cities & townes, he not onlie fearing their puissance, but also the returne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Uterpendragon, withdrew him into Wales, where he began to build a strong castell upon a mountaine called Breigh, or after other Cloaric, nere to the river of Guana, which is in the west side of Wales in a place within the compasse of the same hill called Ceneron

Gallid.

Caxton, Fabian.

Polychron.

Mount Erie  
he calleth it in  
one place of  
his booke.

Aurelius and  
Uter brethren  
returne into  
Britaine.

Uortigierne  
burnt to death.

wild fire not  
yet inuented  
as some thinke.

Polychron.  
A fained tale  
of S. Ger-  
mane.

A catalist  
narration.

Fl. Hunt.

or Gueneren. Of the building of this castell, and of the hinderance in erecting the same, with the mon-  
strous birth of Merlin and his knowledge in prophe-  
sies, the British histories tell a long processe, the  
which in Caxton, and in Galfides booke is also set  
forth, as there ye may see: but for that the same say-  
meth not of such credit as deserueth to be registred  
in anie sound historie, we haue with silence passed it  
ouer.

Whilost Uortigierne was buied in building of  
this castell, the two foresaid brethren Aurelius and  
Uter prepared a name of thips, and an armie of  
men, by helpe of such their kinsmen and frends as  
they found in Britaine Armoike, and so passed the  
sea, and landed at Totnesse: whereof when the Bri-  
tains were aduertised, the which were scattered a-  
broad and seuered in diuers parties and countries,  
they drew vnto the said two brethren with all speed  
that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Uter  
perceiued that they were sufficientlie furnished of  
people, they marched forth towards Wales against  
Uortigierne, who hauing knowledge of their approach,  
had fortified his castell verie strongly with men, mu-  
nition and vittels, but yet all auailed him nothing,  
for in the end after his enemies had giuen diuers  
assaults to the said castell, they found meanes with  
wild fire to burne it downe to the earth, and so con-  
sumed it by fire together with the king, and all other  
that were within it.

Thus did Uortigierne end his life (as in the Bri-  
tish historie is recorded.) Much euill is reported of  
him by the same historie, and also by other writers,  
and among other things it is wittien, that he should  
lie by his owne daughter, and of hir beget a sonne,  
in hope that kings should come of him, and therefore  
he was excommunicated by S. Germane. It is also  
said, that when the same S. Germane came into  
Britaine (as before ye haue heard) this Uortigierne  
on a time should denie the same S. Germane har-  
bour: but one that kept the kings heards of cat-  
tell receiued him into his house, and lodged him, and  
gave a calfe for his supper, which calfe after supper was  
ended, S. Germane restored againe to life: and  
on the morrow by the ordinance of God, he caused  
Uortigierne to be deposed from his kinglie estate,  
and took the heardman and made him king. But  
Ranulfe Hig. in his Polychronicon, alledging Gyl-  
das for his author, saith that this chand to a ceking  
that ruled in Wotsey, whose name was Bulic, and  
not to Uortigierne: so that the successors of that Bu-  
lic reigning in that side of Wales, came of the li-  
nage of the same heardman.

Moreover it hath bene said (as one writer re-  
cordeth) that when Uortigierne refused to heare the  
preaching of saint Germane, and fled from him as  
he would haue instructed him, one night there fell  
fire from heauen vpon the castell wherein the king  
was lodged, and so the king being destroyed with the  
fall of the house and the fire together, was neuer af-  
ter seene. ¶ But these are fables, and therefore I passe  
them ouer, hoping that it shall suffice to shew here  
with what stuffe our old historiographers haue far-  
ced by their huge volumes, not so much regarding  
the credit of an historie, as satisfieng the vanitie  
of their owne fond fantasies, studieng with a preten-  
ded skilfulnesse to cast glorious colours vpon lies,  
that the readers (whom they presupposed either igno-  
rant or credulous) would be led away with a flowing  
streame of words void of reason and common sense.  
Which kind of men knew not (belike) that the na-  
ture of an historie defined to be *rei vere gesta memoria*  
will not beare the burthen or lode of a lie, sith the  
same is to be true: other wise they would haue depoi-  
sed matters conspiring with the truth.

Aurelius Ambrosius the brother to  
Constantius created king of Britaine, he  
incountereth with the Saxons, Hengist their  
generall is beheaded, Occa his sonne submit-  
teth himselfe to Aurelius, he putteth all the Saxons  
out of the land, repaireth places decayed, and restoreth religion,  
the memorable monument of the stones that are so much spo-  
ken of on Salisbury plaine, the exploits of Pascentius Vorti-  
gers yongest sonne, Aurelius lieth sicke, Vter goeth against  
Pascentius and giueth him the ouerthrow, Aurelius is pois-  
oned of a counterfet moonke, the place of his buriall, Poly-  
dor Virgils report of the acts and deeds of Aurelius  
against the Saxons, Hengist is slaine, Occa and Occa  
his two sonnes make a fowle spoile of the west  
part of the land, Vortimer dieth, the disa-  
greement of writers touching matters  
interchangeable passed betwene  
the Britains and Saxons.

### The eight Chapter.



Aurelius Ambrose, the se-  
cond sonne of king Constanti-  
us, brother to Constantius,  
and, murdered by the trea-  
son of Uortigierne (as before  
ye haue heard) was made  
king of Britaine in the yere  
of our Lord 481, which was  
about the thirde yere of the emperour  
Zeno, and the 23 of Childericus king of France,  
Mdocer king of the Herulians then usurping the  
gouernment of Italie. When this Aurelius Ambro-  
sius had dispatched Uortigierne, and was now esta-  
blished king of the Britains, he made towards  
Pozke, and passing the riuer of Humber, encountred  
with the Saxons at a place called Paebell, and o-  
uerthrew them in a strong battell, from the which as  
Hengist was fleeing to haue saved himselfe, he was  
taken by Edoll earle of Gloucester, or (as some say)  
Chester, and by him led to Conninghborow, where  
he was beheaded by the counsell of Eldad then  
bishop of Colchester.

Wherbeit there be some that write, how that Hen-  
gist was taken at another battell fought vpon the  
riuer of Dune, in the yere of our Lord 489, and not  
in the chase of the battell which was fought at Paeb-  
bell in the yere 487, as the same authors doe alledge.  
Occa the son of Hengist by flight escaped to Pozke,  
and being there besieged, at length was constrained  
to yeld himselfe to Aurelius: who dealing fauou-  
rable with him, assigned vnto him and other of the  
Saxons a countrie bordering nere to the Scots,  
which (as some affirme) was Galloway, where the  
said Occa and the Saxons began to inhabit. Then  
did Aurelius Ambrosius put the Saxons out of all  
other parts of the land, & repaired such cities, townes  
and also churches, as by them had bene destroyed or  
defaced, and placed againe priests, and such other as  
should attend on the ministerie and seruice of God  
in the same churches.

Also for a perpetuall memorie of those Britains  
that were slaine on the plaine of Salisbury by the  
treason of Hengist, he caused stones to be fetched out  
of Ireland, and to be set vp in the same place where  
that slaughter was committed, and called the place  
Stoneheng, which name continueth vnto this day.  
Fiftene thousand men (as Galfid saith) were sent  
for those stones, vnder the leading of Uter Pen-  
dagon the kings brother, who giuing battell vnto Sil-  
lomanus king of Ireland that went about to resist  
the Britains, and would not permit them to fetch a-  
way the same stones out of his countrie, discomfited  
him and his people, and so (maugre his hart) brought  
the stones away with him.

Sho:llie

Shortlie after, Valcentius that was Clozigerus  
poungest sonne, and had escaped into Ireland (when  
Aurelius Ambrosius came into Britaine) returned  
with a great power of strange nations, and toke the  
cite of Penencia in Wales, afterwards called faint  
Dauids, and did much hurt in the countrie with fire  
and sword. At which time the same Aurelius Ambro-  
sius lay sicke at Winchester, and being not able to  
go forth himselfe, desired his brother Uter Pendra-  
gon to assemble an armie of Britains, and to go a-  
gainst Valcentius and his adherents. Uter, accor-  
ding to his brothers request, gathering his people,  
went forth, and incountering with the enemies gaue  
them the ouerthrow. Que Valcentius and Giliomare  
or Gilioman king of Ireland, that was come ouer  
with him in aid against the Britains.

John Boet.

John Boet.

Polydor.

In the meane while, a Saron or some other stran-  
ger, whose name was Copa or Cope, not long before  
procured thereto by Valcentius, fained himselfe to  
be a Britaine, and for a colour counterfeiting him-  
selfe a monke, and to haue great knowledge in phy-  
sicke, was admitted to minister as it were medi-  
cines to Aurelius: but in stead of that which should  
haue brought him health, he gaue him poison, wherof  
he died shortly after at Winchester aforesaid, when  
he had reigned after most accord of witters nintene  
yeres: his bodie was conueied to Stoneheng and  
there buried. ¶ Thus find we in the British and com-  
mon English histories of the doings of Aurelius  
Ambrosius, who (as ye haue hard) makes him a Bri-  
taine borne, and descended of the blood of the ancient  
Britains. But Gylidas and Beda report him to be a  
Romane by descent, as before is mentioned.

Polydor Virgil writeth in this sort of the victorious  
acts atchiued by the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius.  
Then (saith he) the Saron hauing already gotten  
the whole rule of the Ile, practised their outrageous  
cruelties speciallie against the princes of the Bri-  
tains, to the end that the said princes being ouer-  
come and destroyed, they might with more ease ob-  
taine possession of the whole Ile, which thing they ou-  
lie fought. But the fauour of almighty God was  
not wanting to the miserable Britains in that great  
necessitie. For behold, Aurelius Ambrosius was at  
hand, who had no sooner caused the trumpet to sound  
to arm, but euerie man for himselfe prepared and  
repaired vnto him, praiering & beseeching him to helpe  
to defend them, and that it might stand with his plea-  
sure to go forth with them against the enemies in  
all speed.

Thus an armie being assembled, Aurelius Am-  
brosius went against them, and valiantlie assailed  
them, so that within the space of a few daies they  
fought three battels with great fiercenesse on both  
sides, in triall of their high displeasures and utter-  
most forces. In which at length the Britains put the  
Saron to flight, whosus the brother of Hengist be-  
ing slaine with a great number of his people. But  
yet notwithstanding the enemies rage was little a-  
bated hereby, for within a few daies after receiuing  
out of Germanie a new supplie of men, they brake  
forth vpon the Britains with great confidence of  
victorie. Aurelius Ambrosius was no sooner aduer-  
tised thereof, but that without delay he set forward  
towards Poike, from whence the enemies should  
come, and hearing by the way that Hengist was in-  
camped about seven & twentieth miles distant from  
that cite, nere to the bankes of a riuer at this day  
called Dune, in the place where Doncaster now  
standeth, he returned out of his waie, and marched  
towards that place, and the next day set on the eni-  
mie and vanquished him, Hengist at the first mee-  
ting of the battell being slaine, with a great number  
of the Germans. The same of this victorie (saith Po-

Hengist is  
slaine.

lydor) is had in memorie with the inhabitants of  
those parties euen vnto this day, which victorie did  
fore diminish the power of the Saron, inso much  
that they began now to thinke it should be more for  
their profit to sit in rest with that dishonour, than to  
make anie new warres to their great disaduantage  
and likelihood of present losse.

Hengist left behind him two sonnes, Meca and  
and Meca, which as men most sorrowfull for the ouer-  
throw of late receiued, assembled such power as they  
could together, and remoued therewith towards the  
west part of the Ile, supposing it to be better for them  
to draw that way forth, than to returne into Kent,  
where they thought was already a sufficient num-  
ber of their people to resist the Britains on that side.  
Now therefore when they came into the west parts  
of the land, they wasted the countrie, burnt villages,  
and abstained from no manner of crueltie that might  
be shewed. These things being reported vnto Aure-  
lius Ambrosius, he straightwaies hastened thither to  
resist those enemies, and so giuing them battell, ef-  
fectuously discomfited them: but he himselfe receiuing  
a wound, died thereof within a few daies after. The  
English Saron hauing thus sustained so manie  
losses within a few moneths together, were conten-  
ted to be quiet now that the Britains stirred nothing  
against them, by reason they were brought into  
some trouble by the death of such a noble capteine  
as they had now lost. In the meane time Clozimer  
died, whome Uter surnamed Pendragon succeeded.

Aurelius dis-  
ceth of a wound

Clozimer de-  
parteth this  
life.

Thus hath Polydor written of the foresaid Aureli-  
us Ambrosius, not naming him to be king of Bri-  
taine, and differing in deed in sundrie points in this  
behalf from diuerse ancient witters of the English  
histories: for where he attributeth the victorie to the  
Britains in the battell fought, wherein whosus the  
brother of Hengist was slaine, by the report of Poly-  
chronicon, and others, the Saron had the victorie in  
that reincounter: and William of Malmesburie  
saith, that they departed from that battell with equall  
fortune, the Saron losing their capteine whosus,  
and the Britains their capteine Katigerne (as be-  
fore ye haue heard.) But there is such contrarietie in  
witters touching the doings betwixt the Britains  
and Saron in those daies, as well in account of  
yeres, as in report of things done, that setting as-  
fection aside, hard it is to iudge to which part a man  
should giue credit.

Wil. Malm.

Katigerne.

For Fabian and other authors write, that Aureli-  
us Ambrosius began his reigne ouer the Britains  
about the yere of our Lord 481, and whosus was  
slaine about the yere 458, during the reigne of  
Clozimer, as aboue is mentioned, so that it can-  
not stand with the truth of the British histories (the  
which Fabian followeth) that whosus was slaine by  
Aurelius Ambrosius, if according to the same histo-  
ries he returned not into Britaine, till the time there  
supposed. But diuerse such manner of contrarieties  
shall ye find, in perusing of those witters that haue  
written the chronicles of the Britains and Saron,  
the which in euerie point to recite, would be too tedious  
and combersome a matter, and therefore we are  
forced to passe the same ouer, not knowing how to  
bring them to anie lust accord for the satisfieng of all  
mens minds, speciallie the curious, which may with  
diligent search satisfie themselves haplie much bet-  
ter, than anie other shall be able to do in uttering  
his opinion neuer so much at large, and agreeable to  
a truth. This therefore haue we thought good as it  
were by the waie to touch what diuerse authors do  
write, leaving it so to euerie mans iudgement to  
construe thereof, as his affection leadeth him. We  
find in the writings of those that haue registred the  
doings of these times, that Aurelius hauing van-  
quished

458

Sigebertus.

H. i.



Math. West.  
saith 488.

quished the Saxons, restored churches to the furtherance of the christian religion, which by the invasion of the Saxons was greatlie decayed in diuerse parts of Britaine, and this chanced in the daies of the emperor Theodosius the yonger.

The beginning of the kingdome of the Southsaxons commonlie called *Sussex*, the Britains with their rulers giue battell to Ella the Saxon & his three sonnes, disagreement betweene the English and British chronographers about the battels fought by Hengist and his death, the beginning of the Kentish kingdome, a battell fought betweene the Britains and Saxons, the first are conquered, the last are conquerors.

### The ninth Chapter.

Ella entered  
this land as  
Matt. West.  
saith ann. 477.

The kingdom  
of the South-  
saxons doth  
begin.

482

**I**n the time of the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius, one Ella a Saxon with his 3 sonnes Cymen, Plettinger and Cissa, came out of Germanie with three ships, which landed in the south parts of Britaine, and being incountred with a power of Britains at a place called Cuneuethore, discomfited them, and chased them vnto a wood then called Andredescester, and so toke that countrie, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himselfe king and lord thereof, in somuch that afterwards the same countrie was named the kingdome of the Southsaxons, which had for limits on the east side Kent, on the south the sea and Ile of Wight, on the west Hamshire, and on the north part Southerie. This kingdome (after some) began vnder the foresaid Ella, about the 32 yere after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, which by following that account, should be about the second yere of the reigne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and about the yere of our Lord 482. But other write, that it did begin about the 30 yere after the first comming of Hengist, which should be two yeres soner.

William Harison differing from all other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yere after the death of Hengist, 4458 of the world, 2 of the 317 Olympiad, 1243 of Rome, 492 of Christ, and 43 after the comming of the Saxons: his words are these. Ella erected the kingdome of the Southsaxons, in the 15 after his arriual, and reigned 32 yeres, the chiefe citie of his kingdome also was Cichester, and after he had inioied the same his kingdome a while, he ouerthrew the citie called Andredescester, which as then was taken for one of the most famous in all the south side of England. For my part I thinke my dutie discharged, if I shew the opinions of the writers: for if I should thereto ad mine owne, I should but increase coniectures, whereas already we haue superfluous store. To proceed therfore as I find.

About the ninth yere after the comming of Ella, the Britains perceiving that he with his Saxons still enlarged the bounds of his lordship by entring further into the land, assembled themselves together vnder their kings and rulers, and gaue battell to Ella and his sonnes at Ocredelesbourne, where they departed with doubtfull victorie, the armies on both sides being sore diminished, and so returned to their homes. Ella after this battell sent into his countrie for more aid.

But now touching Hengist, who as ye haue heard, reigned as king in the prouince of Kent, the writers of the English kings varie somewhat from the Bri-

tish histories, both in report of the battels by him fought against the Britains, and also for the manner of his death: as thus. After that Closter was dead, who departed this life (as some write) in the first yere of the emperor Leo, furnished the great, and first of that name that gouerned the empire, who began to rule in the yere of our Lord 457, we find that Hengist and his sonne Decca or Decca gathered their people together that were before sparked, and hauing also receiued new aid out of Germanie, fought with the Britains at a place called Crecenford, where were slaine of the Britains foure dukes or capitaines, and foure thousand of other men, the residue were chased by Hengist out of Kent vnto London, so that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kent: thus the kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengist the twelue yere after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine, and Hengist reigned in Kent after this (as the same writers agree) foure and twentie yeres.

It is remembered that those Germans which lately were come ouer to the aid of Hengist, being the ten men, mightie and strong of bodie, with their axes and swords made great slaughter of the Britains in that battell at Crecenford or Cressford, which Britains were ranged in foure battels vnder their aforesaid foure dukes or capitaines, and were (as before is mentioned) slaine in the same battell. About the first yere of the said emperor Leo, which was in the 17 yere after the comming of the Saxons, Hengist and his sonne Decca or Decca fought at Wiltets fild in Kent, nere to a place called Tong with the Britains, and slue of them twelue dukes or capitaines, & on the part of the Saxons was slaine beside common souldiers but onlie one capitaine called Wiltet, of whom the place after that daie toke name.

This victorie was nothing pleasant to the Saxons, by reason of the great losse which they sustained, as well by the death of the said Wiltet, as of a great number of others: and so of a long time neither did the Saxons enter into the confines of the Britains, nor the Britains presumed to come into Kent. But whilest outward wars ceased among the Britains, they exercised ciuill battell, falling together by the eares among themselves, one striving against another. Finally, Hengist departed this life by course of nature, in the 39 yere after his first comming into Britaine, hauing proceeded in his businesse no lesse with craft and guile than with force and strength, following therewith his nature crueltie, so that he rather did all things with rigour than with gentleness. After him succeeded a sonne whom he left behind him, who being attentiu rather to defend than to enlarge his kingdome, neuer set foot out of his fathers bounds, during the space of 24 yeres, in the which he reigned.

About three yeres after the decess of Hengist, a new supplie of men of warre came out of Germanie vnto the aid of Ella king of Sussex, who hauing his power increased, besieged the citie of Andredescester, which was verie strong and well furnished with men and all things necessarie. The Britains also assembling together in companies, greatlie annoyed the Saxons as they lay there at siege, laying ambushes to destroye such as went abroad, and ceasing not to giue alarms to the campe in the night season: and the Saxons could no soner prepare themselves to giue the assault, but the Britains were ready to assault them on the backs, till at length the Saxons diuiding themselves into two companies, appointed the one to giue the assault, and the other to encounter with the armie of the Britains without, and so finally by that meanes prevailed, toke the citie, and destroyed man, woman and child. Neither so

Polydora

457

Henricus

Wil. Malm.

Cressford

Britains

uerthwinn.

Wiltet

Leo

Wiltet

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contented, they did also utterlie race the said citie, so as it was neuer after that daie builded or reedified againe.

The east Angles kingdome beginneth, the arriual of Cerdic and Kenric with five ships of warre in this land, he putteth the Britains to flight, the west Saxons kingdome beginneth, Vter Pendragon made king of Britaine, the etymon of his name, he taketh Occa and Olla the two sonnes of Hengist prisoners, how Hector Boetius varieth from other chronographers in the relation of things concerning Pendragon, he falleth in loue with the duke of Cornwalls wife, killeth him, and marieth hir. Occa and Olla escape out of prison, they freshlie assault the Britains, they are both slaine in a foughen field, the Saxons fend and looke for aid out of Germanie, Pendragon is poisoned.

### The tenth Chapter.

Whelung-  
tane of the  
east Angles  
began not till  
Iulianus Ce-  
sar and rege-  
no.

561

**M**oreouer, in the daies of the afore-named Aurelius Ambrosius, about the yeare of our Lord 561, the kingdome of the east Angles began under a Saxon named Ossa. This same kingdome contained Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the east and north parts the sea, on the north west Cambridgeshire, and on the west saint Edmunds ditch with a part of Hertfordshire, and on the south side lieth Essex. At the first it was called Ossines dominion, and the kings that reigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the first named Ossines, but at length they were called east Angles.

Cerdic,  
Wit. Malin.  
495  
Fulian.  
Polychron.  
Wit. Malin.

Furthermore, about the yeare of our Lord 495, and in the right yeare after that Hengist was dead, one Cerdicus and his sonne Kenricus came out of Germanie with five ships, and landed at a place called Cerdiceshoore, which as some thinke is called Portsmouth in Northfolke. He was at the first receiued with battell by the Britains, but being an old skilfull warrior, he easilie beate backe and repelled the inconstant multitude of his enemies, and caused them to flee: by which good successe he procured both vndoubted assurance to himselfe for the time to come, and to the inhabitants good and perfect quietnes. For they thinking god neuer after to proue him more by resistance, submitted themselves to his pleasure: but yet did not he then giue himselfe to slouthfull rest, but rather extending his often atchiued victories on eche side, in the 24 yeare after his comming into this land, he obtained the rule of the west parts thereof, and gouerned there as king, so that the kingdome of the west Saxons began under the said Cerdicus in the 519 of Christ, as after shall be shewed.

520

Thus we maie see, that Aurelius Ambrosius did succeed Clotigerne, and reigned in the time supposed by the British histories, as before is alledged, the land euen in his daies was full of trouble, and the old inhabitants the Britains fore vexed by the Saxons that entred the same, so that the Britains were daily hampered, and brought vnder subiection to the valiant Saxons, or else driuen to remoue further off, and to giue place to the victors. But now to proceed with the succession of the British kings, as in their histories we find them registred, which I deliuer such as I find, but not such as I do wish, being written with no such colour of credit as we maie safelye put forth the same for an vndoubted truth.

After that Aurelius Ambrosius was dead, his brother Uter Pendragon (whome some call Aurelius Uterius Ambrosianus) was made king in the yeare of our Lord 500, in the twentieth yeare of the emperour Anastasius, and in the sixtieth yeare of Clodoveus king of the Frenchmen. The cause why he was surnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merlin the great prophet likened him to a dragons head, that at the time of his natiuitie maruelouslie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blazing star, as is reported. But others supposed he was so called of his wisdom and serpentine subtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner. This Uter, hearing that the Saxons with their capteins Occa or Olla the sonne of Hengist, and his brother Ossa had besieged the citie of Dorke, hastened thither, and giuing them battell, discomfited their powder, and toke the said Occa and Ossa prisoners.

Math. West.  
noteth.  
500

From this varieth Hector Boetius in his Chronicle of Scotland, writing of these doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfeit monke, which poisoned Aurelius Ambrosius, was suborned and sent to worke that feat by Occa, and not by his brother Pascenius: and further, that about the selfesame time of Aurelius his death, his brother Uter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fullie recovered of a sore sickness, wherewith of late he had bene much vexed. Yet the lords of Britaine after the buriall of Aurelius Ambrosius, came vnto him and crowned him king: and though he was not able to go against the Saxons (which as then by reason of Aurelius Ambrosius his death were verie busie, and more earnest in pursuing the warre than before) yet an armie was prepared and sent forth with all convenient speed vnder the leading of one Pethallod, a man neither of anie great ancient house, nor yet of skill in warlike affaires.

Hector Boet.

The noble men were nothing pleased herewith, as misliking altogether the lacke of discretion in their new king, & doubted sore, least in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the men of base degree, than such as were descended of noble parentage. Yet because they would not put the state of the common wealthe in danger through anie murtrine, they agreed to go forth with him in that iourneie. Occa had aduertisement giuen him by certaine letters sent to him from some close friends amongest the Britains of the whole matter: and therefore in hope of the better speed, he hastened forth to encounter the Britains, and so the whole armie comming within sight of the other, they prepared to the battell, and shortly after buckling together, the Britains were sone discomfited, by reason that one of their chiefe captiues called Gothlois disdaining to be at the appointment of Pethallod, got him vp to the next hill with the next battell which he led, leaving the other Britains in all the danger: which they seeing began by & by to flee. There died no great number of the Britains, except those that were killed in the fight: for Occa mistrusting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aside, would not suffer the Saxons to follow the chase, but in the night following Gothlois got him auaie, and ressed not till he was out of danger. Occa then perceiving himselfe to haue the vpper hand, sent an herald vnto king Uter with a certaine message, threatening destruction to him and to his people, if he refused to do that which he should appoint.

Uter perceiving that disloyaltie rested in the hearts of his otone subiects, agreed that the matter might be committed to right graue and wise counsellors, foure Britains and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an end of all con-

U. G. trouer.

frontiers and variances depending betwixt the two nations. *Decca* was likewise contented therewith, whereupon were named on either part foure persons, of such wisdom, knowledge and experience, as were thought meetest for the ordering of such a weightie matter. So that by the arbitrement, award and doome of those eight persons authorized thereto, a league was concluded upon certaine articles of agreement, amongst the which the chiefest was, that the Saxons from thenceforth should quietlie inioy all that part of Britaine which lieth fore against the Almaine seas, the same to be called euer after Engisland, and all the residue should remaine to the Britains as their owne rightfull and ancient inheritance. Thus far *Hector Boetius*.

But now to returne vnto *Uter* according to that we find in the Britissh histories, and to proceed after our owne historians; we find, that when he had banquished the Saxons and taken their two chiefe teins prisoners, in proceesse of time he fell in loue with a verie beautifull ladie called *Igwarne* or *Igera*, wife to one *Corolus* or *Corlois* duke of Cornewall, the which duke he sue at length nere to his owne castell called *Diunlioc* in Cornewall, to the end that he might inioy the said ladie, whome he afterwards married, and begot on hir that noble knight *Arthur*, and a daughter named *Amie* or *Anna*. *Decca* and *Decca* escaping also out of prison assembled ekesomes a power of Saxons, and made warre against the Britains, whercof *Uter* hauing aduertisement prepared to resist them, and finallye went himselfe in person against them, and at saint *Albans* (as some write) gaue them battell, and slue them both in the field.

By that which *Polydor Virgil* writeth, it should seeme that *Germane* the bishop of *Auxerre* came into Britaine in the daies of this *Uter*, by whose presence the Britains had victorie against the Saxons (as before ye haue heard) after which victorie both rested from troubling either other for a time. The Saxons as it were assonted with that present miracle, & the Britains not following their good successe, shortly after fell at discord amongst themselves, which finallye brought them to utter decaye, as after shall appeare. But the Saxons desirous to spoile the Britains of the whole possession of that part of the Ile which they held, whereas they accounted the cities and townes of small strength to be defended, they got them to an high mountaine called *Badon hill*, which *Polydor* supposeth to be *Blackamore* that lieth nere to the water of *Thaise*, which divideth the bishopricke of *Durham* from *Northshire*, hauing at the mouth thereof an haueu met to receiue such ships as come out of *Germanie*, from whence the Saxons looked for aid, hauing alreadye sent thither for the same.

The Britains being thereof aduertised, made hast towards the place, and besieged it on euerie side. They also laie the sea coasts full of souldiers, to keepe such of the enemies from landing as should come out of *Germanie*. The Saxons kept themselves for a certaine space aloft vpon the high ground, but in the end constrained through want of vittels, they came downe with their armie in order of battell to the next plaines, and offering to fight, the battell was anon begun, which continued from the morning till far in the day, with such slaughter, that the earth on euerie side flowed with blood: but the Saxons sustained the greater losse, their capteins *Decca* and *Decca* being both slaine, so that the Britains might seeme quite deliuered of all danger of those enemies: but the fatall destinie could not be auoided, as hereafter may appeare. And thus was the slaughter made of the Saxons at *Badon hill*, where

of *Gylas* maketh mention, and chanced the same yeare that he was borne, which was in the 44 yeare after the first coming of the Saxons into this land, the yeare of Grace 492, & 15 indiction.

About the same time *Uter* departed out of this life (saith *Polydor*) so that this account agreeth nothing with the common account of those authors, whome *Fabian* and other haue folloiwed. For either we must presuppose, that *Uter* reigned before the time appointed to him by the said authors, either else that the siege of *Badon hill* was before he began to reigne, as it should seeme in deed by that which *Wil. Malmesburie* writeth thereof, as hereafter shall be also shewed. Finallye (according to the agreement of the English writers) *Uter Pendragon* died by poison, when he had gouerned this land by the full terme of 16 yeares, & was after buried by his brother *Aurelius* at *Stoneheng*, otherwise called *Chorea Gigantum*, leauing his sonne *Arthur* to succeed him. & Here ye must note that the Scottish chronicles declare, that in all the warres for the more part wherein the Britains obtained victorie against the Saxons, the Scots aided them in the same warres, and so likewise did the *Picts*, but the same chronicles do not onelie varie from the Britissh writers in account of yeares, but also in the order of things done, as in the same chronicles more plainelie may appeare, & namelie in the discourse of the accidents which chanced during the reigne of this *Uter*. For whereas the Britissh histories, as ye haue heard, attribute great praise vnto the same *Uter* for his victories atchiued against the Saxons and their king *Decca*, whome he slue in battell, and obtained a great victorie, the Scottish writers make other report, affirming in deed that by the presence of bishop *Germane* he obtained victorie in one battell against them: but shortly after the Britains fought againe with the Saxons, and were discomfited, although *Decca* in following the chase ouer rashlie chanced to be slaine: after whose deceasse the Saxons ordeined his sonne named also *Decca* to succeed in his place, who to make himselfe strong against all his enemies, sent into *Germanie* for one *Colgerne*, the which with a great power of Dutchmen came ouer into this our Britaine, and conquered by *Deccas* appointment the countrie of *Northumberland*, situate betwene *Tine* and *Tweed*, as in the Scottish chronicles may further appeare.

Also this is to be remembred, that the victorie which was got against the Saxons by the Britains, at what time *Germane* bishop of *Auxerre* was present: *Hector Boetius* affirmeth (by authoritie of *Veremond* that wrote the Scottish chronicles) to haue chanced the second time of his coming ouer into this land, where *Beda* auoucheth it to be at his first being here. Againe the same *Boetius* writeth, that the same victorie chanced in the daies of *Uter Pendragon*. Which can not be, if it be true that *Beda* writeth, touching the time of the death of the said *Germane*: for where he departed this life before the yeare of our Lord 459, as aboue is said, *Uter Pendragon* began not his reigne till the yeare of our Lord 500 or as the same *Hector Boetius* saith 503, so that bishop *Germane* was dead long before that *Uter* began to reigne.

In deed some writers haue noted, that the third battell which *Uortimer* fought against the Saxons, was the same wherein *Germane* was present, and procured the victorie with the crye of *Alleluia*, as before ye haue heard. Which seemeth to be more agreeable to truth, and to stand also with that which holie *Beda* hath written, touching the time of the being here of the said *Germane*, that the opinion of other, which affirme that it was in the time of the reigne

*Gylas* duke of Cornewall.

*Harding*.

*Badon hill*.

*Gylas*.

492  
The birth of *Uter* the dragon.

*Stoneheng*  
*Chorea Gigantum*.

reigne of Uter. The like is to be found in the residue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the time speciallie of the reignes of the British kings that governed Britaine about that season. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambrosius began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 498, and ruled but seven yeares, and then succeeded Uter, which reigned 18 yeares, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 521.

Notwithstanding the premises, here is to be remembered, that whatsoever the British writers have recorded touching the victories of this Uter had against the Saxons, and how that Meca the sonne of Hengist should be slaine in battell by him and his power: in those old writers which have registered the acts of the English Saxon kings we find no such matter, but rather that after the deceasse of Hengist, his sonne Meca or Meca reigned in Kent 24 yeares, defending his kingdome onelie, and not seeking to enlarge it (as before is touched.) After whose death his sonne Mth, and Armentike sonne to the same Mth succeeded, more resembling their father than their grandfather or great grandfather. To their reignes are assigned fiftie and thre yeares by the chronicles: but whether they reigned jointlie together, or severallie apart either after other, it is not certeinlie perceived.

Ofen.  
34 faith Hen-  
ric Hunt, in  
corrupted co-  
pus.

Porth the Saxon arriueth at Portemouth, warre betweene Nazaleod king of the Britains and the Saxons, the Britains are overthrowen and slaine, the kingdome of the west Saxons beginneth, the compass of continent thereof, the meanes whereby it was enlarged.

## The eleventh Chapter.

Porth entered  
this land a-  
bout the yeare  
of our Lord  
531 as Math.  
West. noteth.

Harison sup-  
poseth the ri-  
uer to be cal-  
led Porth, as  
for the word  
mouth, is the  
fall of some  
fresh river in-  
to the sea.

**N**OW will we brieflie dis-  
course upon the incidents  
which first happened during  
the reigne of Uter Pendra-  
gon. We find that one Porth  
a Saxon with his two sons  
Megla and Beda came on  
land at Portemouth in Sus-  
sex, about the beginning of the said Uters reigne,  
and slue a noble young man of the Britains, and ma-  
nie other of the meaner sort with him. Of this Porth  
the towne & haven of Portemouth toke the name,  
as some have thought. Moreover, about 40 yeares  
after the coming of the Saxons into this land  
with their leader Hengist, one Nazaleod, a mightie  
king amongst the Britains, assembled all the power  
he could make to fight with Certicus king of the  
West Saxons, who understanding of the great power  
of his enemies, required aid of Meca king of Kent,  
also of Elle king of Sussex, and of Porth and his  
sonnes which were latelie before arrived as ye have  
heard. Certicus being then furnished with a con-  
venient armie, divided the same into two battels,  
reserving the one to himselfe, and the other he ap-  
pointed to his sonne Kenrike. King Nazaleod per-  
ceiving that the wing which Certicus led, was of  
more strength than the other which Kenrike gover-  
ned, he set first upon Certicus, thinking that if he  
might distresse that part of the enemies armie, he  
should easilie overcome the other. Whereupon he  
gave such a fierce charge upon that wing, that by  
verie force he opened the same, and so overthrowen the  
Saxons on that side, making great slaughter of  
them as they were scattered. Which manner of dea-  
ling when Kenrike saw, he made forward with

all speed to succour his father, and rushing in a-  
mongst the Britains on their backs, he brake their  
armie in peeces, and slue their king Nazaleod, and  
tothall put his people to flight. There died of the  
Britains that daie 5000 men, and the residue esca-  
ped by fleeing as well as they might. In the first  
yeare after this battell, Stuff and Wightgar that  
were nephues to Certicus, came with thre ships,  
and landed at Certicestord, and overthrowen a num-  
ber of Britains that came against them in order of  
battell, and so by the coming of those his nephues  
being valiant and hardie captains, the part of Cer-  
ticus became much stronger. About the same time  
Elle king of the South Saxons departed this life,  
after whose succedeed his sonne Cissa, of whose  
we find little left in writing to be made account of.

About the yeare of our Lord 519, and in the yeare  
after the coming of the Saxons 71, which was in  
the 26 yeare of the emperour Anastasius, the Bri-  
tains fought with Certicus and his sonne Kenrike  
at Certicestord, where the captains of the Britains  
stood to it manfullie: but in the end they were dis-  
comfited, and great slaughter was made there of  
them by the Saxons, and greater had bene, if the  
night coming on had not parted them, and so ma-  
nie were saved.

From that day forward Certicus was reputed &  
taken for king of West Saxons, & so began the same  
kingdome at that time, which was (as W. Harison  
noteth) in the year of Christ 519, after the building  
of Rome 1270, of the world 4485, of the coming  
of the Saxons 70, of Justinus Anticus emperour  
of the east, the first and third of the renowned prince  
Patricius Arthurus then reigning over the Bri-  
tains. The said kingdome also contained the coun-  
tries of Wiltshire, Summersestshire, Warkeshire,  
Dorsetshire, and Cornwell, having on the east  
Hamthire, on the north the river of Thames, and on  
the south and west the Ocean sea. Howbeit, at the  
first the kings of the West Saxons had not so large  
dominions, but they daile wan ground upon the  
Britains, and so in the end by enlarging their con-  
fines, they came to enjoy all the foresaid countries,  
and the whole at the last.

In the ninth yeare of the reigne of Certicus, he  
effones fought with the Saxons at Certicestord a-  
foresaid, where great slaughter was made on both  
parts. This Certicestord was in times past called  
Nazaleod of the late remembered Nazaleod king of  
the Britains. About this season at sundrie times  
divers great companies of the Saxons came over  
into Britaine out of Germanie, and got possession  
of the countries of Mercia and Eastangle: but as  
yet those of Mercia had no one king that governed  
them, but were under certeine noble men that got  
possession of divers parts in that countrie, by means  
whereof great warres and manie encounters ensued,  
with a common waste of land both arable and ha-  
bitable, whiles each one being ambitiouslie minded,  
& heaping to themselves such powers as they were  
able to make, by sword and bloodshed chose rather to  
have their fortune decided, than by reason to sup-  
presse the rage of their unrulie affections. For such  
is the nature of men in gouvernement, whether they  
be interested to it by succession, or possessed of it  
by usurpation, or placed in it by lawfull constitution,  
(unless they be guided by some supernaturall in-  
fluence of divine conceit) if they be more than one,  
they cannot away with equalitie, for regiment ad-  
mitteth no companion: but everie one seeketh to ad-  
vance himselfe to a singularitie of honour, wherein  
he will not (to die for it) participate with another,  
which maie easilie be observed in this our historiall  
discourse.

The Bri-  
tains over-  
throwne.

Math. West.  
Henr. Hunt.  
Stuff and  
Wightgar.  
Math. West.  
noteth the  
yeare of their  
arrival to be  
514.

Henr. Hunt.  
Britains o-  
verthrowne  
by the Sax-  
ons.

The kingdom  
of West Saxons

Certicestord.

The beginning of the kingdome of the East Saxons, what it contained, of Arthur king of Britaine, his twelue victories ouer the Saxons against whom he maintained continuall warre, why the Scots and Picts entred him his roialtie and empire, a league betwixt Arthur and Loth king of the Picts, Howell king of little Britaine aideth Arthur against Cheldrike king of Germanie, who taking the ouerthrow, is slaine by the duke of Cornwall, the Picts are discomfited, the Irishmen with their king put to flight, and the Scots subdued, Arthurs sundrie conquests against diuers people, the vanitie of the British writers noted.

### The twelue Chapter.

Erchenwin.

The kingdom of the East Saxons.

**I**n those daies also the kingdome of the East Saxons began, the chiefe citie whereof was London. It continued in effect so much as at this present belongeth to the diocesse of London. One Erchenwin a Saxon was the first king thereof, the which was sonne to one Offa, the first in lineall descent from one Sarnot, from whom the kings of that countrie fetched their originall. Harison noteth the exact pære of the erection of the kingdome of the East Saxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicus king of the West Saxons, that is, the 527 of Christ, and 78 after the coming of the Saxons. In the 13 pære of the reigne of Cerdicus, he with his sonne Kentike, and other of the Saxon capteins fought with the Britains in the Ile of Wight at Wiltgarstydge, where they slue a great number of Britains, and so conquered the Ile, the which about foure pæres after was giuen by Cerdicus vnto his nephues Snotte and Wiltgar.

Arthur.

**A**fter the decesse of Uter Pendragon (as we doe find in the British histories) his sonne Arthur, a yong towardlie gentleman, of the age of 15 pæres or thereabouts, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the pære of our Lord 516, or as Matt. Westmin. saith 517, in the 28 pære of the emperor Anastasius, and in the third pære of the reignes of Chilbert, Clothare, Clodamire, and Theodolike, brethren that were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthur manie things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of authoritie that confirmeth the same: but surely as may be thought he was some worthie man, and by all likelihood a great enimie to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen which are the verie Britains in deed, haue him in famous remembrance. He fought (as the common report goeth of him) 12 notable battels against the Saxons, & in euerie of them went away with the victorie, but yet he could not drine them quite out of the land, but that they kept still the countries which they had in possession, as Kent, Sutherie, Dorfolke, and others: howbeit some writers testifie, that they held these countries as tributaries to Arthur.

But truth it is (as diuers authors agree) that he held continuall warre against them, and also against the Picts, the which were allied with the Saxons: for as in the Scottish histories is contained, even at the first beginning of his reigne, the two kings of the Scots and Picts seemed to enuie his advancement to the crowne of Britaine, because they had married the two sisters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon, that is to say, Loth king of Picts had married Anne their eldest sister, and

Concan king of Scots had in marriage Aida their yonger sister, so that because Arthur was begotten out of wedlocke, they thought it good with more reason, that the kingdome of the Britains should haue descended vnto the sisters sonnes, rather than to a bastard, namely Loth the Pictish king, which had issue by his wife Anna, soe repined at the matter.

Wherefore at the first, when he saw that by suit he could not preuaile, he ioined in league with the Saxons, and aiding them against Arthur, lost many of his men of warre being ouerthrowne in battell, which he had sent vnto the succours of Colgerne the Saxon prince that ruled as then in the north parts. But finally a league was concluded betwixt Arthur and the foresaid Loth king of Picts, vpon certaine conditions, as in the Scottish historie is exprest, where ye may read the same, with many other things touching the acts of Arthur, somewhat in other order than our writers haue recorded.

**T**he British authors declare, that Arthur immediately after he had receiued the crowne of Du bright bishop of Caerleon went with his power of Britains against the Saxons of Northumberland, which had to their capteine (as before is said) one Colgrime or Colgerne, whom Arthur discomfited and chased into the citie of Porke, within which place Arthur besieged him, till at length the same Colgrime escaped out of the citie, & leauing it in charge with his brother called Wladulfe, passed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike king of that countrie, of whom he obtained succor, so that the said Cheldrike made prouision of men and ships, and came himselfe ouer into Scotland, hauing in his companie fiftene hundred sailles one with an other.

When Arthur was aduertised thereof, he raised his siege, and withdrew to London, sending letters with all speed vnto Howell king of little Britaine in France, that was his sisters sonne, requiring of him in most earnest wise his aid. Howell incontinentlie assembled his people, to the number of fiftene thousand men, and taking the sea, landed with them at Southampton, where Arthur was ready to receiue him with great ioy and gladnesse. From thence they drew northwards, where both the hostes of Arthur and Howell being assembled together, marched forward to Lincoln, which citie Cheldrike did as then besiege. Here Arthur and Howell assailed the Saxons with great force & no lesse manhood, and at length after great slaughter made of the enimies, they obtained the victorie, and chased Cheldrike (with the residue of the Saxons that were left aliue) vnto a wood, where they compassed them about with in the same, in such wise, that in the ende they were constrained to yeld themselves, with condition that they might be suffered to depart on foot to their ships, and so auoid the land, leauing their horse, armour, and other furniture vnto the Britains.

Whereupon the Britains taking good hostages for assurance, permitted the Saxons to go their waies, and so Cheldrike and his people got them to their ships, in purpose to returne into their countrie: but being on the sea, they were forced by wind to change their course, and comming on the coasts of the west parts of Britaine, they arrived at Wotnesse, and contrarie to the covenanted articles of their last composition with Arthur, invaded the countrie anew, and taking such armour as they could find, marched forth in robbing and spoiling the people, till they came to Bath, which towne the Britains kept and defended against them, not suffering them by any meanes to enter there, whereupon the Saxons inuironed it with a strong siege. Arthur informed hereof, with all speed hasted thither, and giuing the enimies battell, slue the most part of Cheldrikes men.

516  
Matth. West.  
hath noted 518

For the better  
god.

Cheldrike  
commeth in  
aid of Col-  
grime.  
Matth. West.  
saith but 700.

Howell king  
of Britaine  
commeth out  
in aid of Ar-  
thur.

Cheldrike  
ouerthrowne  
in battell

Bath hap-  
ped.



The Saxons  
overthrew  
Colgrime and  
Bladulf.

Chelvalke  
slaine by Ca-  
dor earle of  
Cornwall.

Howell be-  
lieved by the  
Scots.

Guillomer.

Guenhera.

W. Harison.  
525.

Scythland.

men.  
There were slaine both Colgrime and Bladulf, howbeit Chelvalke himselfe fled out of the field towards his ships, but being pursued by Cador earle of Cornwall (that had with him ten thousand men) by Arthurs appointment, he was overtaken and in fight slaine with all his people. Arthur himselfe returned from this battell foughten at Bath with all speed towards the marches of Scotland, for that he had receiued aduertisement, how the Scots had besieged Howell k. of Britaine there, as he lay sick. Also when Cador had accomplished his enterprize and slaine Chelvalke, he returned with as much speed as was possible towards Arthur, & found him in Scotland, where he rescued Howell, and afterwards pursued the Scots which fled before him by heaps.

About the same time, one Guillomer king of Ireland arrived in Scotland with a mightie power of Irishmen (where the place where Arthur lodged) to helpe the Scots against the Britains: whereupon Arthur turning his forces towards the same Guillomer, vanquished him, and chased him into Ireland. This done, he continued in pursuit of the Scots, till he caused them to sue for pardon, and to submit themselves whole to him, and so receiving them to mercie, & taking homage of them, he returned to Worke, and shortly after toke to wife one Guenhera a right beautifull ladie, that was neere kinswoman to Cador earle of Cornwall.

In the yere following, which some note to be 525, he went into Ireland, and discomfiting king Guillomer in battell, he constrained him to yeld, and to acknowledge by doing his fealtie to hold the realme of Ireland of him. It is further remembred in those British histories, that he subdued Scythland and Irel- land, with all the Isles in and about those seas. Also that he overcame the Romans in the countrie about Paris, with their capitaine Lucius, and waisted the most part of all France, and slue in singular combats certeine giants that were of passing force and hugeness of stature. And if he had not bene reuoked and called home to resist his cosen Mordred, that was sonne to Lofh king of Wightland that rebelled in his countrie, he had passed to Rome, intending to make himselfe emperor, and afterward to vanquish the other emperor, who then ruled the empire. ¶ But for so much as there is not anie appoynted author who doth speake of anie such doings, the Britains are thought to haue registred mere fables in stead of true matters, vpon a vaine desire to aduance more than reason would, this Arthur their noble champion, as the Frenchmen haue done their Rouland, and diuerse others.

Arthur is resisted by Mordred the vsurper from arriuing in his owne land, they ioine battell, Gawaine is slaine and his death lamented by Arthur, Mordred taketh flight, he is slaine, and Arthur mortallie wounded, his death, the place of his buriall, his bodie digged vp, his bignesse coniecturable by his bones, a crosse found in his toorne with an inscription therevpon, his wife Guenhera buried with him, a rare report of hir haire, John Lelands epitaph in memorie of prince Arthur.

### The xiiij. Chapter.



King Arthur at his returne into Britaine, found that Mordred had caused himselfe to be made king, & hauing alied himselfe with Chelvalke a Saxon (not him whome Galfride, as ye

haue heard, supposed to haue bene wounded & slaine before) was readie to resist his landing, so that before he could come on land, he lost manie of his men: but yet at length he repelled the enimies, and so toke land at Sandwiche, where he first arriued, and ioining in battell with his enimies, he discomfited them, but not without great losse of his people: specialtie he sore lamented the death of Gawaine the brother of Mordred, which like a faithfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loiall truth than neceressesse of blond and cosenage, chose rather to fight in the quarrell of his liege king and louing maister, than to take part with his naturall brother in an vniust cause, and so there in the battell was slaine, together also with Angussell, to whom Arthur afore time had committed the gouernment of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battell, and getting ships sailed westward, and finallie landed in Cornwall. King Arthur caused the corps of Gawaine to be buried at Douer (as some hold opinion:) but William Malmesburie supposed, he was buried in Wales, as after shall be shewed. The dead bodie of Angussell was conueied into Scotland, and was there buried. When that Arthur had put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what parts Mordred was withdrawne, with all speed he reinforced his armie with new supplies of souldiers called out of diuerse parties, and with his whole puissance hastied forward, not resting till he came neere to the place where Mordred was incamped, with such an armie as he could assemble together out of all parties where he had anie friends. ¶ Here (as it appeareth by John Leland, in his booke intituled, The assertion of Arthur) it may be doubted in what place Mordred was incamped: but Gefrey of Monmouth sheweth, that after Arthur had discomfited Mordred in Kent at the first landing, it chanced so that Mordred escaped and fled to Winchester, whither Arthur followed him, and there giuing him battell the second time, did also put him to flight. And following him from thence, fought oftentimes with him at a place called Camblane, or Kemelene in Cornwall, or (as some authors haue) neere vnto Glasfenburie.

This battell was fought to such purpose, that finallie Mordred was slaine, with the more part of his whole armie, and Arthur receiuing diuers mortall wounds died of the same shortly after, when he had reigned ouer the Britains by the tearme of 26 yeres. His corps was buried at Glasfenburie aforesaid, in the churchyard, betwixt two pillars: where it was found in the daies of king Henrie the second, about the yere of our Lord 1191, which was in the last yere of the reigne of the same Henrie, more than six hundred yeres after the buriall thereof. He was laid 16 foot deepe vnder ground, for doubt that his enimies the Saxons should haue found him. But those that digged the ground there to find his bodie, after they had entered about seuen foot deepe into the earth, they found a mightie broad stone with a leaden crosse fastened to that part which laie downewards toward the corps, containing this inscription:

*Hic iacet sepulchrum inclitum rex Arthurus in insula Anlonia.*

This inscription was grauen on that side of the crosse which was next to the stone: so that till the crosse was taken from the stone, it was vnseene. His bodie was found, not inclosed within a tome of marble or other stone curiously wrought, but with in a great tree made hollowe for the nonce like a trunk, the which being found and digged vp, was opened, and therein were found the kings bones, of such marvellous bignesse, that the shinbone of his leg being set on the ground, reached vp to the middle thigh of a vertie tall man: as a monke of that abbey bath

Rather Crosse  
dicke as Le-  
land thinketh.

Gawaine bur-  
ied at Douer

Richard Tur-  
ner.

hath forgotten, which did lue in those daies, and saio it.  
 ¶ But Gyraldus Cambrensis (who also liued in those  
 daies, and spake with the abbat of the place, by whom  
 the bones of this Arthur were then found) affirmeth,  
 that by report of the same abbat, he learned, that the  
 shinbone of the said Arthur being set vp by the leg of  
 a berie tall man (the which the abbat shewed to the  
 same Gyraldus) came about the knee of the same  
 man the length of three fingers breadth, which is a  
 great deale more likeli than the other. Furthermore  
 the skull of his head was of a wonderfull largenesse,  
 so that the space of his forehead betwixt his two eyes  
 was a span broad. There appeared in his head the  
 signes and prints of ten wounds or more: all the  
 which were growne into one wem, except onelie that  
 whereof it should seeme he died, which being greater  
 than the residue, appeared berie plaine. Also in ope-  
 ning the tome of his wife quene Gueneuer, that  
 was buried with him, they found the tresses of hir  
 haire whole and perfect, and finelie platted, of colour  
 like to the burnished gold, which being touched, im-  
 mediately fell to dust. The abbat, which then was go-  
 uernour of the house, was named Stephan, or Hen-  
 rie de Blois, otherwise de Sullie, nephew to king  
 Henrie the second (by whose commandement he had  
 serched for the graue of Arthur) translated the bones  
 as well of him as of quene Gueneuer, being so  
 found, into the great church, and there buried them in  
 a faire double tome of marble, laing the bodie of  
 the king at the head of the tome, and the bodie of  
 the quene at his feet towards the west part. ¶ The  
 wyter of the historie of Cambria now called Wales  
 saith, that the bones of the said Arthur, and Guene-  
 uer his wife were found in the Ile of Aualon (that  
 is, the Ile of Alpes) without the abbete of Glaffen-  
 bury, sixtene feet within the ground, & that his graue  
 was found by the meanes of a Bardh, whome the  
 king heard at Penbroke singing the ads of prince  
 Arthur, and the place of his buriall.

Henricus Ble-  
 cenfis seu Soli-  
 accensis.  
 Io. Leland.

Dauid Pow.  
 pag. 238. 239.

John Leland in his booke intituled  
 Assertio Arthuri, hath for the woorthie me-  
 morie of so noble a prince, honored him  
 with a learned epitaph, as heere follow-  
 eth.

Saxonicae toties qui fudit Marte cruento  
 Saxon troops so oft with battels bloudie broiles,  
 Turmas, & peperit spolij sibi nomen opimis,  
 And purchast to himselfe a name with warlike wealthie spoiles,  
 Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit ense,  
 Who hath with shining shining sword, the Picts so oft dismayd,  
 Impoluitque iugum Scoti ceruicibus ingens:  
 And the unwieldie seruile yoke on necke of Scots hath laid:  
 Qui tumidos Gallos, Germanos quique feroces  
 Who Frenchmen puffed with pride, and who the Germans fierce in fight  
 Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:  
 Discomfited, and danted Dances with maine and martiall might:  
 Denique Mordredum è medio qui sustulit illud  
 Who of that murdering Mordred did the vitall breath expell,  
 Monstrum, horrendum, ingens, dirum, seuumque tyrannum,  
 Thas monst'ris gristlie, lothsome, huge, that diu'some tyrans fell,  
 Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arthurus alto,  
 Here liuelesse Arthur lies incoind, within this statelie hearse,  
 Militæ clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus:  
 Of chiuallrie the bright renomme, and vertues nursing fears:  
 Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnis,  
 Whose glorie greas now ouer all the world dooth compass lie,  
 Aetherique petit sublimia tecta Tonantis,  
 And of the aerie slunder shales the lofty building hie,  
 Vos igitur gentis proles generalia Britannæ,  
 Therefore you noble progenie of Britaine line and vace,  
 Induperatori ter magno assurgite vestro,  
 Arise vnto your emperours great, of thrice renowned grace,  
 Et tumulo sacro roseas inserite corollas,  
 And cast vpon his sacred toome the roseall garlands gaie,  
 Officij testes redolentia munera vestri.  
 That fragrant smell may witness well, your duties you displease.

¶ These verses I haue the more willinglie inser-  
 ted, for that I had the same deliuered to me turned  
 into English by master Nicholas Roscarocke, both

right aptlie yelding the sense, and also properlie an-  
 swering the Latine, berie for verse.

Vpon what occasion the graue of king  
 Arthur was sought for, the foliie of such  
 discovered as beleueed that he should returne  
 and reigne againe as king in Britaine, whether it  
 be a fiction or a veritie that there was such an Arthur  
 or no; discordance among writers about the place of  
 buriall and Arthurs death; of quene Gueneuer the wife  
 of king Arthur, hir beaurtie and dishonest life, great  
 disagreement among writers touching Arthur  
 and his wies to the impeachment of the  
 historie, of his life and death.

### The xiiij. Chapter.

The occasion that moued  
 king Henrie the second to  
 cause his nephew the foresaid  
 abbat to search for the graue  
 of king Arthur, was, for that  
 he vnderstand by a Welch  
 minstrell or Bardh (as they  
 call him) that could sing ma-  
 nie histories in the Welch language of the ads of  
 the ancient Britains, that in the foresaid churchyard  
 at Glaffenbury, betwixt the said two pillars the bo-  
 die of Arthur was to be found Arthane sat deepe  
 vnder the ground. Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth,  
 that the tree in the which Arthurs bodie was found so  
 inclosed, was an oke, but other suppose that it was  
 an alder tree, because that in the same place a great  
 number of that kind of trees doe grow, and also for  
 that it is not vnknowne, that an alder lieng vnder  
 ground where moisture is, will long continue with-  
 out rotting.

¶ By the finding thus of the bodie of Arthur bu-  
 ried (as before ye haue heard) such as hitherto bele-  
 ued that he was not dead, but conueied awate by the  
 faeries into some pleasant place, where he should re-  
 maine for a time, and then to returne againe, and  
 reigne in as great authoritie as euer he did before,  
 might well perceiue themselves deceived in credi-  
 ting so vaine a fable. But yet (where it might other-  
 wise be doubted, whether anie such Arthur was at  
 all, as the British histories mention, because neither  
 Gylidas nor Beda in their woorks speake anie thing  
 of him) it may appere, the circumstances conside-  
 red, that suerly such one there was of that name, har-  
 die and valiant in armes, though not in diuers  
 points so famous as some wyters paint him out.  
 William Malmesburie a wyter of god credit and  
 authoritie amongst the learned, hath these woords in  
 his first booke intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, saing:  
 But he being dead [meaning Roystin] the force of  
 the Britains wared feeble, their decayed hope went  
 backward apace: and enen then suerly had they gon  
 to destruction, if Ambrosius (who alone of the Ro-  
 mans remained yet alive, and was king after Glo-  
 tingerne) had not kept vnder and staied the losse bar-  
 barous people, that is to say the Saxons, by the  
 notable aid and assistance of the valiant Arthur.

This is the same Arthur, of whom the trisling tales  
 of the Britains euen to this day fantasticallic doe  
 descant and report wonders: but woorthie was he  
 doubtlesse, of whom feined fables should not haue so  
 dreamed, but rather that true histories might haue  
 set forth his woorthie praises, as he that did for a long  
 season susteine and hold vp his countrie that was  
 ready to go to bitter ruine and decaye, incouraging  
 the bold parts of the Britains onto the warre, and fi-  
 nallie in the siege of Badon hill, he set vpon nine  
 hundred of the enemies, and with incredible slaugh-  
 ter

As for ex-  
 ample in a case  
 where a fable  
 called good  
 perillous at  
 Glaffenbury,  
 where he an-  
 thors knights  
 should sleep  
 armed, till an  
 other knight  
 should be  
 hope that  
 should come  
 and awake  
 them.

Will. Malmes-  
 lib. 1. de regib.  
 Ang.

ter did put them all to flight. On the contrarie part, the English Barons, although they were tolled with sundrie haps of fortune, yet still they renewed their hands with new supplies of their countreimen that came out of Germanie, and so with bolser courage assailed their enemies, and by little and little causing them to give place, spread themselves ouer the whole Ile. For although there were manie battels, in the which sometime the Barons and sometime the Britains got the better, yet the greater number of Barons that were slaine, the greater number of them still came ouer to the succour of their countreimen, being called in and sent for out of euerie quarter about them.

Chronicle  
where he is  
buried.

Will. Mal-  
m. de  
Jergis.

Here is also to be noted, that where the British histories declareth, that Caluaine or Gallowine being slaine in the battell fought betwixt Arthur and Porred in Kent, was buried at Dover, so that his bones remained there to be shewed a long time after: yet by that which the foresaid William Malmesburie writeth in the third booke of his volume intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, the contrarie maie seeme true: his words are these. When (saith he) in the prouince of Wales, which is called Kosse, the sepulture of Caluaine was found, who was nephew to Arthur by his sister, not going out of kind from so worthie an article. He reigned in that part of Britaine which vnto this day is called Malwisia, a knight for his high protestant most highlie renowned, but expelled out of his kingdome by the brother and nephew of Pengist, of whome in the first booke we haue made mention, first requiting his banishment with great detriment and losse to those his enemies, wherein he was partaker by iust desert of his vnles worthie praise, for that he staied for a great manie yeres the destruction of his countrie, which was now running headlong into bitter ruine and decaye. But Arthurs graue no where appeareth: yet the others come (as I haue said) was found in the daies of William the conqueror, king of England, vpon the sea side, and contained in length foure score foot, where he was (as some say) wounded by his enemies, and cast vp by shipwracke. But other write, that he was slaine at a publike feast or banquet by his owne countreimen. Thus saith William Malmesburie.

But here you must consider, that the said Malmesburie departed this life about the beginning of the reigne of king Henrie the second, certeine yeres before the bones of Arthur were found (as ye haue heard). But omitting this point as needles to be controuersied, & letting all dissonant opinions of writers passe, as a matter of no such moment that we should need to sticke therein as in a giewot; we will proceed in the residue of such collections as we find necessarye pertinent to the continuation of this historie; and now we will say somewhat of queene Guenhera or Guenouer, the wife of the foresaid king Arthur.

Some iudge that she toke hir name of hir excellent beautie, because Guinne or Guenne in the Welsh tongue signifieth faire, so that she was named Guennere or rather Guenhean, euen (as you would say) the faire or beautifull Celenor or Helen. She was brought vp in the house of one Cadoc earle of Cornewall before Arthur married hir: and as it appeareth by writers, she was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie & breach of faith to hir husband, in manner as for the more part women of excellent beautie hardlie escape the venemous blast of euill tongues, and the sharpe assaults of the followers of Venus. The British historie affirmeth, that she did not onelic abuse hir selfe by vnlawfull companie with Porred, but that also in Arthurs absence she consented to take him to husband. It is likewise

found recorded by an old writer, that Arthur besieged on a time the marishes nere to Glasfenburie, for displeasure that he bare to a certeine lord called Spelua, who had ransomed Guenouer, and led hir into those marishes, and there did keepe hir. Hir corps notwithstanding (as before is recited) was interred together with Arthurs, so that it is thought she liued not long after his decesse.

Arthur had two wiues (as Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth) of which the latter (saith he) was buried with him, and his bones found with his in one sepulchre, but yet so diuided, that two parts of the same towards the head were appointed to receiue the bones of the man, and the third part towards the feet contained the womans bones, apart by themselves. Here is to be remembred, that Hector Boetius writeth otherwise of the death of Arthur than before in this booke is mentioned, & also that Guenouer being taking prisoner by the Brits, was conueied into Scotland, where finally she died, and was there buried in Angus, as in the Scottish chronicles further appeareth. And this may be true, if he had three sundrie wiues, each of them bearing the name of Guenouer, as sir John Price doth auouch that he had. Now because of contrarietie in writers touching the great acts atchieued by this Arthur, and also for that some difference there is amongst them, about the time in which he should reigne, manie haue doubted of the whole historie which of him is written (as before ye haue heard). But others there be of a constant beleefe, who hold it for a grounded truth, that such a prince there was; and among all other a late writer, who falling into necessarie mention of prince Arthur, frameth a speech apologeticall in his and their behalfe that were princes of the British bloud, discharging a shoot but yet a sharpe inuective against William Paruus, Polydor Virgil, and their complices, whom he accuseth of lying tongues, enuious detraction, malicious slander, reprochfull and venemous language, wilfull ignorance, dogged enuie, and cankered minds; for that they speake vnreuerentlie and contrarie to the knowne truth concerning those thyssenoble princes. Which defensitiue he would not haue deposed, but that he takes the monuments of their memories for vndoubted verities.

David Pow.  
pag. 238, 239.

The British histories and also the Scottish chronicles doe agree, that he liued in the daies of the emperor Iustinian, about the fiftieth yere of whose reigne he died, which was in the yere of our Lord 542, as diuerse doe affirme. Hotobret some write farther from all likelihood, that he was about the time of the emperor Zeno, who began his reigne about the yere of our Lord 474. The writer of the booke intituled *Aurea historia* affirmeth, that in the tenth yere of Cerdicus king of Westsaxons, Arthur the warrior rose against the Britains. Also Diouionensis writeth, that Cerdicus fighting oftentimes with Arthur, if he were overcome in one moneth, he arose in an other moneth more fierce and strong to giue battell than before. At length Arthur wearied with irksomnes, after the twelfth yere of the coming of Cerdicus, gaue vnto him vpon his homage done and fealtie receiued, the shires of Southampton and Somerset, the which countries Cerdicus named Westsaxon. This Cerdicus or Cerdicus came into Britaine about the yere of our Lord 495. In the 24 yere after his coming hither, that is to say, about the yere of our Lord 519, he began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and gouerned them as king by the space of 15 yeres, as before ye haue heard. But to follow the course of our chronicles accordinglie as we haue begun, we must allow of their accounts herein as in other places, and so proceed.

542

*Aurea historia*  
Ireland.

westsaxon.

The decaie of christian religion and receiuing of the Pelagian heresie in Britaine by what meanes they were, procured and by whom redressed: Constantine succeedeth Arthur in the kingdome, ciuill warre about succession to the crowne, the challengers are pursued, and slaine, Constantine is vnkindlie killed of his kinsman, a bitter and reprochfull inuective of Gylas against the British rulers of his time, and namelie against Constantine, Constanthine's sue Constantine reigneth in Britaine, his vertues and vices, his two yeeres regiment, the seuerer reprehensions of Gylas vntoed against Conan, discouering the course of his life, and a leeter prophesie of his death.

### The xv. Chapter.

The heresie of the Pelagians renewed, Hyst. Mag. Dubritius & Dauid learned bishops.

Constantine.

542

Galfrid. Marth. West.

Ciuill warre.

Aurelius Conan. Constantine slaine.

Gylas.

**I**n this meane while that the realme was disquieted with fore & continuall warres betwixt the Britains and Sarons (as before ye haue heard) the christian religion was not onelie abolished in places where the Sarons got habitations, but also among the Britains the right faith was brought into danger, by the remnant of the Pelagian heresie, which began againe to be broched by diuers naughtie persons. But Dubritius that was first bishop of Landaffe, and after archbishop of Caerleon Arwylke, and his successeur Dauid, with other learned men earnestlie both by preaching and writing defended the contrarie cause, to the confuting of those errors, and restablishing of the truth.

After the death of Arthur, his cosine Constantine the sonne of Cadoc, duke or earle of Cornewall began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 542, which was about the 15 yere of the emperour Iustinianus almost ended, the 29 of Childebert king of France, and the first yere well nere complet of the reigne of Totilas king of the Goths in Italie. Arthur when he perceiued that he shuld die, ordeined this Constantine to succedd him, and so by the consent of the more part of the Britains he was crowned king: but the sonnes of Arthur were sore repined thereat, as they that claimed the rule of the land by iust title and claime of inheritance to them from their father descended. Whereupon folloved ciuill warre, so that diuers battells were striken betwixt them, and in the end the two brethren were constrained to withdraw for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Winchester: but Constantine pursuing them, first came to Winchester, and by force entered the citie, and slue the one brother that was fled thither within the church of saint Amphibalus: and after comming to London, entered that citie also, and finding the other brother within a church there, slue him in like maner as he had done the other. And so hauing dispatched his aduersaries, he thought to haue purchased to himselfe safetie: but shortly after, his owne kinsman, one Aurelius Conan, arreared warre against him, who joining with him in battell slue him in the field, after he had reigned foure yeres. His bodie was conueied to Stonheng, and there buried beside his ancessour Uter Pendragon.

Of this Constantine that seemeth to be ment, which Gylas writeth in his booke intituled *De excidio Britannia*, where inuiceng against the rulers of the Britains in his time, he writeth thus: Britaine hath kings, but the same be tyrants; iudges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentimes peling and harming the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but

whom: such as be guiltie persons and robbers; hauing manie wiues, but yet breaking wedlocke; oftentimes swearing, and yet forswearing themselves; bowing, and for the more part lieng; waring, but maintaining ciuill & brist warres; pursuing inuadours that are abroad in the countrey: and yet not onelie cherishing those that sit euen at table with them, but also highlie rewarding them: giuing almes largelie, but on the other part heaping by a mightie mount of sinnes; sitting in the seat of sentence, but seldome seeking the rule of righteous iudgement; despising the innocent and humble persons, and exalting so farre as in them lieth, euen by to the heauens, most bloudie and proud murderers, theues and adulterers, yea the verie professed enemies of God; if he would so permit: keeping manie in prison, whom they oppresse, in loading them with irons, through craft rather to serue their owne purpose, than for anie gilt of the persons so imprisoned: taking solemne oths before the altars, and shortly after, despising the same altars as vile and filthie stones.

Of this hainous and wicked offense Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the lionesse of Deuonshire is not ignorant, who this yere, after the receiuing of his dreadfull oth, whereby he bound himselfe that in no wise he shoulde hurt his subiects (God first, and then his oth, with the companie of saints, and his mother being there present) did notwithstanding in the reuerent laps of the two mothers, as the church, and their carnall mother, under the coule of the holie abbat, deuoure with sword and speare in stead of teth, the tender sides, yea and the entrailes of two children of noble and kinglie race, and likewise of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I said) amongest the sacred altars: the armes of which persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselves with weapons (the which set in those daies handled more valiantlie than they) but stretched forth (I saie) to God and to his altar in the day of iudgement, shall set by the reuerent enignes of their patience and faith at the gates of the citie of Christ, which so haue covered the seat of the celestie all sacrifice, as it were with the red mantle of their cluttered blood.

These things he did not after anie good deeds done by him deseruing praise: for manie yeres before, ouercome with the often and changeable filths of adulterie, & forsaking his lawfull wife contrarie to the lawes of God, &c: he now brought forth this crime of quelling his owne kinsmen, and violating the church, but neither being losed from the sinnes of his former euils, he increaseth the new with the old. Thus in effect hath Gylas writen of this Constantine, with more: for turning his tale to him, he repproueth him of his faults, and counsellith him to repent.

After that Aurelius Conan had slaine the foresaid Constantine, as in the British histories is mentioned, the same Conan was made king of Britaine in the yere of our Lord 546, in the 20 yere of Iustinianus, and in the 33 of the reigne of Childebert king of the Frenchmen. This Aurelius Conan (as is recorded by some writers) was of a noble heart, free and liberall, but giuen much to the maintenance of strife and discord amongest his people, light of credit, and namelie had an open care to receiue and heare the reports of such as accused other. Whereupon he was noted of crueltie, as he that toke his vnkle, who of right shoulde haue bene king, and kept him in prison, and not so satisfied slue in tyrannous maner the two sons of his said vnkle. But God would not suffer him long to introy the rule of the land in such vniust dealing, for

Conan.

546

Marth. West. writeth that he reigned 3 yeres.

he died after he had reigned the space of two yeares, and left a sonne behind him called Vortiporus, which succeeded him in the kingdome, as authors doe record. Of this Aurelius Conanus Gylas writeth, calling vnto him after he had made an end with his predecessor Constantine, saying in this wise: And thou lions helpe, as saith the prophet, Aurelius Conanus what dost thou? Art thou not swallowed up in the filthy mire of murdering thy kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries like to the other before mentioned, if not more deadlie, as it were with the waues and surges of the drenching seas overthrowing thee with his vnmerefull rage? Dost thou not in hating the peace of thy countrie as a deadlie serpent, and thirsting after ciuill wars and spoiles (oftentimes vniustly gotten) shut vp against thy soule the gates of celestiall peace and refreshment? Thou being left alone as a withering tree in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I praye thee) the vaine youtfull fantasie and ouertimely death of thy fathers and thy brethren. Shalt thou being set apart, and chosen forth of all thy lineage for thy godlie deserts, be refused to liue an hundred yeares, or remaine on earth till thou be as old as Methusalem? No no. And after these reprehensions, with further threatnings of Gods vengeance, he exhorted him to amendment of life, and so proceedeth to talke with Vortiporus, whome he nameth the king, or rather the tyrant of South wales, as after shall be rehearsed.

The beginning of the kingdome of Brenitia, of whome the king of Kent, Mercia, and west Saxons descended, Ida the Saxon commended, the original of the kingdome of Deira, the circuit and bounds therof, of Ella the gouernour of the same, when the partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced; Vortiporus reigneth ouer the Britains, he vanquisheth the Saxons; Gylas sharply reprooueth Vortiporus for manie greuous offenses, and exhorteeth him to amendment.

### The xvj. Chapter.

Ida.  
547.  
The kingdome  
of Brenitia  
began.

**I**n the yeare of the Lord 547, which was about the first yeare of the reigne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdome of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, & descended of Woden, for where the said Woden had three sonnes, Wellocius, Withegreis, and Weldecus; of the first, the kings of Kent were lineallie extracted: of the second, the kings of Mercia: and of the third sonne came the kings of Westsaxon, and also of him was this Ida descended, being the ninth in lineall succession from the said Weldecus and the tenth from Woden. The same Ida was vndoubtedly a right noble personage, and changed first that dukedome into a kingdome, where before that time the Saxons that ruled there, were subiects vnto the kings of Kent. Whether he toke vpon him of his owne accord to vsurpe the kinglie title and roiall authoritie, or whether that the same was giuen to him by consent of other, the certaintie appeareth not. But sure it is, that he being a worthy prince, did not degenerate from his noble ancestors inuincible in warre abroad and at home, qualifying his kinglie seueritie with a naturall kind of courteous humanitie. The bounds of his kingdome called (as is said) Brenitia, began in the south at the riuer of Tine, and ended in the north at the fforth in

Scotland, in the British tongue called Wlerd.

About the same time, or rather about 14 yeares after, one Ella a Saxon also reigned as king in Deira, which kingdome began at the said riuer of Tine in the north, & ended at the riuer of Humber toward the south. These two kingdomes were sometime gouerned by two seuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioined in one, and gouerned by one onelie king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, which in procelle of time was much enlarged, so that it included the shires of Yorke, Nottingham, Darbie, Lancaster, the bishoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countries betwixt the east and the west seas, euen vnto the riuer of Hertsie. The foresaid Ella was sonne to Ifsus, being descended from Woden, as the 12 in succession from him, though not by right line as William Malmesburie hath noted. Ida (as the same Malmesburie doth testifie) reigned 14 yeares.

Now Ella who was successor to Ida (as he saith) reigned thirtie yeares, and verie valiantlie enlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth how Ida reigned but 12 yeares, and that he builded the castell of Bamburgh, first fensing it with pales, and after with a wall of stone. The same Ida had by his wife six sonnes, he gotten in lawfull bed, Ida, Ebyric, Theoboric, Aethelric, Winer, and Theofred. Afterwards he begat of certaine concubines (which he kept) six bastard sonnes, Sga, Aleric, Ettha, Sthale, Sego, and Segothe. These came altogether into this land, and arrived at Flenesburke with fentie ships, as Mathew Westmonasteriensis hath recorded. The partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced after the deceasse of Ida, as the same author signifieth: for Ida the sonne of the foresaid Ida succeeded his father in the kingdome of Brenitia, reigning therein seuen yeares: and Ella the sonne of Ifsiria, a most valiant duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the said Math. Westm. and others doe affirme.

**V**ortiporus the sonne of Aurelius Conanus succeeded his father, and began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 576, in the 11. yeare of the emperour Flauius Anicius Iulianus, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Childeric king of France, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gothish king in Italie. This Vortiporus vanquished the Saxons in battell, as the British histories make mention, and valiantlie defended his land and subiects the Britains, from the danger of them and other their allies. In the time of this kings reigne, the foresaid Ella began to rule in the south part of the kingdome of Northumberland called Deira, as before is mentioned, according to the account of some authors, who also take this Vortiporus to begin his reigne in the yeare 548. After that Vortiporus had ruled the Britains the space of 4 yeares, he departed this life, and left no issue behind him to succeed him in the kingdome.

Against this Vortiporus Gylas also whetting his tongue, beginneth with him thus: And how standest thou as one stark amazed? Thou (I say) Vortiporus the tyrant of Southwales, like to the panther in manner and wickednesse diuerslie spotted as it were with manie colors, with thy hoarie head in thy throne, full of deceits, crafts and wiles, and defiled euen from the lowest part of thy bodie to the crowne of thy head, with diuers & sundrie murders committed on thine owne kin, and filthie adulteries, thus prouing a naughtie sonne of a god king, as Hannasles was to Ezechias. Holm chancreth it that the vile lent streames of sinnes which thou swallowest vp like pleasant wine, or rather art deuoured of them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing

Ella.  
561.  
The beginning  
of the  
kingdome of  
Deira.

The riuer of  
Hertsie.

Math. West.

Hen. Hunt.

Math. West.

Vortiporus.

Math. West.  
noteth 578.

Math. West.  
noteth 3 yeares



« nere) can not yet satisfie the? What meanest thou  
 « that with fornication of all euils, as it were the full  
 « heape, thine owne wife being put away, thou by hir  
 « honest death dost oppresse thy soule with a certaine  
 « burthen that can not be auoided, of thine vnchaste  
 « fast daughter? Consume not (I pray thee) the resi  
 « due of thy daies to the offense of God, &c. These and  
 the like wordes bittered he, exhorting him to repen  
 tance, with admonitions taken out of the scriptures  
 both for his comfort and warning.

¶ If the circumstance of this that Gylas wit  
 teth of Morpizus be marked, it may be perceiued,  
 that Gefrey of Monmouth, and also Matthew of  
 Westminster, the authoz of the floures of histories,  
 are deceiued, in that they take him to be the sonne of  
 Aurelius Conanus: and rather it may be gathered,  
 that not onlie the same Aurelius Conanus and Mor  
 tipizus, but also Constantinus, yea & Cuneglasus,  
 and Paglocunus, of the which he also intreateth (as  
 partlie shall be hereafter touched) liued and reigned  
 all at one time in seuerall parts of this Ile, and not  
 as monarchs of the whole British nation, but as ru  
 lers each of them in his quarter, after the maner as  
 the state of Ireland hath bene in times past before  
 the countrie came vnder the English subiection, if  
 my coniecture herein doe not deceiue me.

Malgo reigneth ouer the Britains, the  
 noble qualities wherewith he was beauti  
 fied by his filchie finnes are blemished, Gylas  
 reproveth Cuneglasus for making warre against  
 God and man, and this Malgo for his manifold offen  
 ses, the vile iniquities wherewith the British rulers were in  
 clined, the valiantnesse of Kenrike king of the Westsaxons, his  
 victories against diuers people his enemies, succession in the  
 gouernment of the Westsaxons, Northumberland, and Ken  
 tish Saxons; the first battell that was fought betwixt the  
 Saxons in this Iland, Cheuling with his Westsaxons  
 encounter with the Britains and get the vpper  
 hand, three kings of the Britains slaine, and  
 their people spoiled of their lands,  
 goods and liues.

### The xvij. Chapter.

Malgo.

Matth. West.  
hath noted 582

580

Gal. Mon.



After the deceasse of Mor  
 tipizus, Malgo the nephew of  
 Aurelius Conanus (as some  
 write) was made king of  
 Britaine, & began his reigne  
 ouer the Britains, in the  
 yere of our Lord 580, in the  
 fiftieth yere of the empe  
 rour Iustinian, and in the 37 yere of the reigne of  
 Childerike king of the Frenchmen. This Malgo is  
 reported to haue bene the comeliest gentleman in  
 beautie and shape of personage that was to be found  
 in those daies amongst all the Britains, and there  
 with of a bold and hardie courage. He manfully de  
 fended the countrie which he had in gouernance from  
 the malice of the Saxons, and subdued the out Isles,  
 as Orkenie and others. But notwithstanding the  
 noble qualities with the which his person was ado  
 rned, yet he spotted them all with the filchie sinne of  
 Sodomie, so that he fell into the hatred of almighty  
 God, and being pursued of the Saxons, receiued ma  
 nie ouerthrowes at their hands, as by the report of  
 the English writers is gathered more at large. Fi  
 nallie, when he had reigned fife yeres and od mo  
 neths, he departed this life.

Matth. Westm.  
counteth not  
past fife yeres  
to his reigne  
though other  
affirme that he  
reigned 33  
yeres.

It seemeth that this Malgo is named by Gyl  
 das, Paglocunus, the which Gylas (before he spea  
 keth of him) inuiceth against one Cuneglasus, whom  
 he reproveth, for that he warred both against God  
 and man: against God, with greivous finnes, as

namelie adulterie, in so taking the companie of his  
 lawfull wife, and keeping to concubine a sister of  
 hirs, that had professed chastite: & against man with  
 materiall armoz and weapons, which he vsed to the  
 destruction of his owne countremen, with whom he  
 kept warres, and not against the enemies of the  
 common wealth.

From Cuneglasus he cometh to the foresaid  
 Paglocunus, whome he nameth the dragon of the  
 Isles, and the expeller of manie tyrants, not onlie  
 out of their kingdoms, but also out of life, the last of  
 whom he treateth (as he himselfe saith) but the first  
 in all mischeefe & euill, greater than manie in power,  
 and likewise in malice: verte liberal in giuing, but  
 more plentifull in sinne, strong and ballant in arms,  
 but stronger in destruction of his owne soule. And  
 so proceeding, chargeth him with the sinne of the So  
 domits, & soe blameth him, for that where it had plea  
 sed God to make him higher than all other dukes  
 of Britaine in kingdome and degree, he did not shew  
 himselfe better, but contrarie far worse than they  
 both in maners and conditions. He declareth also a  
 little after, that this Paglocune in his yong yeres  
 slue in battell his vnkle being king, with the most va  
 liant souldiers in maner that he had. Also that where  
 the said Paglocune toke vpon him the profession of  
 a monke, he after renounced the same, and became a  
 worse liuer than euer he was before, abandoning  
 his wife, and keeping his brothers sonnes wife, while  
 his husband yet liued.

Thus by that which Gylas writteth of the kings  
 and rulers of the Britains, which liued in his daies,  
 ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner  
 of wickednesse, and namelie to ciuill dissention, rap  
 pine, adulterie, and fornication: so that it may be  
 thought, that God stirred by the Saxons to be a  
 scourge to them, and to worke his iust vengeance  
 vpon them for their wickednesses and abhominable  
 offenses daile committed against his diuine maiestie,  
 so that we find recorded by writers, how that the  
 Saxons in diuers conflicts against the Britains had  
 the better, and also toke from them diuers towne,  
 as already partly hath bene and also hereafter shall  
 be shewed.

It is furthermore to be remembred, that about  
 the 14 yere of the Britaine king Conanus his  
 reigne, which was about the end of the yere of Christ  
 559, Kenrike king of the Westsaxons departed this  
 life, after he had reigned xxb. yeres complet. This  
 Kenrike was a victorious prince, and fought diuers  
 battels against the Britains. In the 18 yere of his  
 reigne, which was the 551 of Christ, we find that he  
 fought against them, being come at that time vnto  
 Salisburie, and after great slaughter made on both  
 parts, at length the victorie remained with the Sax  
 ons, and the Britains were chased. Again in the two  
 and twentieth yere of his reigne, and 555 yere of  
 Christ, the same Kenrike and his sonne Cheuling  
 fought with a great power of Britains at Baur  
 burie.

The Britains were diuided into nine compa  
 nies, three in the fore ward, three in the battell, and  
 three in the reer ward, with their horsemen and ar  
 chers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons  
 being ranged in one entire battell, valiantlie assa  
 led them, and notwithstanding the shot of the Bri  
 tains, yet they brought the matter to the triall of  
 handbloives, till at length by the comming on of the  
 night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no mar  
 uell is to be made thereof (saith Henrie archdeacon of  
 Huntington) sith the Saxons were men of huge sta  
 ture, great force, & valiant courage. The same yere  
 that Kenrike deceassed, Ioda the king of Northum  
 berland also died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right  
 valiant

559

Hen. Hen

60

valiant prince, & enlarged the dominion of the Saxons greatlie, he ouercame Loth king of the Picts in battell, and Gorran king of Scots.

Also about the yere of Christ 560, Conan (as yet governing the Britains) Armerike king of Kent departed this life, of whome ye haue heard before, & Ethelbert his sonne succeeded him 52 yeres. Then after that the foresaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that succeeded them in their estates as here followeth. After Ken-  
 erike, his sonne Ceaulinus or Cheuling succeeded in gouernment of the Westsaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: after Armerike followed his sonne Ethelbert in rule ouer the Kentish Saxons.

This Ethelbert in proesse of time grew to be a mightie prince, but yet in the beginning of his reigne he had but sozie successe against some of his enemies: for hauing to doe with the foresaid Cheuling king of Westsaxons, he was of him overcome in battell at Wilbadstone, where he lost two of his dukes or chiefe captiues, beside other people. This was the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons, one against another within this land, after their first coming into the same. And this chanced in the yere of our Lord 567, being the second yere of the emperor Iustinus.

About the yere 570, Cutha the brother of king Cheuling fought with the Britains at Bedford, vanquished them, & toke from them 4 towne, Liganbrough, Eglesbrough or Ailburie, Belling-ton, and Cuelham. Also about the yere of our Lord 581, the foresaid king Cheuling incountered with the Britains at a place called Dorch, and obtaining the upper hand, toke from them the cities of Bath, Glocester, and Cirencester. At this battell fought at Dorch, were present three kings of the Britains, whose names were these: Coimmagill, Candidan, and Farinnagill, which were slaine there through the permission of almighty God as then refusing his people, the which through their heinous finnes and great wickednesses, had most greivously offended his high and diuine maiestie, as by Gylas it may euidentlie appeare. For they had declined from the lawes of the Lord, and were become abhominable in his sight, euen from the prince to the poore man, from the priest to the Leuit, so that not one estate among them walked vprightly, but contrarie to dutie was gone astray, by reason whereof the righteous God had giuen them ouer as a prey to their enemies.

Also in the latter end of Paglos daies or about the first beginning of the reigne of his successor Careticus, Cheuling and his sonne Cutwine fought with the Britains at a place called Frechanley or Fedanley, or (as some booke haue) Frithenlie, where Cutwine was slaine, & the Englishmen chased: but yet Cheuling repairing his armie, won the victorie, and chasing the Britains, toke from them manie countries, and wan great riches by the spoile. But Marth. West. saith, that the victorie abroad with the Britains, and that the Saxons were chased quite out of the field. The Scottish writers record, that their king Aidan (who is noted to haue bene the 49 successiue possessor of that land, partly with griefe of hart for the death of Columba a graue and wise gentleman, whome he tenderlie loved, and partly with age [for he was growne hoire-headed, and had reigned 34 yeres] ended his life) was there in aid of the Britains, and Budeus king of the Picts (betwixt whom and the said Aidan a soze battell was fought) in aid of the Saxons: but the same writers name the place Deglasson, where this battell was made, and the forces of both sides by a sharpe encounter tried.

The beginning of the kingdome of Mercia, the bounds of the same, the heptarchie or seven regiments of the Saxons, how they grew to that perfection, and by whom they were reduced and drawne into a monarchie; Careticus is created king of Britaine, the Saxons take occasion by the ciuill dissensions of the Britains to make a full conquest of the land, they procure forren power to further them in their enterprise, Gurmundus king of the Africans arriueeth in Britaine, the British king is driuen to his hard shifts, the politike practise of Gurmundus in taking Chichester & setting the towne on fire, he deliuereth the whole land in possession to the Saxons, the English and Saxon kings put Careticus to flight, the Britains haue onlie three prouinces left of all their countrie which before they inhabited, their religion, church, and commonwealth is in decaye, they are gouerned by three kings, Cheulings death is conspired of his owne subjects.

## The xviii. Chapter.



About the same time also, and 585 of Christ, the kingdome of Mercia began vnder one Crida, who was descended from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The bounds of this kingdome were of great distance, hauing on the east the sea vnto Humber, and so on the north the said riuer of Humber, and after the riuer of Mercia, which falleth into the west sea at the corner of Wirhall, and so comming about to the riuer of Dee that passeth by Chester, the same riuer bounded it on the west from Wales, and likewise Seuerne by to Wyke: on the south it had the riuer of Thames, till it came almost to London. And in this sort it contained Lincolneshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcester-shire, Gloucestershire, Dorsetshire, Buckingham-shire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdon-shire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire.

Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in proesse of time remouing the Britains out of their seats, daile wan ground of them, till at length they got possession of the best part of this Ile, and erected within the same seven kingdoms, which were gouerned by seven severall kings, who continued vntill the kings of Westsaxon brought them all at length into one monarchie, as after shall appeare. Marth. Westmin. reckoneth eight kingdoms as thus; The kingdom of Kent, the kingdom of Saller, the kingdom of Esher, the kingdom of Eastangle, the kingdom of Mercia, the kingdom of Westsax, and the kingdom of Northumberland, which was diuided into two kingdoms, that is to say, into Deira and into Bernicia: wherevnto W. Harison addeth the ninth in the first part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

After that Paglo or Paglocne was departed this life, one Careticus, or (as some write him) Caretius, was made king of the Britains, and began his reigne in the yere of our Lord 586, which was in the third yere of the emperor Maurice, and thirtieth of Chilperike king of France. This Careticus was a nourisher of ciuill warre and dissension amongst his owne people the Britains, so that he was hated both of God and man. His writers tell us. The Saxons vnderstanding that the Britains were not of one mind, but diuided in parties, so as one was ready to denounce an other, thought it good time for them to aduance their conquests, and ceased not to pursue the Britains by force and continuall warre, till they had constrained them

Crida.

H. Hunt. This kingdome began in the yere 585. as Marth. Westm. saith. Ran. Cest.

Careticus

586

Gal. Mont.  
See more of  
this Cur-  
mundus in  
Ireland.  
Ranulf Cest.

for refuge to withdraue into Wales. And as some haue written, the Sarons meaning to make a full conquest of the land, sent ouer into Ireland, requir-  
ing one Gurmundus a king of the Africans to come ouer into Britaine to helpe them against the Britains.

This Gurmundus appointing his brother Curge-  
sius to pursue the conquest of Ireland, came and ar-  
riued here in Britaine, making such cruell warre in  
aid of the Sarons against the Britains, that Car-  
eticus was constrained to keepe him within the citie  
of Gycester or Cirencester, and was there besieged,  
and at length by continuall assaults and skirmishes,  
when he had lost manie of his men, he was glad to  
forsake that citie, and fled into Wales. This Gur-  
mundus toke Cirencester or Gycester, and destroy-  
ed it in most cruell manner. Some write, that he toke  
this citie by a policie of warre, in binding to the feet  
of sparrowes which his people had caught, certeine  
clewes of thred or matches, finellie wrought & tem-  
pered with matter readie to take fire, so that the spar-  
rowes being suffered to go out of hand, flue into the  
towne to lodge themselves within their neasts which  
they had made in stacks of corne, and eues of houses,  
so that the towne was thereby set on fire, and then  
the Britains issuing forth, fought with their eni-  
mies, and were overcome and discomfited.

But whilst the battell continued, Careticus stole  
away, and got him into Wales. After this, the fore-  
said Gurmundus destroyed this land throughout in  
pitifull wise, and then deliuered it in possession to the  
Sarons, the which thankfullie receiued it: and be-  
cause they were descended of those that first came o-  
uer with Hengist, they changed the name of the land,  
and called it Hengistland, accordinglie as the same  
Hengist had in times past ordeined: the which name  
after for shortnesse of speech was somewhat altered,  
and so lastlie called England, and the people En-  
glishtmen. But rather it may be thought, that sith a  
great part of those people which came ouer into this  
land out of Germanie with the said Hengist, and o-  
ther capteins, were of those Englishmen which inha-  
bited Germanie, about the parts of Thoringen, they  
had first got habitation within it: and so both the land  
and people toke name of them, being called *Angli*, a  
long time before they entered into this Ile (as before  
is shewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But  
now to retorne where we left.

Of this Gurmundus the old English writers  
make no mention, nor also anie ancient authors of  
foren parties: and yet saith the British booke, that  
after he had conquered this land, and giuen it to the  
Sarons, he passed ouer into France, and there de-  
stroyed much of that land, as an enimie to the faith of  
Christ. For which consideration he was the more rea-  
die to come to the aid of the Sarons, who as yet had  
not receiued the christian faith, but warred against  
the Britains, as well to destroye the faith of Christ  
within this land, as to establish to themselves conti-  
nuall habitations in the same. There be, that omit-  
ting to make mention of Gurmundus, write thus of  
the expelling of the Britains out of this land at that  
time, when with their king Careticus they got them  
into Wales.

In the yere of Grace 586, Careticus a loue of  
civill warre succeeded Balgo an enimie to God and  
to the Britains, whose inconstancie when the Eng-  
lish and Saron kings perceiued, with one consent  
they rose against him, and after manie battels chased  
him from citie to citie, till at length incounter-  
ing with him in a pight field, they droue him beyond Se-  
uerne into Wales. Hereupon clerks and priests  
were diuen out of their places with bright swords

by and shing in all parts, and fire crackling in churches, wherewith the same were consumed. The rem-  
nant of the Britains therefore withdrew into the  
west parts of the land, that is to say, into Cornwall,  
and into Wales, out of which countries they often  
times brake out, and made insurrections upon the  
Sarons, the which in maner aforesaid got possession  
of the chiefest parts of the land, leauing to the Bri-  
tains onlie thre prouinces, that is to say, Cornwall,  
Southwales, and Northwales, which countries were  
not easie to be wone, by reason of the thicke woods  
inmironed with deepe marshes and waters, and full  
of high craggie rocks and mountains.

The English and Saron kings hauing thus remo-  
ued the Britains, enlarged the bounds of their domi-  
nions. There reigned in that season within this land,  
beside the Britaine kings, eight kings of the En-  
glish and Saron nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Cif-  
sa in Sussex, Ceauline in Westsex, Creda or Crida  
in Mercia, Erkenwine in Essex, Vitila in Essex-  
gle, Elle in Deira, and Alsto in Bernicia. In this  
sort the Britains lost the possession of the more part  
of their ancient seats, and the faith of Christ thereby  
was greatlie decayed: for the churches were destroy-  
ed; and the archbishops of Caerleon Artwike, Lon-  
don and York with their together with their clea-  
gie into the mounteins and woods within Wales,  
taking with them the relics of saints, doubting the  
same should be destroyed by the enimies, and them-  
selues put to death if they should abide in their old  
habitations. Pante also fled into Britaine Armo-  
rike with a great flote of ships, so that the whole  
church or congregation (as ye may call it) of the two  
prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left  
desolate in that season, to the great hinderance and  
decaye of the christian religion. Careticus was di-  
uen into Wales (as before is rehearsed) about the  
second or third yere of his reigne, and there continu-  
ed with his Britains, the which ceased not to inda-  
mage the Sarons from time to time as occasion still  
serued.

But here is to be noted, that the Britains being  
thus remoued into Wales and Cornwall, were go-  
uerned afterwards by thre kings, or rather tyrants,  
the which ceased not with ciuill warre to seeke others  
destruction, till finallie (as saith the British booke) Wil. Malin  
they became all subiect vnto Cadwalllo, whome Be-  
da nameth Cedwallo. In the meane time, Ceauli-  
nus or Cheulling king of the Westsaxons, through  
his owne misgouernance and tyrannie, which to-  
wards his latter daies he practised, did procure not  
onelie the Britains, but also his owne subiects to  
conspire his death, so that ioining in battell with his  
aduersaries at Wodenburc, in the 33 yere of his  
reigne, his armie was discomfited, and he himsel-  
f constrained to depart into exile, and shortly after  
ended his life before he could find meanes to be re-  
stored.

¶ So that we haue here a miter or kuelie betwixt of  
a tyrant and a king, wherein there is no lesse odds in  
the manner of their gouernement, than there is re-  
pugnance in their names, or difference in their  
states. For he saith but little into the knowledge of  
tonges, that vnderstandeth not what the office of a  
king should be, by the composition of his name,  
the same sounding in Græke βασιλευς, which being  
recolued is in effect βασις, *bas*, that is, the founda-  
tion or stay of the people; from which qualitie when  
he refuseth, he maketh shipwracke of that godlie ti-  
tle, and degenerateth into a tyrant, than the which  
violent and enforced gouernement as there is none  
more perillous, so is it of all other the least in conti-  
nuance: this is proued by historிக்கal obseruation  
through the course of this historie.

Ceolric

Mat. VVest.

It should  
seeme that  
this historie  
of Gurmundus  
is but  
some fained  
tale except it  
may be that  
he was some  
Dane, North-  
wegian or  
Germane.  
586  
Mat. VVest.

Ceolric reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, the Saxons and Britains incounter, Ethelbert king of kent subdueth the Englishsaxons, he is married to the French kings daughter vpon cautions of religion, the king imbraceth the gospel, Augustine the monke and others were sent into this Ile to preach the christian faith, the occasion that moued Gregorie the great to send him, buieng and selling of boies, the Englishmen called Angli commended, Ethelbert causeth Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, they preach to the king and his traine, he granteth them a conuenient seat and competent reliefe in Canturburie, the manner of their going thither and their behauiour there, the king and his people receiue the christian faith, and are baptised.

The xix. Chapter.

**N**ow after Cheuling, his nephew Celricus or Ceolric that was sonne vnto Cutwine, the sonne of the foresaid Cheuling, reigned as king ouer the Westsaxons five yeares & five moneths. In like manner the same yeare died Ella or Alla king of Northumberland, after whome succeeded Ethelricus the sonne of Ida, and reigned but five yeares, being a man well growne in yeares before he came to be king. About thes yeeres after this, the Saxons & Britains fought a battell at Mudeneshourne, where the Britains being ranged in god order, the Saxons set vpon them boldlie indeed, but disorderlie, so that the victorie remained with the Britains. The Saxons the more ballant they had shewed themselves in battell, before that time, so much the more slow and untowardlie did they shew themselves now in running awaie to saue themselves, so that an huge number of them were slaine. Also about the same time died Crida king of Mercia 594, after whome his sonne Wilibas or Wifsa succeeded. And after the deceasse of Ethelric, one Edelbert or Edelfride surnamed the bold, succeeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpose.

Ethelbert king of Kent, not discouraged with the euill chance which happened in the beginning, but rather occasioned thereby to learne more experience in feats of warre, proued so perfect a maister therein, that in proceesse of time he subdued by force of armes all those English Saxons which lay betwixt the bounds of his countrie, and the riuer of Humber. Also to haue friendship in foraine parts, he procured a wife for himselfe of the French nation, named the ladie Bertha, being king Cheriberts daughter of France; but with condition, that he should permit her to continue and vse the rites and lawes of christian faith and religion, and to haue a bishop whose name was Luidhard, appointed to come and remaine with her here in this land for her better instruction in the lawes of the Lord. So that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in the court, and vnto to serue God in prayers and otherwise, according to the custome of the christian religion, began vndoubtedly to giue light to the kings mind as yet darkened with the clouds of paganism, so as the bright beames of the celestiall clerenes of vnderstanding remoued the thicke mists of his vnbeliefe in tract of time, and prepared his heart to the receiuing of the gospel, which after by heauenlie prouidence was preached to him, by occasion, and in manner as followeth.

In the yeare of our Lord 596, which was about

the 14 yeare of the reigne of the emperour Mauricius, and after the comming of the English Saxons into this land, about an 147 yeares almost complet, the bishop of Rome, Gregorie the first of that name, and surnamed Magnus, sent Augustinus a monke, with certeine other learned men into this Ile to preach the christian faith vnto the English Saxons, which nation as yet had not receiued the gospel. And here we hold it necessarie to shew how it is recorded by diuers writers, that the first occasion wherby Gregorie was moued thus to send Augustine into this land, rose by this meanes.

It chanced (whilest the same Gregorie was as yet but archdeacon of the see of Rome) certeine young boies were brought thither to bee sold out of Northumberland, according to the accustomed vse of that countrie, in somuch that as we haue in our time sene (saith W. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to sell awaie their neere kinsfolke for a small price. When those children which at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reason of their excellent beauties and comelie shape of lims and bodie, turned the eies in manner of all the citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregorie also came amongst other to behold them, and when he considered and well viewed their faire skins, their sweet visages, and beautifull bushes of their bright and peallow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came, vnto whome answer was made, that they were brought out of Britaine, the inhabitants of which countrie were of the like beautifull aspect. Then he asked whether the men of that countrie were christians, or as yet intangled with blind heathenish errors: Wherevnto it was answered, that they were not christened, but followed the religion of the Gentiles. Whereat Gregorie fetchng a deepe sigh, said: Ah, alas that the author of darkenesse doth as yet possesse men of so brightsome countenances, and that with the grace of such faire shining visages, they beare about minds void of inward grace.

Wherevnto he demanded by what name the people were called, whereto answer was made, that they were called Angli, that is to say Englishmen. Right wondrously (saith he) for they haue angels faces, and such as ought to be made fellow heires with angels in heauen. Then asked he the name of the prouince from whence they were brought, and it was told him they were of Deira. It is well (said he) they are to be deliuered Deira dei, that is to say, from the ire and wrath of God, and called to the mercie of Christ our Lord. What name (said he) hath the king of that prouince? Wherevnto answer was made that he was called Alla, wherevpon alluding to that name, he said, Alleluia ought to be song in those parts to the praise and honor of God the creator.

Wherevpon comming to Benedict the first of that name (as then bishop of Rome) he required him that some learned men might be sent into England to preach the gospel vnto the Englishmen, offering himselfe to be one of the number. But though Benedict was contented to grant his request, yet the Romans had him in such estimation, that they would not consent that he should depart so farre from the citie, so that by them he was at that time staied of that his goodlie purpose. Howbeit when he came to be bishop, he thought to performe it though not by himselfe, yet by other: and so Augustine and his fellowes were sent by him about it (as before is said.) By the way, as they were passing in their iournie, such a sudden feare entred into their hearts, that (as some write) they returned all. Others write, that Augustine was sent backe to Gregorie, to sue that they might be released of that boi-

Beda. Math. West. saith 596.

47 saith the same author.

Beda. Will. Malmes.

Vita Gregorii magni.

Declarus the second Will. Malmes.

Declarus.

M. Fox.

age so dangerous and uncerteine amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor whose rudenesse they were able to resist. Then Gregorie with pithe persuasions, confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters vnto the bishop of Arles, willing him to helpe and aid the said Austine and his companie in all that so euer his neede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Austine vnto his felowes, exhorting them to go forward boldlie in the Lords worke, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appeare.

Gregorie the seruant of Gods seruants, to the seruants of our Lord.



Or as much as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun, to thinke to reuolt backe from the same againe, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dere children) but with all feruent studie and labour must needs go forward in that good businesse, which thorough the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the wearisomnesse of your iourne, nor the slanderous toongs of men appall you, but that with all instance and seruencie ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordeined you to take in hand, knowing that your great trauell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whome also we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, so doo you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your soules what soeuer at his admonition ye shall doo. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternall countrie the fruit of your labours, though heere I cannot labour in the same fellowship with you together. The Lord God keepe you safe most deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reigne of our fouereigne lord Mauricius most vertuous emperor, the fourteenth of his empire.

Thus emboldened and comforted through the good words and wholesome exhortation of Gregorie, they set forward againe, and speeding forth their iourne, first arrived at the Ile of Thanet in Kent in the moneth of Iulie, being in number about forty persons, of the which diuerse were interpreters, whome they brought with them out of France. These they sent vnto king Ethelbert, signifying the occasion of their coming, who hearing the messengers within a few daies after, went into that Ile, and there abroad out of any house sat downe, and caused Augustine and his fellows to come before him, for he would not come vnder any rose with them, for doubting to be bewitched by them, being persuaded that they were practised in nigromancie. But they coming to him, not by the power of the diuell (as they said) but by the might and power of almighty God, bearing in stead of a banner a crosse of silver, and an image of our Lord and Saviour painted in a table, and there to singing the letanies, made intercession vnto the Lord for the everlasting preservation of themselves, and of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The seven-  
fold letanies  
of S. Grego-  
rie were not  
yet devised.

Now when they being set downe by commande-  
ment of the king, had preached the word of life to  
him, and to all those that came thither with him,  
he made them this answer, that their words and  
promises were good: but for as much as the same  
were new & uncerteine to him that had ben brought  
vp in the contrarie doctrine, he could not rashly as-  
sent to their admonitions, & leave that beleefe which  
he and the English nation had so long a time obser-  
ued and kept: but (said he) because ye haue travelled  
farre, to the intent to make vs partakers of those  
things which ye beleefe to be most true and perfect,  
we will thus much graunt vnto you, that ye shall  
be received into this countrie, and haue harbrough,  
with all things sufficient found vnto you for your  
maintenance and sustentation; neither will we hin-  
der you, but that ye may by preaching associat and  
ioine as manie of our subiects as you can vnto your  
law and beleefe. They had therefore assigned vnto  
them a place to lodge in within the citie of Cantur-  
burie, which was the head citie of all his dominion.  
It is said that as they approached the citie according  
to their maner, they had a crosse borne before them,  
with an image of our Lord Iesus Christ, and they  
followed, singing this letanie, *Deprecamur te Domine in  
omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à  
ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus:  
Alleluia.* That is to say, We beseech thee O Lord  
in all thy mercie that thy furie and wrath may be ta-  
ken from this citie, and from thy holie house, for we  
haue sinned. Praise be to thee O Lord. After they  
were received into Canturburie, they began to fol-  
low the trade of life which the apostles vsed in the  
primitive church, that is to say, exercising them-  
selves in continuall prayer, watching, and pre-  
aching to as manie as they could, despising all worl-  
dly things, as not belonging to them, receiuing one  
lie of them (whome they taught) things necessaries  
for the sustentance of their life, & liuing in all points  
according to the doctrine which they set forth, hauing  
their minds readie to suffer in patience all aduer-  
sities that so euer, yea and death it selfe, for the  
confirming of that which they now preached. Here-  
vpon, manie of the English people beleued and  
were baptised, hauing in great reuerence the sim-  
plicitie of those men, and the sweetnesse of their  
heauenlie doctrine. There was a church nere to the  
citie on the east part thereof dedicated to the hono-  
ur of saint Martine, and builded of old time whilst the  
Romans as yet inhabited Britaine, in the which  
the quene, being (as we haue said) a christian, vsed  
to make hir prayers. To this church Austine and  
his fellows at their first coming accustomed to  
resort, and there to sing, to praye, to saie masse, to  
preach and to baptise, till at length the king being  
conuerted, granted them licence to preach in euery  
place, and to build and restore churches where they  
thought good. After that the king being persuaded  
by their doctrine, god examples giuing, and diuers  
miracles shewed, was once baptised, the people in  
great numbers began to glue eare vnto the pre-  
aching of the gospell, and renouncing their heathenish  
beleefe, became christians, in so much that as Gre-  
gorie remembreth, there were baptised ten thou-  
sand persons in one day, being the feast of the nati-  
uitie of our Saviour 597, and the first indiction.

Some write how this should chance toward the  
latter end of Augustines daies, after he was ad-  
mitted to preach the gospell amongst them that in-  
habited about Forke (as some write) which affirme,  
that the said number of ten thousand was baptised  
in the river of Suale, which (as W. Harison saith)  
cannot be verified, because of the indiction and death  
of Gregorie. But to proceed.

Beda.  
Math. vii.

The christi-  
anity reuen-  
ued of the Eng-  
lish men.

Lib. 7. cap. 1.

Polydore

Re-



Religion is not to be enforced but persuaded and preached, Augustine is made archbishop of England, Gregorie informeth Augustine of certaine ordinances to be made and observed in the new English church, as the reuenewes of the church to be diuided into foure parts, of liturgie, of marriage, of ecclesiasticall discipline and ordeining of bishops: trifling questions objected by Augustine to Gregorie, fellow helpers are sent ouer to assist Augustine in his ministerie, he receiueh his pall, reformation must be done by little and little, not to glorie in miracles, the effect of Gregories letters to K. Ethelbert after his conuersion to christianitie.

The xx. Chapter.

Bedalib. 1. cap. 26. and 27.

Augustine ordained archbishop of the English nation.

Lawrence a priest.

The reuenewes of the church to be diuided into 4. parts.

Liturgie.

Church seruice.

Such as did erre.

**K**ing Ethelbert reioiced at the conuersion of his people, howbeit he would not force anie man to be baptised, but onelie swayed by his behauiour, that he fauored those that belied more than other, as fellow citizens with him of the heauenlie kingdome: for he learned of them that had instructed him in the faith, that the obedience due to Christ ought not to be enforced, but to come of good will. Whereupon he promised for Augustine and his fellowes a conuenient place for their habitation within the cite of Canturburie, and further gaue them necessarie reuenewes in possession for their maintenance. After that the faith of Christ was thus receiued of the English men, Augustine went into France, and there of the archbishop of Arles named Cetherius was ordeined archbishop of the English nation, according to the order prescribed by Gregorie before the departure of the said Augustine from Rome.

After his returne into Britaine, he sent Lawrence a priest, and Peter a monke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregorie the bishop, how the Englishmen had receiued the faith, and that he was ordeined archbishop of the land, according to that he had commanded, if the worke prospered vnder his hand as it had done. He also required to haue Gregories aduice touching certaine ordinances to be made and observed in the new church of England. Whereupon Gregorie, sending backe the messengers, wrote an answer vnto all his demands. And first touching the conuersation of archbishops with the clergie, and in what sort the church gods ought to be imployed, he declared that the ancient custome of the apostolike see was to giue commandment vnto bishops ordeined, that the profits and reuenewes of their benefices ought to be diuided into foure parts, whereof the first should be appointed to the bishop and his familie for the maintenance of hospitalitie: the second should be assigned to the clergie: the third giuen to the poore: and the fourth imployed vpon repairing of temples.

And whereas in the church of Rome one custome in saying masse or the liturgie was observed, and another custome in France; concerning such church seruice, Gregorie aduised Augustine that if he found anie thing either in the church of Rome, either in the church of France, or in anie other church which might most please the almighty God, he should diligently chuse it out, and instruct the church of England (now being new) according to that forme which he should gather forth of the said churches: for the things are not loued for the places sake, but the places for the things sake. Also for punishing of such as had fallen things out of churches, so nere as might be,

the offender should be chastised in charitie, so as he might know his fault, and (if it were possible) restore the thing taken away.

And touching degrees in marriage, Englishmen might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degree without reprehension, and if any vnlawfull marriages were found amongst the Englishmen, as if the sonne had married the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in anie wise to abstaine, and vnderstand it to be a greivous sinne: yet should they not for that thing be deprived of the communion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, least those things might seeme to be punished in them whetein they had offended (before their conuersion to the christian faith) by ignorance: for at this season the church (saith he) correcteth some things of a feruent earnestnesse, suffreth some things of a gentle mildnes, and discerneth some things of a prudent consideration, and so beareth and winketh at the same, that oftentimes the euill which she abhorreth by such bearing and disciplining, is restrained and reformed.

Whereupon touching the ordeining of bishops, he would they should be so placed, that the distance of place might not be a let, but that when a bishop should be consecrated, there might be thre or foure present. Also touching the bishops of France, he willed Augustine in no wise to intermeddle with them, otherwise than by exhortation and god admonition to be giuen, but not to presume anie thing by authoritie, sith the archbishop of Arles had receiued the pall in times past, whose authoritie he might not diminish, least he should seeme to put his sickle into another mans harvest. But as for the bishops of Britaine, he committed them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholesome persuasions strengthened, and the froward by authoritie reformed. Whereupon, that a woman with child might be baptised, and she that was deliuered after daies of a manchild, and after 46 daies of a woman-child, should be purified, but yet might she enter the church before, if she would.

The residue of Augustines demands consisted in these points, to wit:

- 1 Within what space a child should be christened after it was borne, for doubt to be prevented by death?
- 2 Within what time a man might companie with his wife after she was brought to bed?
- 3 Whether a woman, hauing hir sours, might enter the church, or receiue the communion?
- 4 Whether a man hauing had companie with his wife, might enter the church, or receiue the communion before he was washed with water?
- 5 Whether after pollution by night in dreames, a man might receiue the communion: or if he were a priest, whether he might say masse?

To these questions Gregorie maketh answer at full in the booke and place before cited, which for breuenesse we passe ouer. He sent also at that time with the messengers afore said, at their returne into England, diuers learned men to helpe Augustine in the harvest of the Lord. The names of the chiefest were these, Pelitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. He sent also the pall, which is the ornament of an archbishop, with vessels and apparell which should be used in churches by the archbishop and other ministers. He sent also with the pall other letters to Augustine, to let him vnderstand what number of bishops he would haue him to ordeine within this land. Also after that Pelitus, and the other before mentioned persons were departed from Rome, he sent a letter vnto the same Pelitus, being yet on his way toward Britaine, touching further matter

Marriages.

Discipline of the church.

Ordeining of bishops.

women with child.

Matters in question about trides.

Assistance to Augustine. The pall.

Seeing with  
them that had  
newly recei-  
ued the faith,  
whereof su-  
perstition  
grew and in-  
creased.

Miracles.

concerning the churches of England, wherein he confessed that manie things are permitted to be used of the people latelie brought from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feasts on the dedication daies, which haue resemblance with the old superstitious rites of the Pagan religion. For to hard and obstinate minds (saith he) it is not possible to cut away all things at once, for he that courteth to the highest place, goeth by by steps and not by leaps.

At the same time Gregorie did send letters unto Augustine touching the miracles, which by report he vnderstood were shewed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glorie in the same, but rather in reioicing to feare, and consider that God gaue him the gift to worke such signes for the wealth of them to whom he was sent to preach the gospell: he aduised him therefore to beware of baine-glorie and presumption, for the disciples of the truth (saith he) haue no toy, but onlie that which is common with all men, of which there is no end, for not euerie one that is elect worketh miracles, but euerie of the elect haue their names written in heauen. These letters, with the other which Gregorie sent at this time unto Augustine, were dated the tenth day of the kalends of Iulie, in the yere of our Lord 602, which was the 19 yere of the emperour Mauricius. Whereafter he sent most courteous letters by these messengers to king Ethelbert, in the which he greatly commended him, in that he had receiued the christian faith, and exhorted him to continue in that most holie state of life, whereby he might worthilie looke for reward at the hands of almighty God.

What reparations and foundations Augustine finished for clergimen to the supportation of the church, the building of Pauls in London and saint Peters in Westminster vncertaine, a prouinciall counsell called by Augustine, he restoreth a blind man to his sight, the Britains are hardlie weaned from their old custome of beliefe, an heremits opinion of Augustine, he requireth three things to be obserued of the Britains, he ordeineth bishops at London and Rochester, Sabert reigneth ouer the East Saxons, Augustine dieth and is buried.

### The xxj. Chapter.

**T**HIS farre we haue waded in the forme and maner of conuerting the English nation to christianitie, by the labours of Augustine and his coadutors: now therefore (that we may orderlie proceed) it remaineth that we say somewhat of the acts and deeds of the said Augustine: of whom we read, that after he was established archbishop, and had his see appointed him at Canturburie, he restored another church in that citie which had bene created there in times past by certeine of the Romans that were christians, and did dedicate the same now to the honour of Christ our Saviour. He also began the foundation of a monasterie without that citie, standing toward the east, in the which by his exhortation, king Ethelbert built a church euen from the ground, which was dedicated, vnto the holie apostles Peter and Paule, in the which the bodie of the said Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the archbishops of Canturburie and kings of Kent a long time after. This abbey was called saint Austins after his name, one Peter being the first abbat thereof. The church there was

One Peter  
was the first  
Abbat.

not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor, Laurence, after he was dead.

Whereafter, king Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine built a church in the citie of London (which he latelie had conquered) and dedicated it vnto saint Paule; but whether he builded or restored this church of saint Paule it may be doubted, for there be diuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was first builded by king Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other againe write, that it was builded afterward by Sigebert king of the East Saxons. Also king Ethelbert builded the church of saint Andrewes in Rochester. It is likewise remembred by writers, that the same king Ethelbert procured a citizen of London to build a church to S. Peter without the citie of London toward the west, in a place then called Thorney, that is to say, the Ile of thorns, and now called Westminster: though others haue written that it was built by Lucius king of Britaine, or rather by Sibert king of the East Saxons. This church was either newlie built, or greatly enlarged by king Edward surnamed the Confessor, and after that, the third Henrie king of England did make there a beautifull monasterie, and verie richlie indowd the same with great possessions and sumptuous iewels. The place was ouergrowne with bnderwoods, as thornes and bryambles, before that the church was begun to be builded there in this king Ethelberts daies. Thus the faith of Christ being once begun to be receiued of the English men, toke wonderfull increase within a short time.

In the meane season by the helpe of king Ethelbert, Augustine caused a counsell to be called at a place in the confines of the West Saxons, which place long after was called Austines oke, where he procured the bishops or doctors of the prouinces of the Britains to come before him. Among the Britains or the Welshmen, christianitie as yet remained in force, which from the apostles time had neuer failed in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their prouinces seuen bishops sees, and an archbishop see, wherein sat verie goodlie & right religious prelates, and manie abbats, in the which the Lords flocke kept their right order: but because they differed in obseruing the feast of Easter, and other rites from the vse of the Romane church, Augustine thought it necessarie to moue them to agree with him in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be induced to giue their assent in that behalfe. Augustine to procure his opinion good, wrought a miracle in restoring sight to one of the Saxon nation that was blind.

The Britains that were present, moued with this miracle, confessed that it was the right waie of iustice and righteousnesse which Augustine taught; but yet they said that they might not forsake their ancient customs without content and licence of their nation. Whereupon they required another synod to be holden, whereat a greater number of them might be present. This being granted, there came (as it is reported) seuen bishops of the Britains, and a great number of learned men, speciallie of the famous monasterie of Bangor, whereof in those daies one Dionoth was abbat, who as they went towards that counsell, came first to a certeine wilde man, which liued amongst them an heremits life, and asked his aduise, whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the preaching of Augustine or not: who made this answer, If he be the man of God, follow him. Then said they, How shall we proue whether he be so or not? Then said he, The Lord saith, take by my poke and learne of me, for I am meke & humble in hart: if Augustine be humble and meke in hart, it is to be beleued

Ran. Hig.

Bea.

Ran. Hig.  
Westminster  
church builded

Ran. Cell.  
Bea.  
Sigebertus,  
ann. 19 Marci  
imperatoris.  
Synod.  
Austines de  
Galfridus  
cap. 4.

Bea. lib. 1.  
2.

Another  
synod.

The monas-  
tie of Bangor  
3 abbat Peter  
north.

The answer  
of a good  
man touching  
Augustine  
the English  
apostle.

believed that he also beareth the yoke of Christ, and offereth it to you to beare; but if he be not make but proud, it is certaine that he is not of GOD, nor his word to be regarded. And how shall we see and perceive that (said they?) Find meanes (said he) that he maie first come to the place of the synod with those of his side, and if he arise to receive you at your coming, then know that he is the servant of God, and obey him; but if he despise you, and arise not towards you, whereas you be more in number, let him be despised of you.

These things required by Augustine of the Britains to be observed.

Augustine threatened.

604

Bishops ordained at London and Rochester.

Sabert.

They did as he commanded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Augustine sitting in his chaire: whom when they beheld, straightwaies they conceived indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to reproue all his sayings. He told them that they used manie things contrarie to the custom of the truest church, and yet if in three things they would obey him, that is to say, in keeping the feast of Easter in due time, in ministering baptism according to the custome of the Romane church, & in preaching to the Englishmen the word of life with him & his fellowes, then would he be contented to suffer all other things patientlie which they did, though the same were contrarie to the maners and customs of the Romane jurisdiction. But they flatlie denied to do anie of those things, and gaue a plaine answer that they would not receive him for their archbishop: for laing their heads together, thus they thought, If he refuse now to arise vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we should become subject to him? Vnto whom (as it is said) Augustine in threatening wise told them afore hand, that if they would not receive peace with their brethren, they should receive waere of the enemies; & if they would not preach to the Englishmen the waie of life, they should suffer punishment by death at the hands of them: which thing in deed after came to passe, as in place conuenient shall be expessed. After this in the yere of our Lord 604, the archbishop Augustine ordained two bishops, that is to say, Pelitus at London, that he might preach the word of God to the East Saxons, which were diuided from them of Kent by the riuer of Thames, and Justus in the cite of Rochester within the limits of Kent.

At that time Sabert reigned ouer the East Saxons, but he was subiect vnto Ethelbert king of Kent, whose nephue he was also by his sister Ricula that was married vnto king Sledba that succeeded after Erchenwine the first king of the East Saxons, and begat on hir this Sabert that receiued the faith. After that Augustine had ordeined Pelitus to be bishop of London, as before is said, king Ethelbert builded (as some write) the church of saint Paule within the same cite, where the same Pelitus and his successors might keepe their see. And also for the like purpose he builded the church of saint Andrew the apostle at Rochester, that Justus and his successors might haue their see in that place, according to Augustines institution: he bestowed great gifts vpon both those churches, endowing them with lands and possessions verie bountifullie, to the vse of them that should be attendant in the same with the bishops.

East Saxons.

Finallie, Augustine after he had gouerned as archbishop the church of Canturburie by the space of 12 yeres curant, departed this life the five and twentieth of Maie, and was buried first without the cite nere to the church of the apostles Peter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) bitaile the same church as yet was not finished nor dedicated; but after it was dedicated, his bodie was brought into the church, and reuerentlie buried in the north Ile there. He ordeined in his life time Laurence to be his suc-

cessor in the see of Canturburie, of whome ye shall heare hereafter. Thus haue ye heard in what manner the Englishmen were first brought from the worshipping of false gods, and baptised in the name of the living God by the foresaid Augustine (as we find in Beda and other writers.) Now we will turne to other doings chancing in the meane tyme amongst the people of this Ile.

10 Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph gouerneth the West Saxons, Ceorlus king of Mercia, Edelfride king of the Northumbers, and Edan king of the Scots iome in battell, Edan is discomfited, Edelfride subdueth the citizens of Chester, the deuout monks of Bangor praise for safetie from the sword of the enemy, twelve hundred of them are slaine, Edelfride enurth the cite of Chester, the Britains assembling their power vnder three captains incounter with Edelfride, slaine manie of his souldiers, and put him to flight, warres betwene Edelfride and Redwald king of the East Angles about Edwine the sonne of king Elle, Edelfride is slaine, Ceowlfe king of the West Saxons dieth.

### The xxij. Chapter.

After the decesse of Ethelricus king of the West Saxons, we find that Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph succeeded in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned twelue yeres. He began his reigne (as should appere by some writers) about the yere of our Lord 597, and spent his time for the more part in warres, not giuing place to tolennesse, but taking either to defend or enlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the sonne of Cutha, which was the sonne of Hencricke, which was the sonne of Certike. After Wilbba or Wilbba king of Mercia (who, nothing inferior to his father, did not onelie defend his kingdome, but also enlarge it, by subduing the Britains on each side) one Ceorlus succeeded in that kingdome, being not his sonne but his kinsman. This Ceorlus began his reigne about the yere of our Lord 584, as Math. West. recordeth.

Math. West. saith 34.

Math. West. saith 607.

Ceorlus king of Mercia.

594  
Beda  
Edelfride.

We haue heard that Edelfride, which other wise is called also by writers Edelfride, surnamed the wild, gouerned still the Northumbers, which Edelfride did more damage to the Britains than anie one other king of the English nation. None of them destroyed their countries more than he did: neither did anie prince make more of the Britains tributaries, or inhabited more of their countries with English people than he. Herevpon Edan king of those Scots which inhabited Britaine, being therewith moued to see Edelfride prosper thus in his conquests, came against him with a mightie armie: but loosing in battell with Edelfride and his power, at a place called Deglastane, or Deglastone, or Deglaston, he lost the most part of his people, and with the residue that were left aliue, he escaped by flight. This was a fore foughten battell, with much bloodshed on both parties. For notwithstanding that the victorie remained with the Northumbers, Theobaldus the brother of Edelfride was slaine, with all that part of the English host which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yere of our Lord 603, in the 19 yere of the reigne of the foresaid Edelfride, and in the first yere of Ceowlfe king of the West Saxons, and in the first yere of the emperor Phocas, or rather in the last yere of his predecessor Mauricius. From that day, till the daies of Beda, not one of the Scottish kings durst presume to enter into Britaine againe to giue battell against the English nation, as Beda himselfe writeth.

603

Henr. Hunt. Beda lib. 1. cap. 34.

Wil. Malin.  
as in Scot-  
land.

written. But the Scottish writers make other report of this matter, as in the historie of Scotland yemaie and recorded.

Chester as  
yet in posses-  
sion of the Brit-  
tains.

I. Leland.  
Wil. Malin.

Beda.

The number  
of monks in  
the monasterie  
of Bangor.

Boetmale.

The Brit-  
tains discom-  
fited & slaine.

Henr. Hunt.

W. Harison.

The Britains that dwell about Chester, through their stoutnesse provoked the aforesaid Eadelferd king of the Northumbers unto warre: whereupon to fame their lustie stomachs, he assembled an armie & came forward to besiege the citie of Chester, then called of the Britains Carleon ardour deué. The citizens counteing rather to suffer all things than a siege, and hauing a trust in their great multitude of people, came forth to giue battell abroad in the fields, whome he compassing about with ambushes, got within his danger, and easilie discomfited.

It chanced that he had espied before the battell fought (as Beda saith) where a great number of the British priests were got aside into a place somewhat out of danger, that they might there make their intercession to God for the good speed of their people, being then ready to giue battell to the Northumbers. A partie of them were of that famous monasterie of Bangor, in the which it is said, that there was such a number of monks, that there they were diuided into seuen severall parts, with their severall gouernors appointed to haue rule ouer them, euerie of those parts contained at the least thre hundred persons, the which liued altogether by the labour of their hands. A partie therefore of those monks hauing kept a solemne fast for thre daies together, were come to the armie with other to make prayer, hauing for their defender one Boetmale or Boetmale, earle (or count) as some call him) of Chester, which should preserve them (being giuen to prayer) from the edge of the enemies sword.

King Eadelferd hauing (as is said) espied these men, asked what they were, and what their intent was; and being informed of the whole circumstance and cause of their being there, he said; Then if they call to their God for his assistance against vs, surely though they beare no armour, yet do they fight against vs, being busied in prayer for our destruction. Whereupon he commanded the first onset to be giuen them, and after slue downe the residue of the British armie, not without great losse of his owne people. Of those monks and priests which came to praye (as before is mentioned) there died at that battell about the number of 12 hundred, so that fiftie of them onelie escaped by flight. Boetmale, or Boetmale at the first approach of the enemies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he should haue defended) to be murdered through the enemies sword. Thus was the prophesie of Augustine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda saith.)

Where is to be noted, if this battell was fought in the seventh yere of Ceowulf king of Westsaxon (as some haue written) and that Augustine liued 12 yeres after his entrance into the gouernment of the see of Canturburie (as some write) it is euident that he liued foure yeres after this slaughter made of the British priests and monks by Eadelferd (as before is recited.) For Ceowulf began his reigne (as before is mentioned) about the yere of our Lord 596, and in the seventh yere of his reigne the battell was fought at Degfastane betwixt the English & the Scots, which chanced in the yere of our Lord 604, as Beda himselfe recordeth. A late chronographer running vpon this matter, and precisely setting downe his collection, saith that Athelbriht, or Eadelferd, k. of the Northumbers, & Ethelbert k. of Kent, hauing Augustine in their companie, in the eight yere after his arrivall, made warre vpon such Britains as refused to obserue the canons of the late counsell mentioned 603, and killed 1200 monks of

the monasterie of Bangor, which laboured earnestlie, and in the sweat of their browes, thereby to get their liuings, &c. Herellie Galf. Mon. writeth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he sawe the Britains to disdain and denie their subiection vnto Augustine, by whome he was conuerted to the christian faith) stirred vp Eadelferd king of the Northumbers to warre against the Britains. But hereof Maister Fox doubteth, and therefore saith, that of uncerteine things he hath nothing certeinlie to saie, much lesse to iudge. But now to the matter where we left.

After that king Eadelferd had made slaughter of the Britains (as before is rehearsed) he entred the citie of Chester, and from thence marched towards Bangor. The Britains in the meane time had assembled their power vnder thre captains, that is to say, Blederike duke of Cornetwall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. These joining in battell with Eadelferd, slue 10066 of his souldiers, and constrained him to flee out of the field for safegard of his life, after he had received manie wounds. On the part of the Britains the fozsaie Blederike, which was chiefe captaine of the field in that battell, chanced to be slaine. Thus saith Galf. Mon.

But the ancient writers of the English kings (as Beda, William Malmesburie, and Henrie Huntingdon, make no mention of this last battell and victorie obtained by the Britains in maner as aboue is expessed in Galfrids booke. But contrarie we find, that Eadelferd hauing such god successe in his businesse abroad as he could wish, vpon purpose to auoid danger at home, banished Eadwine the sonne of Alla or Elle, a yong gentleman of great towardnesse, latelie come to the kingdome of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Eadwine in time of his exile, being long tossed from place to place, and finding no steadfast friendship now in time of his aduersitie, at length came to Redwald, that was king at that time of the Eastangles, the third from Alla, and successor to Titillus, which Titillus did succed next after the said Alla, the first king of Eastangles (as before is mentioned.) This Redwald did verie honourable intertaine Eadwine, inasmuch that Eadelferd being informed thereof, was highlie displeased, and sent ambassadores vnto Redwald, to require him either to deliuer Eadwine into his hands, or else if he refused so to do, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Redwald encouraged by his wife (that counselled him in no wise to betraye his friend, to whome he had giuen his faith, for the menaces of his enemy) assembled forthwith an armie, and at the sudden coming vpon Eadelferd, assaulted him per he could haue time to assemble his people together. But yet the said Eadelferd, though he was beset and brought in danger at vnwares, died not vnreuenged: for putting himselfe in defense with such power as he could then get together, he boldly encountered the enemies, and giuing battell, slue Kemertius the sonne of Redwald, and after was slaine himselfe, hauing reigned ouer the Northumbers about 22 yeres. This battell was fought nere to the water of Idle.

The said Eadelferd had issue by his wife Acca, the daughter of Alla, and sister to Eadwine, two sonnes, Edwald being about two yeres of age, and Edwin about foure yeres, the which (their father being thus slaine) were by helpe of their gouernours conueied awaie into Scotland with all speed that might be made. Ceowulf king of the Westsaxons, after he had reigned the space of 12 yeres, departed this life, who in his time had maintained great warre against manie of his neighbours, the which for briefenesse I passe ouer. One great battell he fought against them of

As some  
numers  
160.

Blederike  
duke of Cornetwall,  
Margadud king of Southwales,  
Cadwane king of Northwales.

Galf. Mon.

Eadwine the  
sonne of King  
Alla banished.

591

Eadwine

542

H. Hunt.

Eadelferd  
slaine.

Hen. Hunt.  
Matt. West.  
saith 34.

The South-  
saxons were  
the grea-  
test.

of Sussex, in which the armies on both sides sustained great damage, but the greater losse fell to the South saxons.

Cinegiscus and his sonne Richelinus reigne iointlie ouer the Westsaxons, they fight with the Britains; the inducours of Laurence archbishop of Canturburie in setting religion at large, and seeking a vniformitie in catholike orders, he and his fellow-bishops write to the cleargie of Britaine and Scotland for a reformation, Melius bishop of London goeth to Rome, the cause why, and what he brought at his returne from pope Boniface.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

Cinegiscus.



Will. Malm.  
saith that De-  
nichelinus  
was the bro-  
ther of Cine-  
giscus.

Brandene, of  
Beanton.

Beda lib. 3. cap.  
4.

After the foresaid Ceowise reigned Cinegiscus, or Cinigils, which was the sonne of Ceola, which was the sonne of Cutha or Cutwin, which was the sonne of Kenricke, which was the sonne of king Cer-ricke. In the fourth yere of his reigne, he receiued into fellowship with him in gouernance of the kingdome his sonne Richelinus, or Dnichelinus, and so they reigned iointlie togither in great loue and concord (a thing seldom seene or heard of.) They fought with the Britains at Beandune, where at the first approach of the battels togither, the Britains fled, but too late, for there died of them that were overtaken 2062.

In this meane time, Laurence archbishop of Canturburie, who succeeded next after Augustine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is said) did his inducours to augment and bring to perfection the church of England, the foundation whereof was lately laid by his predecessor the foresaid Augustine: who studied not onelie for the increase of this new church, which was gathered of the English people, but also he was busie to impleie his pastorlike cure vpon the people that were of the old inhabitants of Britaine, and likewise of the Scots that remained in Ireland. For when he had learned that the Scots there, in semblable wise as the Britains in their countrie, led not their liues in manie points according to the ecclesiasticall rules, as well in obseruing the feast of Easter contrarie to the vse of the Romaine church, as in other things, he wrote vnto those Scots letters exhortatorie, requiring them most instantlie to an vnitie of catholike orders as might be agreeable with the church of Christ, spread and dispersed through the world. These letters were not written onelie in his owne name, but iointlie togither in the name of the bishops Melitus and Iustus, (as followeth.)

To our deare brethren the bishops and abbats through all Scotland, Laurence, Melitus and Iustus bishops, the seruants of the seruants of God with health.



Whereas the apostolike see (according to hir maner) had sent vs to preach vnto the heathen people in these west parts, as otherwise through the world, and that it chanced to vs to enter into this Ile which is called Britaine, before we knew & vnderstood the state of things, we had in great reuerence both the Scots & Britains,

which beleued, because (as we tooke the manner) they walked according to the custome of the vniuersall church: but after we had knowledge of the Britains, we iudged the Scots to be better. But we haue learned by bishop Daganus comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the abbat comming into France, that the Scots nothing differ in their conuersation from the Britains: for bishop Daganus comming vnto vs, would neither eat with vs, nor yet come within the house where we did eat.

The said Laurence also with his fellow-bishops, did write to the Britains other letters worthy of his degree, doing what he could to confirme them in the vnitie of the Romaine church: but it profited little, as appeareth by that which Beda writeth. About the same time Melitus the bishop of London went to Rome, to communion with pope Boniface, for necessarie causes touching the church of England, and was present at a synod holden by the same pope at that season, for ordinances to be made touching the state of religious men, and late in the same synod, that with subscribing he might also by his authoritie confirme that which was there orderlie decreed. This synod was holden the third halends of March, in the last yere of the emperour Moras, which was about the yere after the birth of our Saviour 610. Melitus at his returne brought with him from the pope, decrees commanded by the said pope to be obserued in the English church, with letters also directed to archbishop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan is made king of the Britains in the citie of Chester, he leuieth a power against Ethelfred king of the Northumbers, covenants of peace passe betwixt them vpon condition, the death of Ethelbert king of Kent, where he and his wife were buried, of his lawes, Eadwald succeeded Ethelbert in the Kentish kingdome, his lewd and vnholie life, he is an enemie to religion; he is plagued with madness; Ethelbert king of the Eastsaxons dieth, his three sonnes refuse to be baptised, they fall to idolatrie and hate the professors of the truth, their irreligious talke and vndutifull behauiour to bishop Melitus, he and his fellow Iustus passe over into France, the three sonnes of Ethelbert are slaine of the Westsaxons in battle, the Eastsaxons by their idolatrie prouoke archbishop Laurence to forsake the land, he is warned in a vision to tarie, whereof he certifieth king Eadwald, who furthering christianitie, sendeth for Melitus and Iustus, the one is restored to his see, the other rectified, Melitus dieth, Iustus is made archbishop of Canturburie, the christian faith increaseth.

The xxiiij. Chapter.



After that the Britains had continued about the space almost of 24 yeres without anie one speciall gouernour, being led by sundrie rulers, & uer sithens that Careticus was constrained to flee ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentimes not onelie against the Saxons, but also one of them against another, at length in the yere of our Lord 613, they assembled in the citie of Chester, and there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of Southwales, to haue the soueraigne rule & gouernement ouer all their nation, and so the said Cadwan began to reigne as king of Britaine in the said yere 613. But some authors say, that this was in the yere 609, in which yere Careticus the British king departed this life. And then after his deceasse the Britains or Welshmen (whether we shall call them)

Cadwan  
king of Brit-  
taine.



them; whose Cadwan to gouerne them in the foresaid yere 609, which was in the 7 yere of the emperour Phocas, and the 21 of the secondlotharius king of France, and in the 13 yere of Alfwolfe king of the Westsaxons.

This Cadwan being established king, shortly after assembled a power of Britains, and went against the foresaid Ethelfred king of Northumberland, who being thereof aduertised, did associate to him the most part of the Saxon princes, and came forth with his armie to meet Cadwan in the field. Hereupon as they were readie to haue tried the matter by battell, certaine of their friends travelled so betwixt them for peace, that in the end they brought them to agreement, so that Ethelfred should keepe in quiet possession those his countries beyond the riuer of Humber, and Cadwan should hold all that which of right belonged to the Britains on the south side of the same riuer. This couenant with other touching their agreement was confirmed with othe solemnly taken, and pledges therewith deliuered, so that afterwards they continued in good and quiet peace, without bring one an other.

What chanced afterward to Ethelfred, ye haue before heard reherced, which for that it soundeth more like to a truth than that which followeth in the British booke, we omit to make further reherfall, passing forward to other doings which fell in the meane season, whilst this Cadwan had gouernement of the Britains, reigning as king ouer them the tearme of 22, or (as some say) but 13 yeres, and finally was slaine by the Northumbers, as before hath bene, and also after shall be shewed.

In the 8 yere after that Cadwan began to reigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the 21 yere after the coming of Augustine with his fellowes to preach the faith of Christ here in this realme: and after that Ethelbert had reigned ouer the prouince of Kent the tearme of 56 yeres (as Beda saith, but there are that haue noted three yeres lesse) he departed this world, as aboue is signified, in the yere of our Lord 617, on the 24 day of February, and was buried in the Ile of Saint Martine, within the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, without the citie of Canturburie, where his wife queene Bartha was also buried, and the foresaid archbishop Augustine that first conuerted him to the faith.

Amongst other things, this king Ethelbert with the aduise of his counsell ordeined diuers lawes and statutes, according to the which decrees of iudgements should passe: those decrees he caused to be written in the English tong, which remained and were in force vnto the daies of Beda, as he declaroth. And first it was exprest in those lawes, what amends he should make that stole anie thing that belonged to the church, to the bishop, or to anie ecclesiasticall person, willing by all means to defend them whose doctrine he had receiued.

**Eadwald.** After the decesse of Ethelbert, his sonne Eadwald succeeded in the gouernement of his kingdom of Kent, the which was a great hinderer of the increase of the new church amongst the Englishmen in those parties: for he did not onlie refuse to be baptized himselfe, but also vsed such kind of fornication, as hath not bene heard (as the apostle saith) amongst the Gentiles, for he toke to wife his mother in law, that had bene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, manie toke occasion to returne to their heathenish religion, the which whilst his father reigned, either for the prince his pleasure, or for feare to offend him, did professe the christian faith. But Eadwald escaped not without punishment to him sent from the liuing God for his euill deserts,

The princes example occasion of enill.

inso much that he was vexed with a certeine kind of madnesse, and taken with an vnleane spirit.

The foresaid Rome or vnquiet troubling of the christian congregation, was afterwards greatly increased also by the death of Sabert or Sebert king of the Eastsaxons, who was conuerted to the faith of Christ, and baptized by Pelitus bishop of London (as before is mentioned) & departing this life to go to a better in the blissefull kingdome of heauen, he left behind him three sonnes as true successors in the estate of his earthlie kingdome, which sonnes likewise refused to be baptized. Their names were Serred, Seaward, & Sigebert, men of an ill mind, such as in whome no vertue remained, no feare of God, nor anie respect of religion, but speciallie hating the professors of the christian faith. For after their father was dead, they began to fall to their old idolatry, which in his life time they seemed to haue giuen ouer, inso much that now they openly worshipped idols, and gaue libertie to their subjects to do the like.

And when the bishop Pelitus, at the solemnizing of masse in the church, distributed the eucharisticall bread vnto the people, they asked him (as it is said) wherefore he did not deliuer of that bright white bread vnto them also, as well as he had bene accustomed to do to their father Saba (for so they vsed to call him.) Vnto whome the bishop made this answer: If you will be washed in that wholesome fontaine, wherein your father was washed, ye may be partakers of that holie bread whereof he was partaker, but if you despise the washpoule of life, ye may by no means tast the bread of saluation. But they offended herewith, replied in this wise: We will not enter into that fontaine, for we know we haue no need thereof: but yet neuerthelesse we will be refreshed with that bread.

After this, when they had bene earnestlie and manie times told, that vnlesse they would be baptized, they might not be partakers of the sacred oblation: at length in great displeasure they told him, that if he would not consent vnto them in so small a matter, there should be no place for him within the bounds of their dominion, and so he was constrained to depart. Whereupon he being expelled, resorted into Kent, there to take aduise with his fellow-bishops, Laurence and Justus, what was to be done in this so weightie a matter. Who finally resolved vpon this point, that it should be better for them to returne into their countrie, where with free minds they might serue almighty God, rather than to remaine amongst people that rebelled against the faith, without hope to do good amongst them. Wherefore Pelitus and Justus did depart first, and went ouer into France, minding there to abide till they might see what the end would be. But shortly after, those brethren the kings of Essex, which had expelled their bishop in maner aboue said, suffered worthilie for their wicked doings. For going forth to battell against the Westsaxons, they were overthrowen and slaine altogether with all their armie, by the two kings Kingils and Quichelme. But neuerthelesse, albeit the authors of the mischief were thus taken awaie, yet the people of that countrie would not be reduced againe from their vnelly worshipping of false gods, being euenly fallen thereto in that season by the encouragement and perillous example of their rulers. Wherefore the archbishop Laurence was in mind also to follow his fellowes Pelitus and Justus: but when he minded to set forward, he was warned in a dreame, and cruelly scourged (as hath bene reported by the apostle saint Peter, who repproued him) for that he would so vncharitable for sake his flocke, & leaue it in danger without a shepherd to keepe the wolfe from the fold.

Ran. Coll. Beda. l. i. c. 2. Serred, Seaward, and Sigebert, the sonnes of Sabert.

The sonne of king Sebert slaine.

The archbishop imbouldred by this vision, and also repenting him of his determination, came to king Eadbald, and shewed to him his stripes, and the manner of his dream. The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heathenish worshipping of idols, and was baptised, and as much as in him lay, from thenceforth succoured the congregation of the christians, and advanced the church to his power. He sent also into France, and called home the bishops Pelitus and Justus, so that Justus was restored to his see of Rochester.

But the East Saxons would not receive Pelitus to his see at London, but continued in their wicked malice, in obeying a bishop of their pagan law, whom they had erected for that purpose. Neither was king Eadbald of that authoritie and power in those parties, as his father was before, whereby he might constrain them to receive their lawfull bishop. But Eadric the said king Eadbald with his people, after he was once converted againe, gave himselfe wholie to obey the lawes of God, and amongst other deeds of godlie zeale, he builded a church to our ladye at Canturburie, within the monasterie of saint Peter, afterwards called saint Agnes. This church was consecrated by Pelitus, who after the death of Laurence succeeded in gouernance of the archbishops see of Canturburie. After Pelitus, who departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 624, Justus that before was bishop of Rochester, was made archbishop of Canturburie, and ordeined one Romanus to the see of Rochester. About that time, the people of the north parts beyond Humber receiued the faith, by occasion (as after shall appere.)

Beda lib. 1.

Beda lib. 1.  
cap. 1.

Edwin reigneth ouer the Northumbers, his great power and reputation, a marriage betwene him and Ethelburga the sister of king Eadbald upon religious covenants, the traitorous attempts of murderous Eumerus against him, his wife Ethelburga is deliuered of a daughter, he assaileth the West Saxons, and discomfith them, Boniface the first writeth to him to desist from his idolatrie, and to his ladye to persist in true christianitie; the vision of Edwin when he was a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the East Angles, whereby he was informed of his great exaltation and conuersion to christian religion.

### The xxx. Chapter.

**E**dwin heard how Eadelfred the king of Northumberland was slaine in battell nere to the water of Idel by Redwald king of the East Angles, in fauour of Edwin whom the said Eadelfred had confined out of his dominion, 24 yeeres before. The foresaid Redwald therefore hauing obtained that victorie, found meanes to place Edwin in gouernement of that kingdom of the Northumbers, hauing a title thereto as sonne to Alla or Elle, sometime king of Northumberland. This Edwin proued a right valiant prince, & grew to be of more power than anie other king in the daies of the English nation: not onelie ruling ouer a great part of the countries inhabited with English men, but also with Britains, who inhabited not onelie in Wales, but in part of Cheshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and alongst by the west sea-coast in Gallogway, and so forth euen vnto Dunbartaine in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what countries Cad-

Edwin.  
Beda lib. 2.  
cap. 1.

wallo bare rule, of whome so often mention is made in this part of the historie. But as concerning Edwin, his reputation was such, as not onelie the English men, Britains and Scots, but also the Isles of Albion, and those of Spain, and others the west Isles of ancient time called Meauania, had him in reuerence, and feared his mightie power, so as they durst not attempt anie exploit to offend him.

It chanced that shortly after, king Redwald had advanced him to the kingdom of Northumberland, to wit, about 6 yeeres, the same Redwald decessed, which made greatlie for the more augmentation of Edwin's power. For the people of the East Angles, which (whilest Edwin remained amongst them as a banished man) had conceiued a good opinion of him for his approved valiance and noble courage, offered themselves to be wholie at his commandement. But Edwin suffering Carpwald or Erpwald the sonne of Redwald to inioie the bare title and name of the king of that countrie, ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. Neither was there anie province within Britaine that did not obey him, or was not readie to do him seruice (the kingdom of Kent onelie excepted) for he suffered the Kentish men to liue in quiet, because he began to haue a liking to the sister of king Eadbald, namely the ladye Ethelburga, other wise called Tate or Tace.

He made request therefore by sending ambassadors to his brother, to haue the said ladye in marriage, and at length obtained hir, with condition that she bring a christian woman, might not onelie vse the christian religion, but also that all those, whether men or women, priests or ministers, which came with hir, might haue licence to do the same, without trouble or impeachment of anie manner of person. Hereupon she being sent vnto him, there was appointed to go with hir (besides manie other) one Pauline, which was consecrated bishop by the archbishop Justus the 21 of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 625, who at his coming into Northumberland thus in companie with Ethelburga, traueled earnestlie in his office, both to perswade hir and such christians in the faith of Christ, as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, least they should chauce to fall: and also sought to win some of the Pagans (if it were possible) vnto the same faith, though at the first he little profited in that matter.

In the yeare following, there came a murderer vnto the court of king Edwin, as then sojourning in a palace which stood vpon the side of the riuer of Donwent, being sent from Dutcheime king of the West Saxons, to the intent to murder Edwin, because he had of late sore damaged the countries of the West Saxons. This murderer was called Eumerus, & caried vnder his coate a short double edged woodkiffe inuentioned of purpose, that if the king being but a little hurt therewith, should not die of the wound, yet he should not escape the danger of the poison. This Eumerus on Easter morrowe came to the king, and making forth to him as it had bene to haue declared some message from his master, when he had espied his time, drew his weapon, and offered to strike the king. But one of the kings seruants named Alla, perceiving this, leapt betwixt the king and the blow. Wholuest the murderer set the strike forward with such force, that the knife running through the bodie of Alla wounded also the king a little: and before this murderer could be beaten downe, he slue another of the kings seruants, a knight that attended vpon him, called Forðber.

The same night Ethelburga was deliuered of a daughter named Caules, for the which when king Edwin gaue thanks vnto his gods, in the presence of

W. Malm. to  
hath the  
nia to be  
glesey.

Carpwaldus.

Beda lib. 2.  
cap. 9.

Marth. West.  
Beda lib. 2.  
cap. 9.  
625

Other say an  
arr. as Marth.  
West.

Eumerus.

Caules doze  
of

of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to give thanks unto the true and onelie God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the quene was safelie and without danger deliuered. The king giuing good eare vnto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a christian, if he might reuenge his iniuries receiued at the hands of the Westsaxons. And to assure Pauline that his promise should take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to say, baptised. The bishop receiuing hir, on Whitsunday next following baptised hir, with twelue other of the kings household, the being the first of the English Northumbers that was so washed in the fountaine of regeneration.

In the meane time is Edwin being recovered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the Westsaxons, with whom incountring in battell, he either slue or brought to his subiection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrie. But yet he delaied time in performance of his promise to become a christian: howbeit he had left his doing of sacrifice to idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politikelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the christian religion throughlie examined.

Now whilest he thus hong in doubt vnto whether part he should incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle persuasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worshipping of manumets and idols. The pope wrote also to quene Ethelburga, praieng hir to continue in hir god purpose, and by all meanes possible to doe what might be done for the conuerting of hir husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most moued the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, as thus.

After that king Ethelred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to mone Redwald either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him a waie. At length by often sending, & promises made of large summes of monie, mixed with threatnings, he obtained a grant of his sute, so that it was determined that Edwin should either be murdered, or else deliuered into his enemies hands. One of Edwins friends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practise, and what was purposed against him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would so aduenture to escape. Edwin being wonderouslie amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrie, sith he had no iust cause outwardlie giuen to play such a slipper part, chosing rather to icopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whom he had giuen his faith.

The honorable consideration of Edwin.

Whereupon his friend departing from him, left him sitting without the doores: where after he had reuolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceiued one to come towards him unknowne, and in strange apparell, seeming to him in euerie point a stranger, at which sight (for that he could not imagine who it should be) Edwin was much afraid: but the man comming to him saluted him, and asked of him what he made there at that time of the night when other were at rest. Edwin on the other part asked what

he had to doe therewith, and whether he liked to lie abroad in the night, or within house? Who answering said; thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heavinesse, of thy watchings, and this thy solitarie sitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, wherefore thou art thus pensieue, and what evils thou fearest to be towards thee at hand. But tell me, what wouldest thou giue him, that could deliuer thee out of this heavinesse, and perswade Redwald that he should neither doe thee hurt, nor deliuer thee to thine enemies? Here with when Edwin said that he would gladly giue all that in him might lie to such a one in reward: The other said; What wouldest thou giue then, if he should promise in god sooth that (all thine enemies being destroyed) thou shouldst be king, and that thou shouldst passe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the English nation before thy time? Edwin being better come to himselfe by such demandes, did not sicke to promise that he would requite his friendship with worthy thanks.

Then replied he to his words and said; If he that shall prophesie to thee this good hap to come, shall also be able to informe thee in such counsell for thy health and life, as neuer anie of thy forefathers or kinsfolke yet haue heard, wouldest thou obey him, and also consent to receiue his wholesome aduertisement? Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points follow the instruction of him that should deliuer him out of so manie and great calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which answer being got, this person that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, saying: When this therefore shall chance to thee, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communication, and those things that thou now dost promise, see thou performe. And therewith he banished a waie. So that Edwin might well perceiue it was no man but a vision that thus had appeared vnto him.

[¶ This vnaccustomed course it pleased God to vnto for the conuersion of the king (to whose example it was no doubt but the people and inferiour sort would generallie be conformed) who otherwise had continued in paganism and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true christianitie. And it maie be that there was in him, as in other kings his predecessors, a settled persuasion in gentillish error, so that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the same had proceeded from the mouth of one allotted to that ministerie) he was to be reuoked from the infidelitie and misbeleefe wherein he was nuzzled and trained vp. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the obseruation of such rites and customes as haue bene established and left in force by their progenitors, and sower to stand vnto a desire and earnest purpose of adding some what to their elders corrupt constitutions, and irreligious course of conuersation, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to inuouation: so inflexible is the posteritie to swarue from the traditions of antiquitie, stand the same vpon neuer so grosse and palpable absurdities.]

Edwin still reioicing in the foresaid comfortable talke, but thoughtfull in mind what he should be, or from whence he came that had talked in this sort with him; beheld his friend returned that first had brought him forth of his chamber, and declared vnto him good newes, how the king by perswasion of the quene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteine his quarrell to the uttermost of his power: and so he did in deed. For with all diligence he raised an armie, and went against Ethelred, vanquished him in battell, and placed Edwin in the kingdome (as before ye haue heard.)

of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to giue thanks vnto the true and onelic God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the queene was safelie and without danger deliuered. The king giuing god eare vnto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a christian, if he might reuenge his iniuries receiued at the hands of the Westsaxons. And to assure Pauline that his promise should take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to say, baptised. The bishop receiuing hir, on Whitsundaie next following baptised hir, with twelue other of the kings household, the being the first of the English Northumbres that was so waathed in the fountaine of regeneration.

In the meane time la. Edwin being recovered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the Westsaxons, with whom encountering in battell, he either slue or brought to his subiection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrie. But yet he delayed time in performance of his promise to become a christian: howbeit he had left his doing of sacrifice to idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politikelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the christian religion throughlie examined.

Beda. lib. 2.  
cap. 10.

Beda. lib. 2.  
cap. 11.

A. bison.

Beda. cap. 12.

The hono-  
rable considera-  
tion of Ed-  
win.

Now whilest he thus hong in doubt vnto whether part he should incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle persuasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worshipping of matowmes and idols. The pope wrote also to queene Ethelburga, praiering hir to continue in hir god purpose, and by all meanes possible to doe what might be done for the conuerting of hir husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most moued the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, as this.

After that king Ethelfred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to mone Redwald either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him a waie. At length by often sending, & promises made of large summes of monie, mixed with threatnings, he obtained a grant of his sute, so that it was determined that Edwin should either be murdered, or else deliuered into his enemies hands. One of Edwins friends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practise, and what was purposed against him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would so aduenture to escape. Edwin being wonderfullie amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrie, sith he had no iust cause outwardlie giuen to play such a slipper part, choosing rather to teopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whom he had giuen his faith.

he had to doe therewith, and whether he used to lie abroad in the night, or within house: Who answering said; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heavinesse, of thy watchings, and this thy solitarie sitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, wherefore thou art thus peniue, and what evils thou fearest to be towards thee at hand. But tell me, what wouldest thou giue him, that could deliuer thee out of this heavinesse, and perswade Redwald that he should neither doe thee hurt, nor deliuer thee to thine enemies? Here with when Edwin said that he would gladlie giue all that in him might lie to such a one in reward: The other said; What wouldest thou giue then, if he should promise in good sooth that (all thine enemies being destroyed) thou shouldst be king, and that thou shouldst passe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the English nation before thy time: Edwin being better come to himselfe by such demandes, did not sticke to promise that he would requite his friendship with twofold thanks.

Then replied he to his words and said; If he that shall prophesie to thee this god hap to come, shall also be able to informe thee in such counsell for thy health and life, as neuer anie of thy forefathers or kinfolke yet haue heard, wouldest thou obey him, and also consent to receiue his wholesome aduertisement: Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points follow the instruction of him that should deliuer him out of so manie and great calamities, and bzing him to the rule of a kingdome. Which answer being got, this person that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, saying: When this therefore shall chance to thee, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communication, and those things that thou now doest promise, see thou performe. And therewith he banished a waie. So that Edwin might well perceiue it was no man but a vision that thus had appeared vnto him.

[¶ This vnaccustomed course it pleased God to vse for the conuersion of the king (to whose example it was no doubt but the people and inferior sort would generallie be conformed) who otherwise had continued in paganism and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true christianitie. And it maie be that there was in him, as in other kings his predecessors, a settled persuasion in gentillish error, so that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the same had proceeded from the mouth of one allotted to that ministerie) he was to be reuoked from the infidelitie and misbeliefe wherein he was nuzzled and trained by. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the obseruation of such rites and customes as haue bene established and left in force by their progenitors, and sower to stand vnto a desire and earnest purpose of adding some what to their elders corrupt constitutions, and irreligious course of conuersion, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to innouation: so inflexible is the posteritie to swarue from the traditions of antiquitie, and the same vpon neuer so grosse and palpable absurdities.]

Edwin still reioicing in the foresaid comfortable talke, but thoughtfull in mind what he should be, or from whence he came that had talked in this sort with him; beheld his friend returned that first had brought him forth of his chamber, and declared vnto him god newes, how the king by perswasion of the queene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteine his quarell to the bittermost of his power: and so he did in deed. For with all diligence he raised an armie, and went against Ethelfred, banquished him in battell, and placed Edwin in the kingdome (as before ye haue heard.)

King

King Edwin is put in mind of his vision by Pauline who sawe the same in spirit, he is licenced to preach the gospell, bishop Celsi destroyeth the idols, Edwin and his people receiue the christian faith, his two sonnes Osrife and Eadfride become conuerts, Redwald king of the Eastangle, is baptised, he serueth God and the diuell, Sibert receiue the faith, Felix bishop of Burgongne cometh ouer to Honorius archbishop of Canturburie, he preacheth to the Eastangles, the Northumbers and Lincolnshiremen are conuerted, manie are baptised in the riuer of Trent; king Edwins justice how effectfull and commendable, his care for the common-wealth, his prouidence for the refection of trauellers, pope Honorius confirmeth Pauline archbishop of Yorke, the tenor of his letters touching the mutual election of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, if either of them happened to lurue o-ther, his letters to the Scots touching the keeping of Easter and auoiding the Pelagian heresie, Cadwallo king of Britaine rebelleth against Edwin, Penda king of Mercia enuiech his good estate, Cadwallo and Penda inuade Northumberland, Edwin and his sonne Osrife are slaine, Penda putteth his other sonne Eadfride cruellie to death.

The xxvj. Chapter.

**N**otwithstanding the former vision, king Edwin deferred time per he would receiue the christian faith, in so much that Pauline vpon a daie came vnto him as he sat musing what he were best to do, and laid his hand vpon his head, asking him if he knew that signe. Whereat when the king would haue fallen downe at his feet, he lifted him vp, and as it were in familiar wise thus said vnto him: Behold, by the assistance of Gods fauour thou hast escaped the hands of thine enemies, whome thou stoodst in feare of: behold through his bountions liberalitie, thou hast obtained the kingdom which thou diddest desire, remember then that thou delaie no time to performe the third thing that thou diddest promise, in receiuing his faith, and keeping his commandments, which deliuering thee from worldlie aduersities, hath thus aduanced thee to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth he setteth and preacheth to thee and others, he will deliuer thee from euercasting torments, and make thee partaker with him in his celestall kingdom. It is to be thought that the vision which the king had in times past receiued, was in spirit reuealed vnto Pauline, where vpon without delaie of time, he put him in remembrance of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his words, answered, that he would and ought to receiue the faith which he taught, but first he would conferre with his nobles, and if they would agree to do the like, then would they be baptised altogether at one time. Pauline satisfied herewith, Edwin did as he had promised, calling together the wisest men of his realme, and of them asked the question what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Pauline, vnto whome his chiefe bishop named Celsi, incontinentlie made this answer, that Suerlie the religion which they had hitherto followed was nothing worth.

For faith he, there is none of thy people that hath more reuerentlie worshipped our gods than I haue done, and yet be there manie that haue receiued far greater benefits at thy hands than I haue done: and therefore if our gods were of anie power, then would they rather helpe me to high honor and dignitie than others. Therefore if it maie be found that this new religion is better & more auailable than our old, let vs with speed embrace the same.

Edwin consulted with his nobles.

The answer of an heathen bishop.

If manie, when other of the kings counsell & men of high authoritie gave their consents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receiued, if therein appeared more certentie of saluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gave licence to Pauline to preach the gospell, and renouncing his worshiping of false gods, professed the christian faith. And when he demanded of his bishop Celsi who should first deface the altars of their idols, and the tabernacles wherewith they were compassed about: He answered, that himselfe would do it. For what is more meet (saith he) than that I, which thorough foolishnesse haue worshipped them, should now for example sake destroye the same, though wisdom giuen me from the true and liuing God? And straightwaies throwing awaie the superstition of vanitie, required armour and weapon of the king, with a stoned horse, vpon the which he being mounted, rode forth to destroye the idols.

Pauline licenced to preach the gospell.

This was a strange sight to the people: for it was not lawfull for the bishop of their law to put on armour, or to ride on anie beast, except it were a mare. He hauing therefore a sword gird to him, toke a speare in his hand, and riding on the kings horse, went to the place where the idols stood. The common people that beheld him had thought he had bene starke mad, and out of his wits: but he without longer deliberation, incontinentlie vpon his coming to the temple, began to deface the same, and in contempt threw his speare against it, & reioicing greatly in the knowledge of the worshiping of the true God, commanded his companie to destroye & burne downe the same temple with all the altars. This place where the idols were sometime worshipped was not farre from Yorke, towards the east part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gostmundin Gaham, where the foresaid bishop by the inspiration of God defaced and destroyed thole altars, which he himselfe had hallowed.

King Edwin therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great number of his people, receiued the faith and were baptised, in the yere of our Lord 627, in the tenth yere of his reigne, and about the 178 yere after the first coming of the Englishmen into this land. He was baptised at Yorke on Easter daie (which fell that yere the day before the Ides of April) in the church of St. Peter the apostle, which he had caused to be erected and built by of timber vpon the sudden for that purpose, and afterwards began the foundation of the same church in stone-work of a larger compasse, comprehending within it that oratorie which he had first caused to be built: but before he could finish the worke, he was slaine (as after shall be shewed) leauing it to be performed of his successor Oswald.

King Edwin with his people receiue the christian faith. Beda lib. 1. cap. 14.

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Pauline continued from thenceforth during the kings life, which was six yeres after, in preaching the gospell in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the faith of Christ, among whom were Osrife and Eadfride the two sonnes of Edwin, whom he begot in time of his banishment of his wife Quikburga, the daughter of Cearlus king of Mercia. Also afterwards he begot children on his second wife Ethelburga, that is to say, a sonne called Edilhimus, and a daughter named Ediltrudis, and another sonne called Wulftra, of the which the two first died in their cradels, and were buried in the church at Yorke. To be brieue: by the kings assistance & fauour shewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lord, great multitudes of people daile receiued the faith, and were baptised of Pauline in manie places, but speciallie in the riuer of Glente within the prouince of Bernicia, and also in Swale in the prouince of Deira: for as yet in the beginning thus

Ediltrudis.



of the church in those countries, no temples or fonts could be builded or erected in so short a time.

**This chanced in the yere 632, as Mart. West. saith, Redwald king of East-angles baptised.**

**Redwald would serue God and the duell.**

Of such great zeale was Edwin (as it is reported) towards the setting forth of Gods truth, that he perswaded Carpwald the sonne of Redwald king of the East-angles to abandon the superstitious worshipping of idols, and to receive the faith of Christ with all his whole prouince. His father Redwald was baptised in Kent long before this time, but in daine: for returning home, through counsell of his wife and other wicked persons, he was seduced, and being turned from the sincere puritie of faith, his last doings were worse than his first, so that according to the manner of the old Samaritans, he would seeme both to serue the true God and his false gods, (whom before time he had serued) and in one selfe church had at one time both the sacraments of Christ ministred at one altar, and sacrifice made by to diuels at another.

**Osbert or Sigibert.**

But Carpwald within a while after he had receiued the faith, was slaine by one of his owne countrymen that was an ethiobe, called Richbert, and then after his death, that prouince for the tearme of thre yeres was wrapped effronces in error, till Osbert or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwald, a most christi- an prince, and verie well learned, obtained the rule of that kingdome, who whilste he liued a banished man in France during his brothers life time, was baptised there, and became a christian: and when he came to be king, he caused all his prouince to be partaker of the same fountaine of life, wherein he had bene dipped himselfe.

**A bishop or deined at Dunwich. Beda lib. 1. cap. 16.**

**This chanced in the yere 628, as Mart. West. saith.**

Unto his godlie purpose also, a bishop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the archbishop of Canturburie Honorius that was successor vnto Justus, and declaring vnto him his earnest desire, was sent by the same archbishop to preach the word of life vnto the East-angles, which he did with such good successe, that he conuerted the whole countrie to the faith of Iesus Christ, and placed the see of his bishopricke at Dunwich, ending the course of his life there in peace after he had continued in that his bishoplike office the space of 17 yeres. Whereouer Pauline, after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, preached the word of God vnto them of Lindsey, which is a part of Lincolnshire: and first he perswaded one Elecca the gouernour of the citie of Lincoln to turne vnto Christ, together with all his familie. In that citie he also builded a church of stone worke. Thus Pauline trauelled in the worke of the Lord, the same being greatlie furthered by the helpe of Edwin, in whose presence he baptised a great number of people in the riuer of Trent, nere to a towne, which in the old English tong was called Tio vullingacester. This Pauline had with him a deacon named James, the which shewed himselfe verie diligent in the ministrerie, and profited greatlie therein.

**Wil. Malin.**

**Math. West. Beda lib. 3. cap. 16.**

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verelie of worthie fame, and for the politike ordering of his countries and obseruing of iustice, deserued highlie to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high waie were so banished out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne child alone, without other companie, might haue trauelled from sea to sea, and not haue incountred with any creature that durst once haue offered hir iniurie. He was also verie carefull for the aduancement of the commoditie & common wealth of his people, inasmuch that where there were any sweet and cleare water-springs, he caused postes to be set by, and iron dishes to be fastened thereto with chaines, that waiting men might haue the same readie at hand to drinke with: and there was none so hardie as to

touch the same but for that vse. He used wherefoore he went within the cities or elsewhere abroad, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of iustice to be ministred by his roiall authoritie.

In the meane season, pope Honorius the first, hearing that the Northumbers had receiued the faith (as before is mentioned) at the preaching of Pauline, sent vnto the said Pauline the pall, confirming him archbishop in the see of York. He sent also letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherlie aduise to continue and proceed in the waie of vnderstanding, into the which he was entered. At the same time also, because Justus the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and one Honorius elected to that see, pope Honorius sent to the said elect archbishop of Canturburie his pall, with letters, wherein was contained a becke by him made, that when either the archbishop of Canturburie or York chanced to depart this life, he that suruiued should haue authoritie to ordaine another in place of him that was deceased, that they should not need to wearie themselves with going to Rome, being so farre distant from them. The copie of which letter is registred in the ecclesiasticall historie of Beda, bearing date the thirde Ides of June, in the yere of our Lord 633. The same pope sent letters also to the Scottis people, exhorting them to celebrate the feast of Easter in such due time as other churches of the christian world obserued. And also because the heresie of the Pelagians began to renew againe amongst them (as he was informed) he admonished them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoid it. For he knew that to the office of a pastor it is necessarilie incident, not onelie to exhort, teach, and shew his sheepe the waies to a christian life, but also stronglie to withstand all such vniust meanes, as might hinder their proceeding in the truth of religion. For as poison is vnto the bodie, that is heresie vnto veritie. And as the bodie by poison is disabled from all naturall faculties, and utterlie extinguisht, vnlesse by present meanes the force thereof be vanquished: so truth and veritie by errors and heresies is manie times choked and recouereth, but neuer strangled.

But now that the kingdome of Northumberland flourished (as before is partly touched) in happy state vnder the prosperous reigne of Edwin, at length, after he had gouerned it the space of 17 yeres, Cadwalline, or Cadwallo king of Britaine, who succeeded Caduane, as Gal. Mon. saith, rebelled against him. For so it commeth to passe, that nothing can be so sure confirmed by mans power, but the same by the like power may be againe destroyed. Penda king of Mercia enuicing the prosperous proceedings of Edwin, procured Cadwallo to moue this rebellion against Edwin: and joining his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the countrie of Northumberland iointlie together. Edwin hereof aduertised, gathered his people, & came to encounter them, so that both armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a verie sore and bloodie battell. But in the end Edwin was slaine with one of his sonnes named Osfride, and his armie beaten downe and dispersed. Also there was slaine on Edwin's part, Codbald king of Dykenie. Whereouer there was another of Edwin's sonnes named Cadfride constrained of necessitie to giue himselfe into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruellie put to death, contrarie to his promised faith in king Oswalds daies that succeeded Edwin. Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battell, fought at Hatfield afore said, on the fourth ides of October, in the yere of our Lord 633, he being then about the age of 47 yeres and bywards.

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo  
after their victorie, the Britains make no

account of religion, Archbishop Pauline with  
queen Ethelburga flee out of Northumberland in-  
to Kent, honorable personages accompanie him thi-  
ther, *Romanus* bishop of Rochester drowned, Pauline underta-  
keth the charge of that see; Ostrike is king of Deira, and Eau-  
fride king of Bernicia, both kings become apostates, and fall  
frō christianitie to paganisme, they are both slaine within lesse  
than a yeeres space; Oswald is created king of Northumber-  
land, his chiefe practise in feats of armes, Cadwallo king of  
Britaine hath him in contempt, Oswalds superstitious de-  
uotion and intercession to God against his enemies;  
both kings ioine battell; Cadwallo is slaine,  
Penda king of Mercia his notable vertues  
linked with foule vices, he maketh  
warre on whom he will with-  
out exception.

The xxvij. Chapter.



The crueltie  
of Penda and  
Cadwallo.

Cadwallo and Penda ha-  
ving obtained the victorie a-  
foresaid, used it most cruellie.  
For one of the capteins was  
a pagan, and the other want-  
ing all ciuilltie, shewed him-  
selfe more cruell than anie  
pagan could haue done. So  
that Penda being a worshipper of false gods with  
his people of Mercia; and Cadwallo hauing no re-  
spect to the christian religion which latelie was be-  
gun amongst the Northumbers, made hauocke in  
all places where they came, not sparing man, wo-  
man nor child: and so continued in their furious out-  
rage a long time in passing through the countrie, to  
the great decay and calamitie of the christian congre-  
gations in those parties. And still the christian Bri-  
tains were lesse mercifull than Penda his heathe-  
nish souldiers. For euen vnto the daies of Beda (as  
he affirmeth) the Britains made no account of the  
faith or religion of the Englishmen, nor would  
communicate with them more than with the pa-  
gans, because they differed in rites from their accu-  
stomed traditions.

The archbi-  
shop Pauline  
died into  
Kent.

When the countrie of the Northumbers was  
brought into this miserable case by the enemies in-  
uasion, the archbishop Pauline taking with him the  
quene Ethelburga, whom he had brought thither,  
returned now againe with hie by water into Kent,  
where he was honorablie receiued of the archbishop  
Honorius, and king Cadbald. Here came thither in the  
conduct of one Ballus a valiant man of warre; ha-  
uing with him Caufride the daughter, and Eulfrida  
the sonne of Edwin, & also Iffi the sonne of Ostrike  
Edwins sonne, whom their mother after for feare of  
the kings Edbold and Oswold did send into France  
where they died. The church of Rochester at that time  
was destitute of a bishop, by the death of Romanus,  
who being sent to Rome vnto pope Honorius, was  
drowned by the way in the Italian seas. Where vpon  
at the request of archbishop Honorius, and king  
Cadbald, Pauline took vpon him the charge of that  
see, and held it till he died.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 1.  
Ostrike  
king of  
Deira.

Caufride king  
of Mercia.

After it was knowne that Edwin was slaine  
in battell (as before ye haue heard) Ostrike the  
sonne of his vnckle Ostrike took vpon him the rule  
of the kingdome of Deira, which had receiued the sa-  
crament of baptisme by the preaching and vertuous  
instruction of Pauline. But the other kingdome of  
Northumberland called Bernicia, Caufride the son  
of Eadfrid or Eadfride, took vpon him to governe.  
This Caufride during the time of Edwin's reigne,  
had continued in Scotland, and there being conuer-  
ted to the christian faith was baptised. But both these

princes, after they had obtained possession of their  
earthly kingdoms, did forget the care of the heauen-  
ly kingdome, so that they returned to their old kind  
of idolatrie. But almightie God did not long suf-  
fer this their vnthankfulness without iust punish-  
ment: for first in the next summer, when Ostrike had  
rashly besieged Cadwallo king of the Britains,  
within a certaine towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon  
him, and finding him vnprepared to make resis-  
tance, slue him with all his armie. Now after this,  
whilst Cadwallo not like a conqueror gouerned the  
prouinces of the Northumbers, but like a tyrant was  
sted and destroyed them, in slaing the people in tra-  
gicall manner, he also slue Caufride, the which with  
twelue men of warre came vndersecretlie vnto him  
to sue for peace: and thus within lesse than twelue  
moneths space both these runagate kings were dis-  
patched.

The two  
kings of North-  
umbria slaine.

Then Oswald the sonne of Eadfrid, and hys  
ther to the foresaid Caufride was created king  
of the Northumbers, the first in number from Ida.  
This Oswald after that his father was slaine, liued  
as a banished person a long time within Scotland,  
where he was baptised, and professed the christian re-  
ligion, and passed the flower of his youth in god ex-  
ercises, both of mind & bodie. Amongst other things  
he practised the vnderstanding of warlike know-  
ledge, minding so to vse it as it might stand him in  
stead to defend himselfe from iniurie of the enemies  
that should prouoke him, and not otherwise. Here  
vnto Cadwallo king of the Britains made in manner  
no account of him: for by reason that he had achie-  
ued such great victories against the Englishmen,  
and hauing slaine their two kings (as before is ex-  
pressed) he ceased not to proceed in his tyrannicall  
doings; reputing the English people for slouthfull,  
and not apt to the warre, boasting that he was borne  
to their destruction. Thus being set vp in pride of cou-  
rage, he feared no perils, but boldlie (without confide-  
ring at all the full knowledge which Oswald had  
sufficientlie learned in feates of war) took vpon him  
to assaile the foresaid Oswald, that had brought an  
armie against him, and was encamped in a plaine  
field nere vnto the wall which the Romans haue build-  
ed in times past against the inuasion of Scots and  
Picts.

Oswald  
began his  
reigne in the  
yeare 635.  
Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 3.

Cadwallo straight prouoked Oswald to trie the  
matter by battell, but Oswald forbore the first day,  
and caused a crosse to be erected in the same place  
where he was incamped, in full hope that it should be  
an ensigne or trophie of his victorie, causing all sould-  
iers to make their prayers to God, that in time of  
such necessitie it might please him to succour them  
that worship him. It is said, that the crosse being  
made, and the hole digged wherein it should be set, he  
took the crosse in his owne hands, and putting the  
foot thereof into that hole, so held it till his souldiers  
had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: and then cau-  
sed all the souldiers to kneele downe vpon their  
knees, and to make intercession to the true and li-  
uing God for his assistance against the proud eni-  
mie, with whom they should fight in a iust quarrell for  
the preservation of their people and countrie.

After this, on the next morning he boldlie gaue  
battell to his enemies, so that a sore and cruell fight  
infused betwixt them. At length Oswald perceiued  
that the Britains began somewhat to faint, and ther-  
fore caused his people to renew their force, and  
more lustilie to presse forward, so that first he put  
that most cruell enimie to flight, and after pursuing  
the chase ouertooke him, and slue him with the most  
part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place  
called Dentisborne, but the place where he caused the  
crosse to be erected he named Heuenfield. Thus Cad-  
wallo

Beda.  
Wil. Malm.

wallo the most cruell enimie of the English name ended his life: he was terrible both in nature and countenance, for the which cause they say the Britains did afterwards set vp his image, that the same might be a terror to the enemies when they should behold it.

¶ But here is to be remembred by the British history of Gal. Mon. it should appeare that Cadwallo was not slaine at all, but reigned victoriously for the space of 48 yeres, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it shall appeere. But for that the contrarietie in writers in such points may sooner be percelued than reformed, to the satisfieng of mens fantasies which are variable, we will leaue euery man to his libertie to thinke as seemeth him good, noting now and then the diuersities of such writers, as occasion serueth.

Penda.  
636

Penda the sonne of Milba succeeded in the gouernement of the kingdome of Mercia after Cearl, and began his reigne in the yere of our Lord 636. He was fiftie yeres of age before he came to be king, and reigned 30 yeres, he was a prince right hardie and aduenturous, not fearing to iopard his person in place of danger, assured and ready of remembrance in time of greatest perill. His bodie could not be overcome with anie trauell, nor his mind banquished with greatnesse of businesse. But these his vertues were matched with notable vices, as first with such bitternesse of manners as had not bene heard of, crueltie of nature, lacke of courtesie, great vnstedfastnesse in performing of word and promise, and of vnmeasurable hatred toward the christian religion.

Now upon confidence in these his great vertues and vices from that time he was made king (as though the whole Ile had bene due to him) he thought not good to let anie occasion passe that was offered to make war, as wel against his friends & confederats, as also against his owne sworne enemies. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and moze shall appeare hereafter. ¶ Of the kings of the East Saxons & East Angles ye haue heard before: of whom in places convenient ye shall find further mention also, and so likewise of the kings of the South Saxons: but because their kingdom continued not past fise successions, little remembrance of them is made by writers.

Cadwallo king of Britain, diuers deeds of his as the British writers haue recorded them, wherevpon discord arose betweene Cadwallo & Edwin, who for two yeres space were linked in friendship, Cadwallo vanquisheth his flight, of Pelitus the Spanish wizard, Cadwallo ouerthroweth Penda and his power besieging Excester, he arreareth battell against the Northumbers, and killeth Edwin their king, he seeketh to expell the Saxons out of the land, Penda slaueth Oswald, whose brother and successor Oslunus by gifts and submission obtreinet peace, whom Penda spitefullie attempting to kill is killed himselfe, Cadwallo dieth, a brazen image on horsebacke set vp in his memoriall, saint Martins at Ludgate builded.

### The xxviij. Chapter.

Cadwallo,  
or Cadwalline.  
635.



Cadwallo or Cadwalline, (for we find him so named) began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 635, in the yere of the reigne of the emperour Heraclens 35, and in the 13 yere of Dagobert B. of France, Of this man ye haue heard partlie before touching his dealings and warres against the Northumbers,

and other of the English nation: but forsomuch as diuers other things are reported of him by the British writers, we haue thought good in this place to rehearse the same in part, as in Gal. Mon. we find written, leauing the credit still with the author, sith the truth thereof may be the more suspected, because other authors of good authoritie, as Beda, Henric Huntingdon, William Malmesburie, and others seme greatlie to disagree from him herein. But thus it is written.

This Cadwallo and Edwin the sonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride saith, were brought up in France, being sent thither vnto Salomon king of Britaine, by king Cadwanc, when they were verie young. Now after their returne into this land, when they were made kings, Cadwallo of the Britains, & Edwin of the Northumbers, there continued for the space of two yeres great friendship betwixt them, till at length Edwin requiered of Cadwallo that he might weare a crowne, and celebrate appointed solemnities within his dominion of Northumberland, as well as Cadwallo did in his countrie. Cadwallo taking aduice in this matter, at length by perswasion of his nephew Brian, denied to grant vnto Edwin his request, wherewith Edwin toke such displeasure, that he sent word vnto Cadwallo, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, sith he would not willingly grant it. Wherto Cadwallo answered, that if he so did, he would cut off his head vnder his diadem, if he presumed to weare anie within the confines of Britaine. Herof discording betwixt these two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them against the other, and at length joining in battell with their maine forces, Cadwallo lost the field, with many thousands of his men, and being chased fled into Scotland, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally passed the seas into Britaine Armoike, where, of his cousin king Salomon he was courteously receiued, and at length obtained of him 10000 men to go with him backe into his countrie, to assist him in recouerie of his landes & dominions, the which in the meane time were cruellie spoiled, wasted and haried by king Edwin.

At the same time Brian the nephew of Cadwallo, whom he had sent into Britaine a little before to sea a certaine wizard or southsayer, whom king Edwin had gotten out of Spaine named Pelitus, that by disclosing the purpose of Cadwallo vnto Edwin, greatlie hindered Cadwallos enterprises, had fortified the citie of Excester, meaning to defend it till the coming of Cadwallo, wherupon Penda king of Mercia besieged that citie with a mightie army, purposing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertised hereof, immediatlie after his arriuall hasted to Excester, and diuiding his people in 4 parts, set vpon his enemies, toke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other shift to escape, submitted himselfe whole vnto Cadwallo, promising to become his liegeman, to fight against the Saxons in his quarrell. Penda being thus subdued, Cadwallo called his nobles together which had bene dispersed abroad a long season, & with all speed went against Edwin king of Northumberland, and slue him in battell at Hatfield (as before is mentioned) with his son Alfride, and Godbold king of the Isles of Orkney, which was come thither to his aid.

¶ By this it should appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amisse in the account of the reignes of the British kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwin was slaine in the yere of our Lord 634. And where Fabian (as before is said) attributeth that act & diuers other vnto Cadwanc the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda with the most part

Edwin was not crowned, Ethelfred reigned to 211, as in other places please appear.

Cadwallo banquished by Edwin.

Cadwallo slayeth Brian.

part of all other writers signifie that it was done by Cadwallo. Harding assigneth but 12 yeres to the reigne of Cadwallo, and declareth that he died in the yere of our Lord 616, in the which (as he saith) Cadwallo began his reigne, which opinion of his seemeth best to agree with that which is written by other authors. But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we find them recorded in the British storie. After he had got this victorie against the Northumbers, he cruelly pursued the Saxons, as though he ment so farre as in him lay, to destroye the whole race of them out of the coasts of all Britaine: and sending Penda against king Oswald that succeeded Edwin, though at the first Penda received the overthrow at Heaenfeld, yet afterwards Cadwallo himselfe highly displeased with that chance, pursued Oswald, and fought with him at a place called Bourne, where Penda slue the said Oswald. Whereupon his brother Almus succeeding in government of the Northumbers, sought the fauour of Cadwallo now ruling as king ouer all Britaine, and at length by great gifts of gold and siluer, and vpon his humble submission, obtained peace, till at length vpon spite, Penda king of Mercia obtained licence of Cadwallo to make warres against the said Almus, in the which (as it hapned) Penda himselfe was slaine. Then Cadwallo after two yeres granted that Alfridus the sonne of Penda should succeed in Mercia.

Cadwallo slaine

Howe.  
West.  
654

678  
Howe.  
West.  
676

Thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appointment within this land. And finally when he had reigned 48 yeres, he departed this life the 22 of Nouember. His bodie being embalmed and dressed with sweet confections, was put into a brazen image by marvellous art melted and cast, which image being set on a brazen horse of excellent beaultie, the Britains set vp aloft vpon the west gate of London called Ludgate, in signe of his conquests, and for a terror to the Saxons. Whereouer the church of St. Martin vnderneath the same gate, was by the Britains then builded. Thus haue the Britains made mention of their valiant prince Cadwallo, but diuerse thinke that much of this historie is but fables, because of the manifest barieng both from Beda and other autentike writers (as before I haue said.)

The true storie of the forenamed king Oswald, his desire to restore christian religion, Cormans preaching taking small effect among the Northumbers, persuadeth him to depart into his owne countie, helandereth them before the Scottish clergie, Aidan a godlie man telleth the cause of the peoples not profiting by Cormans preaching, Aidan cometh into England to instruct the people in the faith, he varieth in the obseruation of Easter from the English churches custome, the Northumbers haue him & his doctrine in reuerence, Oswalds earnest zeale to further religion by Aidans preaching and ministerie, 15000 baptised within 7 daies, Oswald hath the Britains, Scots, Picts, & English at his commandement, his commendable deed of christian charitie, the West Saxons conuerted to the faith by the preaching of Birinus, king Kinigils is baptised, he maketh Birinus bishop of Dorchester, Penda king of Mercia maketh war against the christian kings of the West Saxons, both sides after a bloudie battell fall to agreement, Ercombert the first English king that destroyed idols throughout the whole land, he ordeineth Lent; why English men became monks, and English women nunnies in monasteries beyond the seas; why Penda king of Mercia cunieth virtuous king Oswald, he is assaulted, slaine in battell, and canonized a saint after his death.

### The xxix. Chapter.



Now will we (after all these differing discourses of the British chronologers) approach and draw as nere as we can to the truth of the historie touching Oswald king of the Northumbers, of

whom we find, that after he had tasted of Gods high fauour extended to himwards, in vanquishing his enemies, as one minding to be thankfull therefore, he was desirous to restore the christian faith through his whole kingdome, sore lamenting the decay thereof within the same, and therefore euen in the beginning of his reigne, he sent vnto Donwald the Scottish king (with whom he had bene brought vp in the time of his banishment the space of 18 yeres, requiring him to haue some learned Scottishman sent vnto him, skilfull in preaching the word of life, that with godly sermons and wholesome instructions, he might conuert the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promising to intertaine him with such provision as appertained.

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At his instance, there was sent vnto him one Cozoman, a clerke singularly well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted such facility, and plaine vtterance by waie of gentle persuaading, as is requisite in him that shall instruct the simple, onelie setting forth in his sermons high mysteries, and matters of such profound knowledge, as the verie learned might scarce perceiue the perfect sense and meaning of his talke, his trauell came to small effect, so that after a yeres remaining there, he returned into his countie, declaring amongst his brethren of the cleargie, that the people of Northumberland was a stouward, stubborne and stiff-hearted generation, whose minds he could not frame by any good meanes of persuaasion to receiue the christian faith: so that he iudged it lost labour to spend more time amongst them, being so vthankfull and intractable a people, as no good might be done vnto them.

Amongst other learned and vertuous prelates of the Scots, there chanced one to be there present at the same time called Aidan, a man of so perfect life, that (as Beda writeth) he taught no other wise than he liued, having no regard to the cares of this world, but what soeuer was giuen him by kings or men of wealth and riches, that he freely bestowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to do the like. This Aidan hearing Cozmans words, perceiued anon that the fault was not so much in the people as in the teacher, and therefore declared, that (as he thought) although it were so that the people of Northumberland gaue no such attentiu eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Cozoman, as his godlie expectation was they should haue done, yet might it be that his vttering of ouer manie mysticall articles amongst them, farre aboue the capacitie of the vnderstanding of simple men, was the cause why they so lightly regarded his diuine instructions, whereas if he had according to the counsell of Saint Paule at the first ministered vnto their tender vnderstandings, onelie milke, without harder nourishments, he might hapilie haue wonne a farre greater number of them vnto the receiuing of the faith, and so haue framed them by little and little to haue digested stronger food. And therefore he thought it necessarie in discharge of their duties towards God, and to satisfie the earnest zeale of king Oswald, that some one amongst them might be appointed to go againe into Northumberland, to trie by proceeding in this manner afore alledged, what profit would thereof issue.

The bishops hearing the opinion of Aidan, and therewith knowing Cozmans manner of preaching, iudged the matter to be as Aidan had declared, and thereupon not onelie allowed his words, but also willed him to take the iourne vpon him, with they knew none so able with effect to accomplish their wished desires in that behalfe. Aidan, for that he would not seeme to refuse to take that in hand which he himselfe had motioned, was contented to satisfie their request, and so set forward towards Northumberland,

Oswald meaneth to be thankfull to God for his benefits. Beda l. 3. cap. 3. 5. 6. Hecker Boet.

Cozoman.

Aidan.

S. Pauls council.

Aidan cometh into England to preach the gospel.

berland, and coming thither, was iofullie receiued of king Oswald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the see of his new bishopricke.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 3.  
Hector Boet.

This Aidan in one point varied from the vse of the new begun church of England, that is to say, touching the time of obseruing the feast of Easter, in like maner as all the bishops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in those daies did, following therein (as they take it) the doctrine of the holie and praise-worthy father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the south parts of Ireland, already were agreed to obserue that feast, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Wherebeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himselfe so earnestlie in praier and preaching, that the people had him within short while in wonderfull estimation, chiefele for that he tempered his preachings with such sweet and pleasant matter, that all men had a great desire to heare him, insomuch that sometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, because the audience was more than could haue room in the church.

Beda.  
Oswald an  
interpreter to  
the preacher.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon tongue. But Oswald himselfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who being desirous of nothing so much, as to haue the faith of Christ rooted in the hearts of his subjects, vsed as an interpreter: to report vnto the people in their Saxon tongue, such whole sermons as Aidan uttered in his mother tongue. For Oswald hauing bene brought up (as ye haue hard) in Scotland during the time of his banishment, was as readie in the Scottish, as he was in the Saxon tongue. The people then seeing the kings earnest desire in furthering the doctrine set forth by Aidan, were the more inclined to heare it: so that it was a marvellous matter to note, that numbers of people daile offered themselves to be baptised, insomuch that within the space of seven daies (as is left in writing) he christened 15 thousand persons, of the which no small part forsaking the world, betooke themselves to a solitarie kind of life.

Hector Boet.

Oswald  
zeale to ad-  
uance religion

Beda lib. 5. ca. 6

Oswald had  
in estimation  
such his  
neighbours.

Thus by his earnest trauell in continuall preaching and setting forth the gospell in that countrie, it came to passe in the end, that the faith was generally receiued of all the people, and such zeale to aduance the glorie of the christian religion daile increased amongst them, that no where could be found greater. Whereupon were no small number of churches built in all places abroad in those parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie consenting (according to the rate of their substance) to be contributorie towards the charges. By this meanes the kingdom of the Northumbers flourished, as well in fame of increase in religion, as also in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: insomuch that (as Beda writeth) Oswald attained to such power, that all the nations and provinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure tongues (that is to say) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Englishmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted up in anie pride or presumption, but shewed himselfe marvellous courteous and gentle, and verie liberrall to poore people and strangers.

It is said, that he being set at the table vpon an Easter day, & hauing bishop Aidan at dinner then with him, his almoner came in as the bishop was about to say grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks set before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king here with toke a silver dish, which was set on the table before him with meate, & commanded the same meate straightwaies to be distributed amongst the poore, & the dish

broken into small peeces, and diuided amongst them: for which act he was highlie commended of the bishop, as he well deserved. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had bene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

About the same time, the West Saxons were conuerted to the christian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a bishop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to set forth the gospell vnto those people which as yet were not baptised. By those diligent trauell in the Lords haruest, Cingils or Kingils, one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptised about the five & twentieth yeere of his reigne, is. Oswald that should haue had his daughter in marriage, was present the same time, who first yet he became a sonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kingils (that should be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontaine, in that his second birth of regeneration. So this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kingils (now that he was become a conuert or christian) appointed and assigned the citie of Dorchester, situate by the Thames, distant from Dorset about seuen miles, to be the see of his bishopricke, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earnest trauell & setting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beliefe. In the yeere following, Quichelmus the other king of the West Saxons, and sonne to Kingils was also christened, and died the same yeere, and so Cingilsus or Kingils reigned alone.

In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that succeeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to seeke trouble in one place or other, leaued warre against the kings of Westsaxon, Kingils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Cirencester, where both the parties fought it out to the bittermost, as though they had sworn to giue place one to another, insomuch that they continued in fight and making of cruell slaughter till the night parted them in sunder. And in the morning, when they saw that if they should buckle together againe, the one part should utterly destitute the other, they fell to agreement in moderating each others demands.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 640, Caddald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, leaving his kingdom to his sonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the first of the English kings, which toke order for the utter destruction of all idols throughout his whole kingdom. He also by his totall authoritie commanded the fast of fourtie daies in the Lent season to be kept and obserued, appointing worthy and competent punishment against the transgressors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the East Angles, a daughter named Eartongatha, a professed nunne within the monasterie of Biege or Cala in France: for in those daies, because there were not manie monasteries builded within this land, a great number of Englishmen, that toke vpon them the profession of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there professed themselves monks: and manie there were which sent their daughters ouer to be professed nuns within the nunneries there, and speciallie at Biege, Cala, and Andelie: amongst other, there were Seorike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the bastard daughter of the said king Anna, both which in procelle of time were made abbeesses of the said monasterie of Biege.

We haue heard already, how Oswald king of Northumberland bare himselfe in all points like a most worthy prince, not ceasing to reuerence the ne-

Beda lib. 3. ca. 3.  
Hector Boet.

Oswald  
zeale to ad-  
uance religion

Beda lib. 5. ca. 6

Oswald had  
in estimation  
such his  
neighbours.

Oswald  
zeale to ad-  
uance religion

Oswald  
zeale to ad-  
uance religion

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Oswald  
zeale to ad-  
uance religion



Penda king of Northumberland, slain by Oswin king of Northumberland, anno 642.

cellitie of the poe, aduancing the good, and reforming the euill, whereby he wan to himselfe erecting praise and commendation of all good men, and still his fame increased for his vertuous doings; namelie, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the christian faith. Hereupon Penda king of Mercia, enuiling the prosperous proceedings of Oswin, as he that could neuer abide the good report of other mens well-doings, began to imagine how to destroe him, and to conquire his kingdome, that he might ioine it to his owne. At length he inuaded his cuntry by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maserfeld, and there in sharpe and cruell fight Oswin was slaine on the first day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 642, and in the 38 yeare of his age, after he had reigned the tearme of eight or nine yeares after some, which account that yeare vnto his reigne, in the which his predecessors Oswike and Eufride reigned, whome they number not amongst kings, because of their wicked apostasie and renouncing of the faith which before they had professed. Such was the end of that vertuous prince king Oswin, being cruellie slaine by that wicked tyrant Penda. Afterwards, for the opinion conceived of his holinesse, the foresaid Oswin was canonized a saint, and had in great worship of the people, being the first of the English nation that appeared his vertue by miracles shewed after his departure out of this life.

Oswin succeedeth Oswin in the kingdome of Northumberland, he is sore vexed by Penda, Oswin and Oswin are partners in gouernement, they fall at strife, Oswin is betraied into the hands of Oswin and slaine, a commendation of his personage and goodlie qualities, bishop Aidan dieth, Cenwalch king of the Westsaxons, Penda maketh warre against him for putting away his wife, his flight, he becometh a christian and recouereth his kingdome, bishop Agilbert cometh into Westsaxon, and afterwards departing (vpon occasion) is made bishop of Paris, Wini buieth the bishoprike of London, Sigibert king of the Eastangles, the vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by him, he resigneth his kingdome and becometh a monke, he and his kinsman Egrie are slaine in a skirmish against Penda king of Mercia.

### The xxx. Chapter.

Oswin king of Northumberland, slain by Penda king of Mercia, anno 642.



After that king Oswin was slaine, his brother Oswin (being about 30 yeares of age) toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, gouerning the same with great trouble for the space of 28 yeares, being sore vexed by the foresaid Penda king of Mercia and his people, which as yet were pagans. In the first yeare of his reigne, which was in the yeare of our Lord 644. Pauline the bishop of Rochester which had bene also archbishop of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Englishman of the parties of Kent was ordeined bishop of Rochester by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. King Oswin had one Oswin partener with him in gouernment of the Northumbers in the first beginning of his reigne, which was sonne to Oswike, so that Oswin gouerned in Bernicia, and Oswin in Deira, continuing in perfect friendship for a season, till at length, through the counsell of wicked persons, that coueted nothing so much as to sowe discord and variance betwixt princes, they fell at debate, and so began to make warres one against another, so that finally when they were at point to

haue tried their quarrell in open battell, Oswin perceiuing that he had not an armie of sufficient force to incounter with Oswin, brake vp his campe at Maserfeldowne, ten mile by west the towne of Cataracton, and after withdrew himselfe onelie with one seruant named Condhere vnto the house of earle Hunwald, whome he toke to haue bene his trustie friend: but contrarie to his expectation, the said Hunwald did betraie him vnto Oswin, who by his captaine Edelwine slue the said Oswin and his seruant the foresaid Condhere, in a place called Ingethling, the 13 kalends of September, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, which was after the birth of our Saviour 651.

This Oswin was a goodlie gentleman of person, tall, and beautifull, and verie gentle of speech, ciuill in manners, and verie liberall both to high & low, so that he was beloued of all. Such a one he was, to be briefe, as bishop Aidan gessed that he should not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not worthe of so good and vertuous a gouernour. Such humblenesse and obedience he perceiued to rest in him towards the law of the Lord, in taking that which was told him for his better instruction in god part, that he said, he neuer saw before that time an humble king. The same Aidan liued not past 12 daies after the death of the said Oswin, whome he so much loued, departing this world the last daie of August, in the leuenteenth yeare after he was ordeined bishop. His bodie was buried in the Ile of Lindesferne. After Aidan, one Finan was made bishop in his place, a Scottisshman also, and of the Ile of Hui, from whence his predecessor the foresaid Aidan came, being first a man of religion professed in the monasterie there (as some writers doe report.)

In the meane time, after that Kingdome of Kent, Agilbert king of the Westsaxons had reigned 31 yeares, he departed this life Anno 643, leauing his kingdome to his sonne Cenwalch or Chentwald, who held the same kingdome the tearme of 30 yeares, or 31 (as some writte) in manner as his father had done before him. In the third, or (as others saie) in the first yeare of his reigne, Penda king of Mercia made sharpe warre against him, because he had put awaie his wife the sister of the said Penda, and in this warre Chentwald was overcome in battell, & driuen out of his cuntry, so that he fled vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, with whome he remained the space of a yeare, or (as other say) thre yeares, to his great good hap: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the christian religion, but now by the wholesome admonitions and sharpe rebukes of king Anna, he became a christian, and receiued his wife againe into his companie, according to the prescript of Gods law, and (to be briefe) in all things shewed himselfe a new man, embracing vertue, & auoiding vice, so that shortly after (through the helpe of God) he recouered againe his kingdome.

Now when he was established in the same, there came a bishop named Agilbertus out of Ireland, a Frenchman borne (but hauing remained in Ireland a long time) to reade the scriptures. This Agilbert coming into the prouince of the Westsaxons, was gladlie receiued of king Chentwald, at whose desire he toke vpon him to exercise the roome of a bishop there: but afterwards, when the said king admitted another bishop named Wini, which had bene ordeined in France, and knew the tong better than Agilbert, as he that was borne in England: Agilbert offended, for that the king had admitted him without making him of anie counsell there in, returned into France, and there was made bishop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foresaid Wini was

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Cenwalch. Hen. Hunt.

943

Ran. Higd.

Similia.

nt was expelled also by king Chenwald, who got him into Mercia unto king Tulfhere, of whom he bought the bishopricke of London, which he held during his life, and so the countie of Westsaxon remained long without a bishop, till at length the said Agilbert at the request of king Chenwald sent to him Clutherus that was his nephew.

*Sigibert.*

Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 4.

The printer-  
frie of Cam-  
bridge found-  
ed by king  
Sigibert.

Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 6.

Sigibert re-  
signed his  
kingdome to  
Egrius.

Sigibert and  
Egrius  
died.

652.  
Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 19.  
Furcus.

**Y**et haue heard that after Carpwald, his brother Sigibert succeeded in rule of the East Angles, a man of great vertue and worthinesse, who whilst he remained in France as a banished man, being constrained to flee his countie upon displeasure that king Redwald bare him, was baptised there, and after returning into his countie, and obtaining at length the kingdome, those things which he had seen well ordered in France, he studied to follow the example of the same at home, and hereupon considering with himselfe that nothing could more aduance the state of the common-wealth of his countie than learning & knowledge in the tongues, began the foundation of certeine scholes, and namely at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought by in learning vnder appointed teachers, that there might be greater numbers of learned men trained by than before time had bene within this land, to the furtherance of true religion and vertue.

So that England hath good cause to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble prince king Sigibert, for all those his learned men which haue bin brought by & come forth of that famous vniuersitie of Cambridge, the first foundation or rather renouation thereof was thus begun by him about the yeare of our Lord 630. At length when this worthy king began to grow in age, he considered with himselfe how hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a realme as appertained to the dutie of a good king, whereupon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yeres, and to liue from thenceforth a priuat kind of life, and so resigning the administration unto his kinsman Egrius, he became a monke, and led the rest of his life in a certeine abbey.

Shortlie after it so came to passe that Penda king of Mercia (that cruell ethnike tyrant) made sore warres vpon Egrius, whereupon the people of East Angles compelled Sigibert to come forth of his monasterie, & to go with them into the fielde against Penda. Sigibert being thus constrained against his will, would not put on armour or beare anie other kind of weapon, than onlie a wand in his hand in stead of a scepter, and so the armie of the East Angles in hope of good speed by the presence of Sigibert, joined in battell with their enemies, but the East Angles were finally vanquished, and the more part of them slaine, together with Sigibert and his cosen Egrius their king. This happened in the yere after the birth of our Sauour (as some haue noted) 652.

In the daies whilst Sigibert as yet ruled the East Angles, there came out of Ireland a deuout person named Furcus, who coming into the countie of the East Angles, was gladly receiued of king Sigibert, by whose helpe afterwards he builded the abbey of Cumburge, in the which Sigibert (as some haue written) when he renounced his kingdome, was professed a monke. Of this Furcus many things are written, the which I briefely will not passe. After that Felix the bishop of the East Angles was dead, one Thomas was ordeined in his place, who after he had bene bishop five yeres, died, and then one Beresgils was ordeined in his roome by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. The said Honorius himselfe when he had run the race of

his naturall life, deceased also the last of September in the yere of our Lord 653.

Anna king of East Angles is slaine by Penda king of Mercia, his brother succeeding him is slaine also by Oswie king of Northumberland, the Mercians or Middle Angles receive the faith vnder vertuous Peda their prince, he requesteth Alchfled the king of Northumberland's daughter in marriage, he is baptised by bishop Finnan, by whose meanes the East Saxons embraced christian religion vnder Sigibert their king, he is murdered of two brethren that were his kinsmen vpon a conceived hatred against him for his good and christian life, how dangerous it is to keepe companie with an excommunicate person, the authoritie of a bishop.

### The xxxj. Chapter.



**A**fter Egrius succeeded Anna, Anna the sonne of Enus in the kingdome of East Angles, and was likewise slaine by Penda king of Mercia, with the most part of his armie, as he gaue battell vnto the said Penda that invaded his countie. He left behind him manie children, but his brother Eadhere succeeded him in gouernment of the kingdome, who was slaine by Oswie the king of Northumberland, together with the foresaid Penda, and worhtilie, sith he would aid that tyrant which had slaine his kinsman and his brother that were predecessors with him in his kingdome. After this, when the see of Canturburie had bene vacant by the space of one whole yere and six moneths, one Deus dedit of the countie of the West Saxons, was elected and consecrated by Thamar the bishop of Rochester, on the 7 kalends of Aprill. He gouerned the church of Canturburie by the tearme of nine yeres, foure moneths, and two daies. When he was departed this life, the foresaid Thamar consecrated for him one Damianus of the countie of Suffex.

About this time, the people of Mercia commonly called Middle Angles, receiued the christian faith vnder their king named Peda or Pedda, the sonne of Penda king of Mercia, who being a towardlie young gentleman, and worhtie to haue the guiding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduanced him to the rule of that kingdome of the Middle Angles during his owne life. [Where maie you note, that the kingdome of the Middle Angles was one, and the kingdome of Mercia another, though most commonlie the same were gouerned by one king.] This young Peda came to Oswie king of Northumberland, requirring of him to haue his daughter Alchfled in marriage: but when he was informed that he might not haue her except he would become a christian, then vpon hearing the gospell preached, with the promise of the celestiall ioyes and immortallitie, by the resurrection of the flesh in the life to come, he said that whether he had king Oswies daughter to wife or not, he would surely be baptised; and chieflie he was perswaded thereunto by his kinsman Alchfled, who had in marriage his sister the daughter of Penda named Cimburch.

Wherefore he was baptised by bishop Finnan, with all those which came thither with him, at a place called Aethel wall, and taking with him some priests which were thought meete to teach and baptise his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countie. The names of those priests were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Denna, of the which the last was a Scot by nation, and the other were Englishmen.

The coming of  
king Penda.

Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 22.

King Sig-  
bert received  
baptism.

King Sig-  
bert re-  
turned into  
his countrie.

Cedda.

Cedda  
bishop of the  
East Saxons.

Cedda.

glifmen. These priests coming into the prouince of the middleangles, preached the word, and were well heard, so that daile a great number of the nobilitie & commonaltie renouncing the filthie doggs of idolatrie, were christened. Neither did king Penda forbid the preaching of the gospell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather hated and despised those whome he knew to haue professed themselves christians, and yet shewed not the worke of faith, saing, that those were wretches and not to be regarded, which would not obie their God in whome they believed. This alteration of things began, about two yeres before the death of king Penda.

About the same time, the Eastsaxons at the instance of Oswie king of Northumberland, received assistance the faith which they had renounced, when they banished their bishop Melitus. We haue heard that Sbert, Sward, and Sigbert brethren, and the sonnes of king Sabert (which brethren occasioned the revolting of that prouince from the faith of Christ) were slaine in battell by the kings of Westsaxon, after whome succeeded Sigbert surnamed the little sonne to the middlemost brother Sward, as some write. This Sigbert the little left the kingdome to another Sigbert that was sonne to one Sigebald the brother of king Sabert, which second Sigbert reigned as king in that prouince of the Eastsaxons, being a most especiall friend of king Oswie, so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberland to visit him, wherupon king Oswie ceased not most earnestlie at times conuenient to exhort him to receive the faith of Iesus Christ, and in the end by such effectuall perswasions as he used, Sigbert gaue credit to his words, and so being converted, received the sacrament of baptism by the hands of bishop Finnan, at the kings house called, At the wall, so named, because it was built nere to the wall which the Romans had made ouerthwart the Ile, as is often before remembred, being twelue miles distant from the east sea.

King Sigbert hauing now received the christian faith, when he should returne into his countrie, required king Oswie to appoint him certeine instructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Christ. King Oswie desirous to satisfie his request, sent vnto the prouince of the middleangles, calling from thence that vertuous man Cedda, and assigning vnto him another priest to be his associat, sent them vnto the prouince of the Eastsaxons, there to preach the christian faith vnto the people. And when they had preached & taught through the whole countrie, to the great increase and enlarging of the church of Christ, it chanced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberland to conferre of certeine things with bishop Finnan which kept his see at Lindesferne, where vnderstanding by Cedda the great fruits which it had pleased God to prosper vnder his hands, in advancing the faith among the Eastsaxons, he called to him two other bishops, and there ordeined the foresaid Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Whereupon, the same Cedda returned vnto his cure, went forward with more authoritie to performe the worke of the Lord, & building churches in diuerse places, ordeined priests and deacons which might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministration of baptising, speciallie in the citie of Thancester vpon the riuer of Trent, and likewise in Eileburge on the riuer of Thames. Whilest Ced was thus buile to the great comfort and ioy of the king and all his people, in the setting forward of the christian religion with great increase daile proceeding, it chanced thorough the instigation of the deuill, the common enemy of mankind, that king Sigbert was murthe-

red by two of his owne kinsmen who were brethren, the which when they were examined of the cause, that should moue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it because they had conceived an hatred against the king, for that he was so fauourable towards his enemies, and would with great mildnesse of mind forgive inuirtuos committed against him: such was the kings fault for the which he was murdered, because he obserued the commandements of the gospell with a deuout hart.

Notwithstanding, in this his innocent death, his offense was punished, wherein he had suerlie transgressed the lawes of the church. For whereas one of them which slue him kept a wife, whome he had unlawfully married, and refused to put her away at the bishops admonition, he was by the bishop excommunicated, and all other of the christian congregation commanded to abstaine from his companie. This notwithstanding, the king being desired of him came to his house to a banquet, and in his coming from thence met with the bishop, whome when the king beheld, he was afraid, and alighted from his horse, and fell downe at his feet, beseeching him of pardon for his offense. The bishop, which also was on horsebacke likewise alighted, and touching the king with his rod which he had in his hand, as one something displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie of a bishop, spake these words, Because (saith he) thou wouldst not abstaine from entering the house of that wicked person being accursed, thou shalt die in the same house: and so it came to passe.

The authoritie of a bishop.

Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons, he is baptised, the bishoplike exercises of Ced in his native countrie of Northumberland; Ediswald K. of Deira reuerenceth him, the kings deuout mind to further and enlarge religion; the manner of consecrating a place appointed for a holie use; the old order of fasting in Lent, bishop Ced dieth; warre betweene Oswie and Penda, Oswie maketh a vow to dedicate his daughter a perpetuall virgin to God if he got the victorie, he obteineth his request and performeth his vow, the liuerth, dieth, and is buried in a monastrie, the benefit insuing Oswies conquest ouer his enemies, the first second and third bishops of Mercia, the victorious proceeding of king Oswie, prince Penda his kinsman murdered by his wife.

### The xxxij. Chapter.

After Sigbert succeeded Suidhelme in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, he was the son of Sverbald, and baptised of Ced in the prouince of the Eastangles, at a place of the kings there called Rendlesham. Ediswald king of the Eastangles (the brother of king Anna) was his godfather at the fontstone. Ced the bishop of the Eastsaxons used oftentimes to visit his countrie of Northumberland where he was borne, and by preaching exhorted the people to goodlie life. Whereupon it chanced that king Ediswald the son of king Oswie which reigned in the parties of Deira, moued with the fame of his vertuous trade of living, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good eale and great deuotion, willed him to chole forth some plot of ground where he might build a monastrie, in the which the king himselfe and others might praye, heare sermons the oftener, and haue place where to burie the dead. The bishop consenting to the kings mind, at length espyed a place amongst high and desert

Suidhelme.

Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 22.  
Matt. V. 28.

Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 23.

fert mounteins, where he began the foundation of a monasterie, afterwards called L. cillinghem.

Therefore meaning first of all to purge the place with praier & fasting, he asked leaue of the king that he might remaine there all the Lent, which was at hand, and so continuing in that place for that time, fasted euerie daie (sundaie excepted) from the morning untill euening, according to the maner, nor receiued anie thing then but onlie a little bread, and a hens eg, with a little milke mixt with water: for he said that this was the custome of them of whome he had learned the forme of his regular order; that they should consecrate those places vnto the Lord with praier and fasting, which they latelie had receiued to make in the same either church or monasterie.

The maner of the old fast.

Lindesferne  
holie Island.

Beda. lib. 3.  
cap. 24.

war betweene  
king Oswie  
& king Penda

The victorie  
of the North-  
thumbers.

Edw.

And when there remained ten daies of Lent yet to come, he was sent for to the king: wherefore he appointed a brother which he had, being also a priest named Cimbil, to supplie his roome, that his begun religious worke should not be hindered for the kings businesse. Now when the time was accom-  
10 shed, he ordeined a monasterie there, appointing the monks of the same to liue after the rules of them of Lindesferne where he was brought up. Finally this bishop Ced conuining vnto this monasterie after-  
wards by chance in time of a sicknesse, died there, and left that monasterie to the gouernance of another  
brother which he had named Ceadda, that was after a bishop, as afterwards shall be shewed. There were  
four brethren of them, and all priests, Ced, Cimbil, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda  
were bishops, as before is said.

About the same time, Oswie king of Northum-  
berland was sore oppressed by the warres of Penda  
king of Mercia, so that he made great offers of high  
gifts, and great rewards vnto the said Penda for  
peace, but Penda refused the same, as he that meant  
bitterlie to haue destroyed the whole nation of Os-  
wies people, so that Oswie turning himselfe to seeke  
helpe at the hands of the almightie, said: If the pa-  
gan refuse to receiue the gifts which we offer, let vs  
make offer vnto him that knoweth how to accept  
them: and so binding himselfe by vow, promised that  
if he might obtaine victorie, he would offer his daugh-  
ter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virgini-  
tie: and further would giue twelue manors, lord-  
ships or farmes to the building of monasteries: and  
so with a small armie he put himselfe in hazard of  
battell.

It is said that Penda had thirtie companies of  
men of warre, furnished with thirtie noble capitaine  
or coronels, against whome came Oswie with his  
sonne Alchrid, hauing but a small armie, but con-  
firmed yet with hope in Christ Iesus. His other son  
Cegfrid remained in hostage at that time with  
quene Cinnise. Edilwald the sonne of Oswald  
that gouerned Deira, & ought to haue aided Oswie,  
was on the part of Penda against his countrie, and  
against his vncle, but in time of the fight he with-  
drew himselfe aside, to behold what chance would  
follow. The battell being begun, the thirtie pagan  
capitains were ouerthrowne and put to flight, and  
those that came to aid Penda were almost all slaine,  
among whome was Colhere king of the Eastan-  
gles, that reigned after his brother Anna, and was  
the procurer of this warre. This battell was fought  
nere to the water of Ziwet, the which being risen as  
then by reason of great raie, drowned more of the  
enimies than died of the Northumbers swords.

After that Oswie had obtained this victorie, he  
performed promise in bestowing his daughter to the  
profession of virginittie, and also gaue the twelue ma-  
nors, whereof six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia,  
containing euerie of them ten householdes a peece. El-

sed also king Oswies daughter was professed in the  
monasterie of Werthebo, where one Hilda was ab-  
bess, which Hilda purchasing a lordship of ten hous-  
holds in Streanhsall, now called Whitbie, builded a  
monasterie there, in the which first the said Elsed  
was a noide, and after a ruler, till at length being  
of the age of fortie yeeres she departed this life, and  
was buried there; and so likewise was hir mother  
Eufled, and hir grandfather Eobbin, with manie o-  
ther high estates within the diocess of Saint Peter the  
apostle. The diocesse aboue mentioned got by king  
Oswie in the countrie of Lothes on the 17 kalends  
of December, & in the thirtieth yeere of his reigne,  
happened to the great commoditie and gaine of both  
the people, for by the same he deliuered his countrie  
of Northumberland from the cruell destruction  
made in the same by the pagani people of Mercia,  
and conuerted those pagans themselves, and the  
countreies nere adjoining to their wholie vnto the  
faith of Iesus Christ.

The first bishop in the province of Mercia, and also  
of Lindesferne and the Spidleangles was one Diu-  
ma, who died amongst the Spidleangles. The second  
was Cellach, the which leaving his bishopricke retur-  
ned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation  
of the Scots. The third was an Englishman named  
Trumhere, but instructed and ordeined of the Scots.  
He was abbat of the monasterie of Angethlingum,  
being builded in that place where king Oswin was  
slaine (as before is mentioned.) Forquene Eufled  
that was his kinswoman got of hir husband king  
Oswie a place there for the foresaid Trumhere to  
build that abbey vpon.

King Oswie hauing slaine king Penda, gover-  
ned the people of Mercia, and also other of the south  
provinces, & subdued a great part of the Pictish na-  
tion to the English dominion. About the same time  
king Oswie gaue vnto Penda the son of king Pen-  
da (because he was his kinsman) the countrie of the  
Southmercies, containing 5000 householdes, and so-  
parated from the Northmercies by the riuer Trent.  
The countrie of the Southmercies contained in  
those daies 7000 householdes. But Penda in the next  
spring was wickedlie murdered through the trea-  
son of his wicked wife (as was said) in the feast  
of Easter.

The dukes of Mercia rebell against Of-  
wie, recover their owne bounds, and create  
Wulfhere their king; Cenwald king of the  
West Saxons fighteth with the Britains and pre-  
uaileth, he is vanquished by Wulfhere; Adewold  
king of Suffex hath the Isle of Wight given him, and why suc-  
cession of Edeller, Edelwald, and Aldulf in the kingdome of  
East Angles; Colman a Scot first made bishop of Northumber-  
land, controuersie about the obseruation of Easter, about bald  
crownes or shauing the haire, superstition punished by God,  
Ceadda bishop of Yorke, his course of life and diligence in his  
office commended; Egbert king of Kent, the fee of Canurburie  
void, the preferment thereto refused, Theodore a monke sup-  
plieth the roome at the popes appointment, all the English  
clergie obey him as their head, his visitation and re-  
formation, singing vsed in churches, Theodore  
and Adrian woorthilie praised, English  
men happie, gladiers first brought  
into this Island.

### The xxxiiij. Chapter.



After three yeeres were  
complet, next ensuing the  
death of king Penda, the  
dukes of the countrie of  
Mercia, Immin, Caba, and  
Caddert rebelled against  
king Oswie, advancing ene  
Wulfhere a yong gentle-  
man

Hertford  
saith Mercia  
Welsh  
Hilda

London

The first bi-  
shop of Mercia

The bishop-  
rics proceed-  
ing of king  
Oswie.

Southmercia

Northmercia

659  
Mart. West

Beda. lib. 3.  
cap. 24.

Wulfhere.

Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 24.

How Hunt.  
Macc. West.

How Hunt.  
Macc. West.

How Hunt.  
Macc. West.

How Hunt.  
Macc. West.

Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 24.  
Colman was  
ordained bishop.

Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 25.

Controuersie  
about having  
crownes.

Cap. 6.

664

man the sonne of Beda, and brother to Beda, whom they had kept in secret to be their king, and expelling the lieutenants of king Oswie, they recovered both their owne countries and libertie withall, and so living in freedom with their owne naturall king the foresaid Wulfhere, they also continued with glad hearts in seruice of the celestia king our God and Sautour.

This Wulfhere gouerned the Mercies seuen-  
tē peares, the which Mercies (during the  
roigne of the said Wulfhere) had foure bishops suc-  
cessiue gouerning the church of that prouince one  
after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumhere,  
Iaroman, Ceadda, and Wilfrid, as hereafter shall  
more at large appeare.

About the beginning of king Wulfhers reigne,  
that is to say, in the seuentēth peare of the reigne  
of Chetwald king of the Westsaxons, the same  
Chetwald fought with the Britains at Pennum;  
where the Britains being assembled in great num-  
ber, proudlie incountred with the Englishmen, and  
at the first put them to the worst, but when the En-  
glishmen would in no wise giue ouer, but did stick  
to their tackle, at length the Britains were put to  
flight, so that the posteritie of Wute receiued that  
day an incurable wound. But within three peares  
after, that is, in the ninetēth peare of the reigne of  
the said Chetwald, he had not the like lucke in bat-  
tell against the foresaid Wulfhere king of Mercia,  
as he had before against the Britains, for the said  
Wulfhere banquishing him in the field, passed  
through his countrie with a great armie vnto the  
Ile of Wight, which he conquered, and deliuered it  
vnto Adelwald king of Sussex, as a gift at that  
time, when he receiued him at the fontstone after  
he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto A-  
delwald that Ile, to the end he should cause the peo-  
ple there to receiue the faith and religion of Christ.  
Now after that Egelhere king of Eastangles was  
slaine, as before is mentioned, his brother Edel-  
wald succeeded him in that kingdome, reigning as  
king thereof by the space of nine peares. When af-  
ter Edelwald succeeded Aldulfe the son of Edel-  
here in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned  
25 peares.

After Finan bishop of the Northumbers that held  
his see at Lindesferne, as Aidan did before him, one  
Colman was ordained bishop, a Scot boine, and  
an earnest obseruer of the customes used amongst  
them of his nation, so that when the controuersie be-  
gan to be renewed for the holding of the feast of Ea-  
ster, he would by no meanes yeild to them that  
would haue perswaded him to haue followed the  
rite of the Romane church. There was a great dis-  
putation kept about this matter, and other things,  
as shauing or cutting of heares, and such like in the  
monasterie of Whitby, at the which king Oswie and  
his sonne Alfrid were present, where Colman for  
his part alleged the custome of Iohn the euan-  
gelist, and of Anatholius; and the contrarie side  
brought in proofe of their opinion, the custome of  
Peter and Paule. At length, when bishop Colman  
perceined that his doctrine was not so much regar-  
ded, as he thought of reason it ought to haue bene,  
he returned into Scotland with those, which taking  
part with him, refused to obserue the feast of Easter  
according to the custome of the church of Rome, nor  
would haue their crownes shauen, about which  
point no small reasoning had bene kept. This dis-  
putation was holden in the peare of our Lord 664,  
and in the peare of the reigne of king Oswie 22,  
and 30 peares after the Scotishmen began first to  
beare the office of bishops within Northumberland,  
which was (as W. Harison saith) 624. For Aidan  
gouerned 17 peares, Finan 10 peares, & Colman 3

peares. After that Colman was returned into  
his countrie, one Euda that had bene brought up  
amongst the Southerrie Scots, and ordained bi-  
shop by them, succeeded in his roome, hauing his  
crowne shauen, and obseruing the feast of Easter  
according to the custome of the prouince and rite of  
the Romane church. The same peare, there chanced  
a great eclipse of the sunne, the third of Maie about  
10 of the clocke in the day. A great dearth and mor-  
talitie ensued, both in all the parties of this our Bri-  
taine, and likewise in Ireland. Amongest other,  
the foresaid bishop Euda died, and was buried in  
the abbeye of Bregnaled. After this Euda, succe-  
ded in gouernment of the church of Lindesferne,  
otherwise called Holie Island, one Wilfrid, which  
was sent by king Alfrid into France, to be orde-  
ned there.

About the same time king Oswie, the father of  
king Alfrid, moued with the good example of his  
sonne, sent Ceadda, the brother of Ced sometime  
bishop of the Eastsaxons into Kent, to be ordained  
bishop of Dorke, but at his comming into Kent he  
found that Deus dedit the archbishop of Cantur-  
burie was dead, and none other as yet ordained in  
his place, so that Ceadda repaired into the prouince  
of the Westsaxons, where he was ordained by  
bishop Wini; who took two other bishops of the  
British nation vnto him to be his associates, which  
used to obserue the feast of Easter contrarie to the  
custome of the Romane church. But there was no o-  
ther shift, with none other bishop was then canon-  
callie ordained in the prouince of the Westsaxons  
in those daies, this Wini onlie excepted, and there-  
fore was he constrained to take such as he might  
get and provide.

After that Ceadda was thus ordained, he began  
forthwith to follow the true rules of the church,  
liued right chastly, shewed himselfe humble and con-  
tinent, applied his studie to reading, and travelled  
abroad on foot and not on horsebacke through the  
countries, towne, and villages, to preach the  
word of God. He was the disciple of Aidan, and co-  
nected by his example, and also by the example of  
Ced, to instruct his hearers with the like doings &  
maners as he had knownen them to do. Wilfrid al-  
so being consecrated bishop, and returned into  
England, intended to plant the orders of the Ro-  
mane church in the churches of England, whereby it  
came to passe, that the Scots which inhabited a-  
mongst the Englishmen, were constrained either  
to follow the same, or else to returne into their owne  
countrie.

In this meane time, king Ercombert being de-  
parted this life, after he had gouerned the Kent-  
ishmen by the space of twentie peares, his sonne  
Egbert succeeded him in the kingdome, and reig-  
ned nine peares. There is little remembrance of  
his doings, which in that short time were not much  
notable, except ye will ascribe the comming into  
this land of the archbishop Theodosius, and the ab-  
bat Adrian vnto his glorie, which chanced in his time.  
For in the peare of the great eclipse and soe mosta-  
ble that ensued, it chanced that both king Ercom-  
bert, & the archbishop Deus dedit departed this life,  
so that the see of Canturburie was void a certē  
time, in so much that king Egbert, who succeeded  
his father Ercombert, together with king Oswie,  
did send one Wighart a priest of good reputation for  
his excellent knowledge in the scriptures, vnto  
Rome, with great gifts and rich vessels of gold and  
silver, to be presented vnto the pope, requiring him  
that he would ordeine the foresaid Wighart archbi-  
shop of Canturburie, to haue rule of the English  
church. But this Wighart comming vnto Rome,  
and

Euda orde-  
ned bishop.

Cap. 27.  
Eclipse.  
Dumbarment.  
of God for pei-  
ning to super-  
stition.

Wilfrid bi-  
shop.

Cap. 18.

Ceadda orde-  
ned archbi-  
shop of Dorke.

Egbert  
king of Kent.

Beda lib. 3.  
cap. 9.  
Wighart.



and declaring his message unto Vitalianus then gouerning the church of Rome, immediatlie after he died of the pestilence (that then reigned in that citie) with all those that came with him.

Beda, lib. 4.  
cap. 1.

Adrian.

The pope then taking aduise whome he might ordeine unto the see of Canturburie, being thus destitute of an archbishop, appointed a monke named Adrian to take that office upon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficient for such a roome, and required the pope to appoint one Andrew a monke also, whereunto the pope consented. But when Andrew was prevented by death, erstwhiles Adrian should haue bene made archbishop, but that he named one Theodoro an other monke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the citie of Tharsus in Cilicia, verie well learned both in the Greeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeares, as of 76. This Theodoro by the presentment of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined archbishop of Canturburie, with condition, that Adrian should neuertheless attend upon him into England, both for that he had bene twice before this time in France, and so knew the coasts; and againe, for that he might assist him in all things, and looke well to the matter, that Theodoro should not bring into the church of England anie rite or custome of the Greekes, contrary to the vse of the Romane church. Theodoro being first ordeined subdeacon, tarried foure moneths till his heare was grownen, that he might haue his crowne shauen after the manner of Peter. For he was rounded off shauen after the manner of the East church, which was as they perswaded themselves, according to the vse of saint Paule the apostle. And so at length was this Theodoro ordeined archbishop of Canturburie by pope Vitalianus in the yeare of our Lord 668, the first kalends of June, and with Adrian sent into Britaine.

Theodoro ordeined archbishop of Canturburie.  
668

These with their retinue came to France, and being come thither, shortly after king Egbert had knowledge thereof: whereupon with all conuenient speed he sent ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was staied for a time, because he was suspected to haue had some commission from the emperour to haue practised with the Englishmen, for the disquieting of the realme of France. Howbeit, after it was perceived that this suspicion was grounded on no truth, he was also suffered to follow the archbishop, and so comming unto Canturburie, he was made abbat of the monasterie of saint Augustines. The archbishop Theodoro came thus unto his church of Canturburie in the second yeare after his consecration, about the second kalends of June, being sundae. He gouerned the same church also 21 yeares and 16 daies, and was the first archbishop to whome all the churches of England did acknowledge their obedience.

Ran. Cest.  
Marth. West.

Beda.

Singing in churches brought in by.

Being accompanied with the foresaid Adrian, he visited all the parts of this land, ordeined bishops and ministers in churches where he thought conuenient, and reformed the same churches as seemed to him needfull, as well in other things which he mistooke, as also in causing them to obserue the feast of Easter, according to the rite and vse of the church of Rome. Ceadda that was bishop of York, because he was not lawfullie ordeined, as he himselfe confessed, was remoued from the see of York, and Wilfrid was thereunto restored, so that Ceadda (though he were not disgraced of his degree of bishop) liued yet a priuat kind of life, till he was admitted bishop of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. Also whereas before time there was in manner no singing in the English churches, except it were in Kent, now they began in euery church to vse sin-

g of diuine seruice after the rite of the church of Rome. The archbishop Theodoro finding the church of Rochester void by the death of the last bishop named Damian, ordeined one Wotta a simple man in worldly matters, but well instructed in ecclesiasticall discipline, and namelie well sene in song and musike to be used in the church after the manner as he had learned of pope Gregories disciples.

Wotta bishop of Rochester

To be briefe, the archbishop Theodoro, and the abbat Adrian deserued great commendation in this, that whereas they were notable well learned themselves in the Greeke and the Latine tongues, and also had good knowledge as well in the liberall arts, as in the scripture, they took great paines to traine up scholars in knowledge of the same, so that the Englishmen had not sene more happie times than in those daies, hauing as then kings of great puissance, so as strangers stood in feare of them; and againe, those that coueted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof diuers being giuen to studie, proued excellent both in knowledge of the Greeke and Latine. There came in company of the said archbishop from Rome, an Englishman named Benedict bishop, which had taken upon him the habit of a monke in Italie, and now returning into his countrie, builded two abbies, the one named Wiltremouth, because it was placed at the mouth of the riuer of Waire, and the other Girtwicke, distant from Wiltremouth about fife miles, and from the towne of Newcastle foure miles, situated nere to the mouth of Tyne. Wiltremouth was built in the yeare 670, and Girtwicke in the yeare 673. There were a 600 monks found in those two houses, and gouerned under one abbat. The said Benedict was the first that brought glaziers, painters, and other such curious craftsmen into England. He went fife times to Rome, and came againe.

The worshipfull of the archbishop and Adrian

Englishmen happy and wby.

Beda, Benedictus Benedictus

670

Glaziers first brought into England, Ran. Cest.

Sighere and Sebbie associats reigne ouer the East Saxons, the one fallerh from, the other cleaueth to the faith, Vulfhere king of Mercia sendeth bishop Iaroman to redresse that apostasie of the prince and the people, Ceada bishop of Mercia, the king of that countrie hath him in his reputation, Egrid king of Northumberland, a synod of bishops holden at Herford, articles propounded out of the canons by Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Bishp vnable to discharge his episcopall office, a remedie therefore; Kenwalke of a very euill prince becometh a verie good ruler, his wife gouerneth the kingdome after his death, Ercius succedeth hir in the roome, of Thunnir a murderer king Egberts principall vicegerent, bishop Winfrid depofed for disobedience, Sebbie king of the East Saxons a professed moonke, his death.

### The xxxiiij. Chapter.

About the same time, after that Suidhelme king of the East Saxons was dead, Sighere the son of Sigbert the little, and Sebbie the son of Suward succeeded him in gouernement of that kingdome, albeit they were subiect unto Vulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mortallitie reigned, renounced the faith of Christ, with that part of the people which he had in gouernement, for both the same Sighere and others of his chiefest lords, and also part of his commons losing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their idolish churches, and fell to the worshiping of idols, as though thereby they should haue bene defended from

Beda, lib. 5. cap. 30.

from that mortallitie. But his affociat Sebbie with great deuotion continued ftedefaft in the faith which he had receiued.

King Wilthere being informed of Seeghers apostafie, and how the people in his part of the prouince of Cafflaxons were departed from the faith, ſent thither biſhop Jaruman or Jaroman; that was ſucceſſour vnto Trumhere, which vſed ſuch diligence and godlie meanes, that he reduced the ſaid king and all his people vnto the right beliefe, ſo as the idolifh ſynagogs were deſtroied, and the idols alſo with their altars quite beaten downe, the chriſtian churches againe ſet open, and the name of Chriſt eſtablished called vpon amongeſt the people, coucting now rather to die in him with hope of reſurrection in the world to come, than to liue in the ſerue of idols, ſpotted with the filth of errors and falſe beleeſe. And thus when biſhop Jaroman had accompliſhed the thing for the which he was ſent, he returned into Mercia.

After this, when the ſaid Jaroman was departed this life, king Wilthere ſent vnto the archbiſhop Theodorus, requiring him to prouide the prouince of the Mercies of a new biſhop. Theodorus not minding to ordeine anie new biſhop at that time, required Oswie king of Northumberland, that biſhop Cead might come into Mercia to exerciſe the office of biſhop there. This Cead liued as it were a priuat life at that time in his monaſterie of Leſtingham, for Wilfrid held the biſhoprike of Dorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amongeſt the Dias alſo, ſo farre as king Oswies dominion ſtretched. Therefore Cead hauing licence to go into Mercia, was gladlie receiued of king Wilthere, and well entertained, ſo much that the ſaid king gaue vnto him lands and poſſeſſions containing 50 families or houſholds to build a monaſterie in a certaine place within the countrie of Lindſey called Ebeorne. But the ſee of his biſhoprike was aſſigned to him at Liſcheſeld in Staffordſhire, where he made him a houſe nere to the church, in the which he with 7 or 8 other of his brethren in religion vſed in an oratorie there to praie and reade, ſo often as they had leaſure from labour and buſineſſe of the world. Finallie, after he had gouerned the church of Mercia by the ſpace of two yeares and an halfe, he departed this life, hauing 7 daies warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he ſhould die, after a miraculous maner, which becauſe in the iudgement of the moſt iudicious meere fabulours, we will omit and paſſe ouer. His bodie was firſt buried in the church of our ladie, but after that the church of ſaint Peter the apoſtle was builded, his bones were tranſlated into the ſame.

In the yeare of our Lord 671, which was the ſecond yeare after that Theodorus the archbiſhop came into this land, Oswie king of Northumberland was attacked with a grieuous ſickeſſe, and died thereof the 15 kalends of March, in the 58 yeare of his age, after he had reigned 28 yeares compleat.

After Oswie, his ſonne Egfrid ſucceeded in the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, in the third yeare of whoſe reigne, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord 673, Theodorus the archbiſhop of Canturburie kept a ſynod at Herford, the firſt ſeſſion whereof began the 24 of September, all the biſhops of this land being preſent either in perſon or by their deputies, as Wiſſi biſhop of Eſſangle, Wilfrid of Northumberland by his deputie Putta biſhop of Rocheſter, Eleutherius biſhop of Weſſafaron, and Wilfrid biſhop of Mercia. In the preſence of theſe prelates, the archbiſhop ſhewed a booke, wherein he had noted ten chapters or articles taken out of the booke of the canons, requiring that the

ſame might be receiued.

1 The firſt chapter was, that the feaſt of Eaſter ſhould be kept on the ſundae following the fourteenth day of the firſt moneth.

2 The ſecond, that no biſhop ſhould intermeddle in an others diocelle, but be contented with the cure of his ſlocke committed to him.

3 The third, that no biſhop ſhould diſquiet in anie thing anie monaſterie conſecrated to God, nor take by violence anie goods that belonged vnto the ſame.

4 The fourth, that biſhops being monks ſhould not go from monaſterie to monaſterie, except by ſufferance and permiſſion of their abbats, & ſhould continue in the ſame obediſſe wherein they ſtood before.

5 The fifth, that none of the cleargie ſhould depart from his biſhop to run into anie other diocelle, nor comming from anie other place ſhould be admitted, except he brought letters of teſtimonie with him. But if anie ſuch chanced to be receiued, if he reſuſed to returne, being ſent for home, both he and his receiuer ſhould be excommunicated.

6 The ſixt, that biſhops and other of the cleargie being ſtrangers ſhould hold them content with the benefit of hoſpitalitie, & ſhould not take in hand anie prieſtlike office, without licence of the biſhop, in whoſe diocelle he chanced ſo to be remaining.

7 The ſeuenth, that twice in the yeare a ſynod ſhould be kept, but becauſe of diuers impediments herein, it was thought good to them all, that in the kalends of Auguſt a ſynod ſhould be kept once in the yeare, at a certaine place called Cloſelough.

8 The eighth chapter was, that no one biſhop ſhould by ambition ſeek to be preferred aboue another, but that euerie one ſhould know the time and order of his conſecration.

9 The ninth, that as the number of the chriſtians increaſed, ſo ſhould there be more biſhops ordeined.

10 The tenth was touching marriages, that none ſhould contract matrimonie with anie perſon, but with ſuch as it ſhould be lawfull for him by the orders of the church: none ſhould marry with their kinſfolke, no man ſhould forſake his wife, except (as the goſpell teacheth) for cauſe of fornication. But if anie man did put awaie his wife which he had lawfully married, if he would be accounted a true chriſtian, he might not be copled with an other, but ſo remaine, or elſe be reconciled to his owne wife.

Theſe articles, being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the ſubſcribing of all their hands, ſo as all thoſe that did go againſt the ſame, ſhould be diſgraced of their prieſthod, and ſeparated from the companie of them all.

The ſorſaid Wiſſi that was biſhop of the Caſſan-gles, and preſent at this ſynod, was ſucceſſor vnto Bonifacius, which Bonifacius held that ſee 17 yeares, and then departing this life, Wiſſi was made biſhop of that prouince, and ordeined by the archbiſhop Theodorus. This Wiſſi at length was ſo viſited with ſickeſſe, that he was not able to exerciſe the miniſtration, ſo that two biſhops were then & there elected and conſecrated for him, the one named Accel, and the other Baldwin.

In this meane while, that is, about the yeare of our Lord 872, or in the beginning of 873, as Hariton noteth, Kentwalch king of the Weſſaxons departed this life, after he had reigned 30 yeares. This Kentwalch was ſuch a prince, as in the beginning he was to be compared with the worſt kind of rulers, but in the middeſt and later end of his reigne, to be matched with the beſt. His godlie zeale bozne towards the aduancing of the chriſtian religion well appeared in the building of the church at Wincheſter, where

Biſhop Jaruman or Jaroman.

or time.

1 ſt into.

North. Weſt.

Egfrid.  
Deſa lib. 4.  
cap. 5.  
North. Weſt.

673  
A ſynod holden at Herford.

lib. 3.  
o.

Articles propoſed by Theodorus.

Wiſſi biſhop of the Caſſan-gles.

872

Matt. Weſt. de reg. lib. 1.

L. j. the

the bishops see of all that prouince was then placed. His wife Segburga ruled the kingdome of Westsaxons after him, a woman of stoutnesse inough to haue atchiued acts of worthy remembrance, but being preuented by death yet she had reigned one whole yere, she could not shew anie full proofe of hir noble courage. I remember that Marth West. maketh o- ther report hereof, declaring that the nobilitie re- moued hir from the gouernment. But I rather fol- low William Malmesburie in this matter.

*E/cuinus.*  
Will. Malmes.

**T**H proceeded, after Segburga was departed this life, or deposed (if you will needs haue it so) E/cu- inus, the brother of A. Kingils, succeeding in govern- ment of the Westsaxons, reigned about the space of two yeres; and after his decesse, one Centuinus or Centwine toke vpon him the rule, and continued there in the space of nine yeres. But Beda saith that these two ruled at one time, and diuided the kingdome betwixt them. E/cuinus fought against Wulfhere king of Mercia, a great number of men being slain on both parties, though Wulfhere yet had after a manner the vpper hand, as some haue written.

Hen. Hunt.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 16.

Jo. Lothaire.

Wil. Malm.  
Beda de reg.  
lib. 4.  
E/cuinus.  
A. uilemur.  
sher.

In the same yere that the synod was holden at Werford, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 673, Egbert the king of Kent departed this life in Au- lie, and left the kingdome to his brother Lothaire, which held the same eleuen yeres, & seven moneths. Some haue written that king Egbert by the sug- gestion of one Thunmir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, suffered the same Thunmir in lamentable manner to kill the two innocent sonnes of Ermenredus the brother of king Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt least they being towardlie yong gentlemen, might in time grow so into fauour with the people, that it should be easie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his issue of the kingdome. Also, that they were prauile put to death, and secretly buried at the first, but the place of their buriall immediatlie being shewed after a mi- raculous manner, their bodies long after in the daies of king Egilred the sonne of king Edgar, were ta- ken vp, & conueied vnto Ramsey, and there buried. And although Egbert being gilty of the death of those his cosens, did soze repent him, for that he vnderstand they died gilty, yet his brother Lothaire was thought to be punished for that offense, as after shall be shewed.

Bishop win-  
frid deposed.  
Sextonise or  
deined bishop  
of the Sher-  
cres.  
685, as Marth.  
Vestm. saith.  
Bishop Er-  
kenwald.

Ethelburga.

John Cap-  
grau.

Waldhere.  
Sebbie king  
of Eastsaxons  
Beda lib. 4.  
cap. 16.

Winfrid bishop of the Mercies, for his disobedi- ence in some point, was depriued by archbishop The- odore, and one Serbulf that was the builder and al- so the abbat of the monasterie of Weidhamsted, o- therwise called Peterborough, was ordeined and consecrated in his place. About the same time, Er- kenwald was ordeined bishop of the Eastsaxons, and appointed to hold his see in the citie of London. This Erkenwald was reputed to be a man of great holi- nesse and vertue. Before he was made bishop, he builded two abbeies, the one of monks at Chertsey in Southerie, where he himselfe was abbat, and the other of nuns at Werking, within the prouince of the Eastsaxons, where he placed his sister Ethelbur- ga, a woman also highlie esteemed for hir deuout kind of life. She was first brought vp and instructed in the rules of hir profession by one Hildelitha a nun of the parties beyond the seas, whome Erkenwald procured to come over for that purpose.

After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made bi- shop of London, in whose daies Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons, after he had reigned thirtie yeres, be- ing now decayed with a greuous sicknesse, professed himselfe a monike: which thing he would haue done long before, if his wife had not kept him backe. He died thortlie after within the citie of London, and

was buried in the church of saint Paule. King Sig- here, which in the beginning reigned with him, and gouerned a part of the Eastsaxons, was departed this life before, so that in his latter time, the foresaid Sebbie had the gouernment of the whole prouince of the Eastsaxons, and left the same to his sonnes Sigehard and Hewfred. About the yere of our Lord 675, Wulfhere king of Mercia departed this life, af- ter he had reigned (as some say) 19 yeres, but (as o- ther affirme) he reigned but 17 yeres. Howbeit they which reckon 19, include the time that passed after the daughter of Wendia, wherein A. uilemur and Beda held the afore said kingdome.

10

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60

Edilred king of Mercia inuadeth the kingdome of Kent, and maketh great waste without resistance of Lothaire the king there- of. Putta of a bishop be commeth a poore curat and teacheth musicke. Willred deposed from his bishop- rike by king Egfrid. Upon displeaseure he preacheth the gospel in Suffex by the licence of king Edilwalke no raue in Suffex for the space of thre yeres, the word and sacraments bring blessings with them; Bishop Willred the first teacher to teach fish with nets; the people shew him great reverence, a great and bloudie battell betwene Egfrid & king Edil- red, they are reconciled by the means of archbishop Theodore; a synod holden at Hatfield, the cler- gie subscribe to certeine articles, of Hilda the famous abbess of Whitbie.

### The xxxv. Chapter.

**A**fter Wulfhere, his brother Edilred or Ethelred suc- ceeded in gouernment of the kingdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the king- dome of Kent with a mightie armie, in the yere of our Lord 677, destroing the countrie afore him, not sparing churches nor abbeies, but spoiling the same without respect, as well as other com- mon places. King Lothaire durst not appeere in the field to giue him battell, so that Edilred went thro- rough the countrie, destroied the citie of Rochester, and with great riches gotten by the spoile he retur- ned home. Putta the bishop of Rochester, after that his church was spoiled and defaced by the enemies, went to Serbulf bishop of Mercia, and there obtai- ning of him a small cure, and a portion of ground, remained in that countrie, not once labouring to re- store his church of Rochester to the former state, but as would learne musicke, whereoeuer he was re- quired, or could get intertainment.

Wherevpon the archbishop Theodore consecrated one William bishop of Rochester in place of Putta, and after, when the said William constrained by po- uertie, left that church, Theodore placed one Geb- mound in his stead. In the yere of our Lord 678, in the moneth of August, a blasing starre appeared, with a long bright beame like to a pillar. It was seene e- uerie morning for the space of thre moneths tog- ther. The same Egfrid king of Northumberland, ba- nished bishop Willfrid upon displeasure taken with him, out of his see, and then were two bishops orde- ned in his place, to gouerne the church of the Nor- thumbers, the one named Bosca at Dork, and the o- ther called Cata at Hagustald or Lindesferne. Also one Cadhibus was ordeined about the same time bi- shop of Lindsey, the which prouince king Egfrid had of late conquered and taken from Wulfhere the late king of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battell, and droue him out of that countrie. The said three bishops

Waldere.

671

Will. Malm.

Aut. 672.

Aut. 673.

Aut. 674.

Aut. 675.

Aut. 676.

Aut. 677.

Aut. 678.

Aut. 679.

Aut. 680.

Aut. 681.

Aut. 682.

Aut. 683.

Aut. 684.

Aut. 685.

Aut. 686.

Aut. 687.

Aut. 688.

Aut. 689.

Aut. 690.

Aut. 691.

Aut. 692.

Aut. 693.

Aut. 694.

Aut. 695.

Aut. 696.

Aut. 697.

Aut. 698.

Aut. 699.

Aut. 700.

Aut. 701.

Aut. 702.

Aut. 703.

Aut. 704.

Aut. 705.

Aut. 706.

Aut. 707.

Aut. 708.

Aut. 709.

Aut. 710.

Aut. 711.

Aut. 712.

Aut. 713.

Aut. 714.

Aut. 715.

Aut. 716.

Aut. 717.

Aut. 718.

Aut. 719.

Aut. 720.

bishops were consecrated at Dorke by the archbishop of Canturburie Theodorius, the which within three yeres after ordeined two bishops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to say, Lambert at Hagustald, Cata that was appointed to remaine at Lindesferne, & Trumwine was ordeined to haue the cure of the prouince of those Pictis which as then were vnder the English dominion. Also because Eadred king of Mercia recovered the countrie of Lindsey, and ioined it to his dominion, bishop Eadhehus coming from thence, was appointed to gouerne the church of Kippon.

The church of Kippon.

Wulfred by licence of king Eadilwalke preacheth the gospell to them of Shuller.

Lacke of raine.

Catching of fish with nets.

Bondmen made fre.

After that bishop Wulfred was expelled out of his diocesse and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, and returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the Southsaxons, the which containing seven thousand households or families, as yet was not conuerted to the christian faith. Wherefore the said Wulfred began there to preach the gospell with licence of king Eadilwalke, who (as before is mentioned) was conuerted and baptised in Mercia by the procurement of king Wulfher, that then became his godfather, and gaue him at the same time the Isle of Wight, and the prouince of the people ancientlie called Heannar, which he had won from the Westsaxons. Bishop Wulfred then by king Eadilwalke his furtherance and helpe baptised the chiefe lords and gentlemen of that prouince. But certain priests baptised the residue of the people, either then or in the time following.

It chanced that for the space of three yeres (as it is said) before the coming thither of bishop Wulfred, there had fallen no raine from the aire within that prouince of the Southsaxons, so that the people were brought into great miserie by reason of famine, which through want of necessarie fruits of the earth sore afflicted the whole countrie, insomuch that no small numbers thereto themselves heblong into the sea, despairing of life in such lacke of necessarie victuels. But as God would, the same day that Wulfred began to minister the sacrament of baptism, there came doone sweet and plentifull showers of raine, so watering the earth, that thereby great store of all fruits plentifullye toke root, and yielded full increase in growth, to the great comfort and reliefe of all the people, which before were in maner starued and lost through want of food.

Bishop Wulfred also taught them in that countrie the manner how to catch fish with nets, where before that time, they had no great skill in anie kind of fishing, except it were in catching eeles. Hereby the said bishop grew there in great estimation with the people, so that his words were the better credited amongst them, for that through him they receiued so great benefits. God by such meanes working in the peoples hearts a desire to come to the vnderstanding of his lawes. The king also gaue vnto Wulfred a place called Sealefeto, compassed about on each side (except on the west halfe) with the sea, containing 87 households or families, where he built an abbey, and baptised all his tenants there, amounting to the number of 250 bondmen and bondwomen, whome he made free both in bodie and soule: for he did not onelie baptise them, but also enfranchised them of all bodilie seruitude and bondage.

In this meane while manie things happened in other parts of this land, and first in the yere after the aperring of the blasing starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the said Egfrid and Eadred king of Mercia, nere to the river of Trent, where Alwine the brother of king Egfrid was slaine, with manie other of the Northumbers; so that king Egfrid was constrained to retorne home with losse. The archbishop of Canturburie

Theodorius perceluting that great warre and effusion of blood was like to follow thereupon, trauelled so in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friends, and Egfrid had a peece of monie in recompense of his losses. The foresaid battell was fought in the yere of our Lord 679, and in the yere following, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 680, which was also in the tenth yere of the reigne of Egfrid king of Northumberland, the first yere of Eadred king of Mercia, the 17 of Aldboulfe king of Eastangles, and in the 7 of Lothar king of Kent.

The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorius held another synod at Hatfield, about the 15 kalends of October, in the which all the clergie there present subscribed to certeine articles touching the beleefe of the trinitie of persons, in the vnitie of the Godhead of the like substance, and also of the same vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the church of God. Moreover, they acknowledged by the like subscription, the five generall councils, of Nice, of Constantinople the first, of Ephesus, of Calcedon, and of Constantinople the second, with the synod also holden at Rome in the daies of Martin bishop of Rome about the yere of the emperour Constantine. At this synod holden at Hatfield, was present one John the archchanter of S. Peters church at Rome, sent into this land of purpose to bring from hence a certificat vnto pope Agatho of the agrément of the English church in matters of faith, with other churches of the christian world: but the foresaid archchanter died by the way in France, as he returned homeward, and was buried at Towern in Colwaine.

The same yere that famous woman Hilda abbess of Whitbie departed this life, or (as other say) five yeres after, hauing first bene detained long with greuous sicknesse. She was the daughter of one Herericus the neyue of king Edwin, and conuerted to the faith of Christ at the preaching of bishop Pauline, and afterwards instructed by bishop Aidan, she professed herselfe a nun, applying hir whole studie to the reading of the scriptures, to prayer, & other godlie exercises. She builded the abbey of Whitbie, wherein were placed both men and women, with such an equalitie in all things, that there was no rich person amongst them, nor anie that wanted things necessarie. She departed this life on the 15 kalends of December, being 66 yeres of age. As some haue twitten she argued stoutlie on bishop Colmans part, at the disputation holden in the monastrie of Whitbie, in the yere of Grace 664, whereof ye haue heard before. About the yere of our Lord 682, that is to say, in the seventh yere of Centwine or Centwinus king of Westsaxons, the same Centwine fought with the Britains, and overcame them in battell, pursuing them with fire and sword vnto the sea side.

Thus (at this time as also at diuerse other times) they were discomfited and put to flight, being a people allotted and shared out as it were to suffer many an ouerthrow, and abide manie a sharpe and shameful repulse at the hands of their enemies, who conuerted the distresse of that people to their profit, and toke pleasure in the extremitie of the miseries wherein they were plunged, as may be obserued by the pitifull alteration of their state vnder diuerse gouernours, and speciallie vnder the Danish dominion, who kept them in no lesse vile seruitude than Pharao did the Hebrewes at the making of bricke & chopping of straw. So that some thinke this land to be corruptlie named Britania, but ought rather to be called Bridania, that is, *Libera Dania*, *sive regio in qua Dani liberi uiuant*, for they liued as lords in the land, & did (for the time being) what they list. But of this matter more shall be spoken hereafter in place conuenient.

L. j.

Cadwal-

679  
680

Synod at Hatfield.

Articles subscribed.

Bale. The abbess Hilda. Beda.

Bale. Ran. Cest. Math. West. Beda.

Henric Hunt.

The Britons discomfited.

Gorop. in Georodanica lib. 7. pag. 759.

Cadwallader king of Britaine, the people are brought into great miserie, and he forced to flee the land, he dieth at Rome, the British writers noted of error, Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons, the kingdome is diuided; the valorous mind of Ceadwalla, he is forced to forsake his countrie, he vanquisheth and killeth Edilwalke king of the Westsaxons, his returne into his kingdome with reuenge vpon Berthun duke of Suffex and other his heauie friends, his vow if he might conquer the Ile of Wight, his bountifull offer to bishop Wilfrid, the Ile of Wight receiue the faith; Ceadwalla inuaderth Kent, of a barbarous warriour he becommeth a religious christian, his vertues, his death and buriall at Rome; Egfrid king of Northumberland inuaderth Ireland, he is slaine by Brudeus king of the Picts; the neglect of good counsell is dangerous; Etheldreda a wife and a widow (hauing vowed chastitie) liued a virgine 12 yeeres with hir husband Egfride, she was called saint Auderie of Elic.

### The xxxvj. Chapter.

Cadwal-  
lader.

676 faith  
March. West.

Galfid.

Cadwallader  
constrained  
to forsake  
the land.

689

Cead-  
walla.

**B**UT now to returne vnto that which is found in the British histories, by the tenor thereof it should appeare, that when their king Cadwallo was dead, his son Cadwallader succeeded him in gouernement of the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 678, which was about the 10 yere of the emperor Constantius Daganotus, and in the 13 yere of the reigne of Chylobericus king of France. This Cadwallader, being the sonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe sister of Wenda king of Mercia, for one father begot them both, but of two sundrie mothers, for she had to mother a ladie descended of the noble blood of the Westsaxons, and was married vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him and his brother the said Wenda. After that Cadwallader had reigned the space of 12 yeres (as Geoffrey of Monmouth saith) or (as others write) but 3 yeres, the Britains were brought into such miserie through ciuill discord, and also by such great and extreme famine as then reigned through all the land, that Cadwallader was constrained with the chiefe part of his people to forsake their native countrie, and by sea to get them ouer into Britaine Armoike, there to seeke reliefe by vittels for the sustentation of their languishing bodies.

Long proceesse is made by the British writers of this departure of Cadwallader, & of the Britains out of this land, and how Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admonished by a dreame to the contrarie, the which because it seemeth but fabulous, we passe ouer. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the christian religion by pope Sergius, where shortly after he fell sick, and died the 12 halends of May, in the yere of our Lord 689. But herein appeareth the error of the British writers in taking one for another, by reason of resemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons about that time inuaded a religious deuotion, after he was converted to the faith, went vnto Rome, and was there baptised, or else confirmed of the foresaid pope Sergius, and shortly after departed this life in that citie in the foresaid yere of 689 or thereabouts. The Welshmen count him to be their Cadwallader: which to be true is verie vnlike by that which may be gathered out of the learned writings of diuers good and approved authors.

This Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons, succeeded after Centwine or Centinuns, which

Centwine reigned nine yeres, though it should appeare by that which is written by authors of god credit, that during two of those yeres at the least, the kingdome of Westsaxons was diuided betwixt him and Ercinus or Ercinuns, so that he should not reigne past seuen yeres alone.

But now to Ceadwalla, whome some take to be all one with Cadwallader, we find that he was lineallie descended from Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling king of Westsaxons, as sonne to Kenbert or Kenbight that was sonne to Ceadda the sonne of the foresaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus being extract of the noble house of the kings of Westsaxons, he pined in his youth a personage of great towardnesse, and such a one as no small hope was of him conceived: he would let no occasion passe therein he might exercise his force, to shew proofe of his high valiance, so that in the end with his worthie attempts shewed therein, he purchased to himselfe the enuie of those that ruled in his countrie, by reason whereof he was banished in a conspiracie made against him. Whereupon he took occasion as it were in reuenge of such vntowardnesse to withdraw out of his countrie, leading with him all the principall youth of the same, the which either pitteng his present estate, or moued with pleasure taken in his valiant doings, followed him at his going into exile.

The first hunt of his furious attempts after he was out of his countrie, Edilwalke the king of the Southsaxons tasted, who in defense of himselfe coming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was slaine with the most part of all his armie. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiant courages of his souldiers, filled with good hope of this hapie atchieued vicorie, returned with good and prosperous speed into his owne countrie, and that yer he was looked for, and earnestlie pursuing his aduersaries, drove them out of the kingdome, and taking vpon him to rule the same as king, reigned two yeres, during the which he atchieued diuers notable enterprises.

And first, whereas Berthun and Anstun dukes of Suffex & subiects vnto the late king Edilwalke, had both expelled him out of that countrie, after he had slaine the said Edilwalke, and also taken vpon them the rule of that kingdome, hauing now attained to the gouernement of the Westsaxons, he inuaded the countrie of Suffex againe, and slue Berthun in battell, bringing that countrie into more bondage than before. He also set vpon the Ile of Wight, and well-nere destroyed all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. He bound himselfe also by vow, although as yet he was not baptised, that if he might conquer it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lord. And in performance of that vow, he offered vnto bishop Wilfride (who then chanced to be present) when he had taken that Ile, so much thereof as contained 300 households or families, where the whole consisted of 1200 households. Wilfrid receiuing thankesfullie the gift, deliuered the same vnto one of his clearks named Wernelwine that was his sisters sonne, appointing to him also a priest named Hildila, the which should minister the word and the sacrament of baptism vnto all those that would receiue the same. Thus was the Ile of Wight brought to the faith of Christ last of all other the parties of this our Britaine, after that the same faith had fasted here by the coming of the Saxons.

Afterward, king Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdome of Kent, where he lost his brother Hlothas atter shall appeare, but yet he reuenged his death with great slaughter made of the inhabitants in that countrie. Finally, this worthie prince Ceadwalla

will. Mal. Beda

Will. Mal. Ranulph. C.

Ceadwalla  
brought to be  
part out of his  
countrie.

Beda lib. cap. 11.

Berthun &  
duke of Suff.  
slue.

Ceadwalla  
his vow.  
The Ile of  
Wight con-  
quered.

The Ile of  
Wight con-  
quered by the  
Brit.



turning himselfe from the desire of warre and bloodshed, became right courteous, gentle and liberall towards all men, so that ye could not haue wished more vertuous manners to rest in one as yet not christened. And shortly after, willing to be admitted into the fellowship of the christians (of whose religion he had taken good talk) he went to Rome, where of pope Sergius he was baptised, and named Peter, and shortly after surprised with sickness, he died, and was buried there within the church of saint Peter in the yeare of our Lord 689.

In the meane while, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 684, Egfride king of Northumberland sent an armie under the guiding of a capteine named Bertus into Ireland, the which wasted that countrie, sparing neither church nor monasterie, soe indamaging the people of that countrie, which had euer bene friends vnto the English nation, and deserued nothing lesse than so to be inuaded and spoiled at their hands. The Irish men defended themselves to their power, beseeching God with manie a salt teare, that he would reuenge their cause in punishing of such extreme iniuries. And though cursers may not inherit the kingdome of heauen, yet they ceased not to curse, hoping the sooner that those which with good cause were thus accursed, should to what is be punished for their offences by God, & so peraduenture it fell out. For in the yeare following, the said Egfride had lead an armie into Wales and against Wlodeus king of the Pits, and being trained into straits within hills and craggie mounteins, he was slaine with the most part of all his armie, in the yeare of his age 40, and of his reigne 15, upon the 13 halends of June.

There were diuers of Egfrides friends, and namelie Cutbert (whome he had advanced the same yeare vnto the bishopps see of Lindesferne) that advised him in no wise, either to haue taken this warre in hand against the Pits, or the other against them of Ireland, but he would not be counselled, the punishment appointed for his sinnes being such, that he might not giue care to his faithfull friends that advised him for the best. From that time forth, the hope and pouer of the English people began to decaye. For: not onelie the Pits recovered that part of their countrie which the Englishmen had held before in their possession, but also the Scots that inhabited within this Ile, and likewise some part of the Britains toke vpon them libertie, which they kept and maintained a long time after, as Beda confesseth.

Egfride died without issue, & left no child: en behind him. He had to wife one Ethelreda or Ethelreda, daughter vnto Anna king of the East angles, which liued with his husband the foresaid Egfride twelue yeeres in perfect virginittie (as is supposed) contrarie to the purpose of his husband, if he might haue persuaded her to the contrarie, but finally he was contented that she should keepe his first bow of chastitie which she had made. She was both widow and virgin when he married her, being first coupled in wedlocke with one Embert a noble man, and a ruler in the south parts of the countrie, where the people called Giruij inhabited, which is the same where the fennes lie in the confines of Lincolnshire, Northfolke, Huntingdonshire, & Cambridgehire, howbeit he liued with her but a small while. After the had obtained licence to depart from the court, she got her first into Coldingham abbey, and there was professed a nun. Then she went to Elie, and there resided the monasterie, and was made abbess of the place, in the which after she had gouerned seuen yeeres, she departed this life, and was there buried. This same was the which commonlie is called saint Audie of Elie, had in great reuerence for the opinion concei-

ued of his great vertue and puritie of life.

Alfride (the bastard) king of Northumberland, his life and death, John archbishop of Canturburie resigneth his see, Lothar king of Kent dieth of a wound, Edrike getteth the regiment thereof but not without bloodshed, Ceaddwalla mastereth Kent being at strife in it selfe, his brother Mollo burned to death, Withred made king of Kent, he vanquisheth his enemies, Inas king of West Saxons is made his friend, Suchard and Nidred vsurpers of the Kentish kingdome, the age and death of Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation; the end of the British regiment, and how long the greatest part of this land was vnder their gouernement.

### The xxxvij. Chapter.



After that king Egfride was slaine (as before is mentioned) his brother Alfride was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the bastard sonne of king Oswie, and in his brothers daies (either willingly, or by violent means constrained) he liued as a banished man in Ireland, where applying himselfe to studie, he became an excellent philosopher. And therefore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receiued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his subiects the space of 20 yeeres and more, with great wisedome and policie, but not with such large bounds as his ancestors had done: for the Pits (as before is mentioned) had cut off one peece of the north part of the ancient limits of that kingdome. About the 13 yeare of his reigne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 698, one of his capteins named earle Berthred, or Bertus, was slaine in battell by the Pits, whose confines he had as then inuaded. The curse of the Irish men, whose countrie in the daies of king Egfride he had cruellie wasted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this time to take place. Finally king Alfride, after he had reigned 20 yeeres & 10 months, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 705.

In the beginning of king Alfrides daies, Cata the bishop of Berham being dead, one John a man of great holinesse was admitted bishop, and after that, bishop Willard was restored, when he had remained a long time in exile. The said John was removed to the church of Poike, the same being then void by the death of the archbishop Wosa. At length the foresaid John wearied with the cares of publike affaires resigned his see, and got him to Weuerley, where he liued a solitarie life for the space of foure yeeres, and then died, about the yeare of our Lord 721, king Edrike as then reigning in Northumberland. He continued bishop for the space of 24 yeeres, and builded a church, and founded a college of priests at Weuerley also, in which church he lieth buried.

The same yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfrid was slaine, Lothar king of Kent departed this life, the 8 Ides of Februarie, of a wound by him receiued in a battell which he fought against the South Saxons, the which came in aid of Edrike, that was come vnto his brother Egbert, and had maintained warre against his uncle the said Lothar, euen from the beginning of his reigne, till finally he was now in the said battell stricken thorough the bodie with a dart, and so died thereof, after he had reigned 11 yeeres, and seuen moneths. It was thought

Alfride  
685.

698  
Beda in Epist.  
Mart. V. Vet.

705  
Beda.

John archbishop  
of 705.

He resigneth  
his see.  
721

686 sixth  
March, West.  
Lothar king  
of Kent dieth  
of a wound.

684  
Beda in Epist.  
cap. 25.

King Egfride  
slain by Wlodeus  
king of the Pits.

These things  
were  
those which  
were  
in the north  
west parts of  
this Ile, and  
so not ment  
in by them  
of Wales.

Ethelreda.

Strig.

He of  
reuer  
e faith.

Wil. Malm.

Capgrauce  
saith, their  
sister.

Edricke.

Pollo bro-  
ther to king  
Ceadwalla  
burnt to  
death.

that he was disquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finally brought to his end before the naturall course of his time, for a punishment of his wicked consent given to the putting to death of his cousins Ethelbert & Ethelwit, as appeared, in that when they were reported to be martyrs, because it was known they died innocentie, he mocked them and made but a test at it, although his brother in acknowledgement of his fault, repented him thereof, and gave in recompense to their mother a part of the Isle of Thanet to the building of a monasterie.

The foresaid Eadricke (after Lothar was dead) got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without civill warre, inasmuch that before he had reigned the full terme of two yeares, he was slaine in the same warre. Then Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons being thereof advertised, supposing the time now to be come that would serve his purpose, as one still coveting to worke the Kentishmen all the displeasure he could, entered with an armie into their countrie, and began to waste and spoile the same on eche side, till finally the Kentishmen assembled themselves together, gave battell to their enemies, and put them to flight. Pollo brother to Ceadwalla was slain from his companie, and constrained to take an house for his refuge: but his enemies that pursued him set fire thereon, and burned both the house and Pollo within it to ashes. Yet did not Ceadwalla herewith depart out of the countrie, but to wraake his wrath, and to reuenge the griefe which he took for the death of his brother, he wasted and destroyed a great part of Kent per he returned home, and left (as it were) an occasion to his successor also to pursue the quarrell with reuenging. Wherein we see the cankered nature of man, speciallie in a case of wrong or displeasure; which we are so far from tollerating & forgiving, that if with tooth and naile we be not permitted to take vengeance, our hearts will breake with a full conceit of wrath. But the law of nature teacheth vs otherwise to be affected, namely,

per te nulli unquam iniuria fiat,  
sed verbis alijsque modis fuge ledere quonquam,  
Quod tibi nolle, alijs fecisse caueto;  
Quodque tibi velles, alijs prestare studeo;  
Hæc est naturæ lex optima, quam nisi ad unguem  
seruabis, non ipse Deo (mihi crede) placebis.  
Postque obitum infelix non aurea sycdera adibis.

Which lesson taught by nature, and commanded of God, if these men had followed (as they minded nothing lesse in the fier of their furie) they would haue bene content with a competent reuenge, and not in such outrageous maner with fier and sword haue afflicted one another, nor (which is more than tigerlike crueltie) haue ministred occasion to possibilities to reuenge wrongs given and taken of their ancestors. But we will let this passe without further discourse, meaning hereafter in due place to declare the proceffe.

The Kentishmen being destitute of a king, after that diuers had coveted the place, and fought to at-

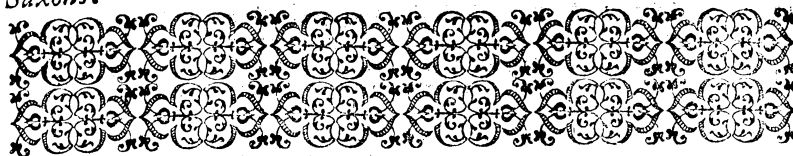
teine thereto, as well by force as otherwise, to the great disquieting of that prouince for the space of 6 yeares together, at length in the 7 yeare after Eadrics death, Withred an other of the sonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligent trauell overcome enemie at home, & with monie redeemed peace abroad, was with great hope conceived of his worthinesse made king of Kent, the 21 of November, & 205 after the death of Hengist, he reigned 33 yeares, not deceiuing his subjects of their good conceited opinion of him: for ouercomming all his aduersaries which were readie to leuie ciuill warre against him, he also purchased peace of Inas king of the Westsaxons, which went to haue made him warre, till with monie he was made his friend.

A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there reigned two kings in that countrie, Suebhard and Aided, or rather the same Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled *Ecclesiastica historia gentis Anglorum* haue not that name corrupted: for where he sheweth that the archbishop Theodorus being of the age of 88 yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 690, in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare 692, the first date of Iulie one Brightwald was chosen to succeed in the archbishops see of Canturburie, Withredus and Suebhardus as then reigning in Kent: but whether Withredus governed as then with Suebhardus, or that some other named Aided, it forceth not: for certeine it is by the agreement of other writers, that till Withred obtained the whole rule, there was great strife and contention moued about the gouernement, and diuers there were that fought and fought for it. But this ought to be noted, that the forenamed Brightwald was the eight archbishop in number, and first of the English nation that sat in the see of Canturburie: for the other seuen that were predecessors to him, were strangers borne, and sent thither from Rome.

Here endeth the line and gouernement of the Britains, now called Welshmen, which took that name of their duke or leader Mallo or Gallo; or else of a queene of Wales named Gales or Wales. But howsoever that name fell first vnto them, now they are called Welshmen, which sometime were called Britains or Brutons, and descended first of the Troians, and after of Brutus, and lastlie of Brutus mucus Dunwallo: albeit they were mingled with sundrie other nations, as Romans, Picts, &c. And now they be called English that in their beginning were named Saxons or Angles. To conclude therefore with this gouernement, so manie times intercepted by foren power, it appeareth by course of histories treating of these matters, that the last yeare of Ceadwallader was the yeare of our Lord 686, which makes the pere of the world 4647. So that (as Fabian saith) the Britains had the greater part of this land in rule (reckoning from Brutus till this time) 1822 yeares. Which terme being expired, the whole dominion of this realme was Saxonish.

Thus farre the interrupted regiment of  
the Britains, ending at the  
fift booke.





# THE SIXT BOOKE

## of the Historie of England.

Inas king of the Westsaxons, the whole monarchie of the realme falleth into their hands, Inas for a summe of monie granteth peace to the Kentishmen, whom he was purposed to haue destroyed, he & his cosen Nun fight with Gerent king of the Britains, and Cheolred king of Mercia, and Ealdbright king of Southsaxons, the end of their kingdoms, Inas giueth ouer his roialtie, goeth in pilgrimage to Rome, and there dieth; his lawes written in the Saxon tongue; of what buildings he was the founder, queene Ethelburgas devise to perswade Inas to forsake the world, he was the first procurer of Peter pence to be paid to Rome; king Ethelred, king Kenred, and king Offa become monks; the setting vp of images in this land authorized by a vision; king Ethelbalds exploits, he is slaine of his owne subiects by the suggestion of Bernred the vsurper, Boniface his letter of commendation to king Ethelbald, auns kept for concubines, their pilgrimage.

uenge the death of his cosen Hollo, the griefe whereof as yet he kept in fresh memorie. But when the Kentishmen perceiued, that to resist him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by monie to buy their peace, and so obtained their purpose, vpon payment made to him of thirtie thousand marks of siluer.

Matt. Westm.  
Wil. Malin.

After this, about the 21 yere of his reigne, king Inas and his cosen Nun fought with Gerent king of the Britains. In the beginning of the battell, one Higelbald a noble man of the Westsaxons part was slaine, but in the end Gerent with his Britains was chafed. In the 26 yere of his reigne, the same Inas fought a myghtie battell against Cheolred king of Mercia, at Elodenesburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part sustained greater losse. In the 26 yere of his reigne, king Inas invaded the Southsaxons with a myghtie armie, and slue in battell Ealdbright or Aldinus king of the Southsaxons, and ioined that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the Westsaxons: so that from thenceforth the kingdome of those Southsaxons ceased, after they had reigned in that kingdome by the space of fise kings successiuelie, that is to say, Ella, Cissa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this last Aldinus or Ealdbright.

Anno 708, as is noted by Matt. West.

H. Hunt.

Matt. V. West.  
saith 718.

### The first Chapter.

Inat.  
680



After that Ceadiwalla, late k. of the Westsaxons was gone to Rome, where he departed this life (as afore is shewed) his cosen Inas or Ine was made king of the Westsaxons, beginning his reigne in the yere of our Lord 689, in the

third yere of the emperor Iulianianus the third, the 11 yere of the reigne of Theodoricus k. of France, and about the second yere of the reigne of Eugenius king of Scots. Now because the rule of the Britains commonlie called Westmen, ceased in this realme, as by confession of their owne writers it appereth, and that in the end the whole monarchie of the same realme came to the hands of the kings of Westsaxons, we haue thought meet to refer things generall vnto the reignes of the same kings, as before we did in the Britaine kings, reseruing the particular doings to the kings of the other prouinces or kingdoms, as the same haue fallen out, and shall come to hand.

The Britaine ceaseth to reigne in this land.

fabian.  
H. Hunt.

This Inas, whome some (mistaking J for I) doe wrongfullie name Iue or Ielwe, proued a right excellent prince, he was descended of the ancient linage of the kings of the Westsaxons, as sonne to one Kenred, that was sonne to Ceolwald the son of Cutha or Cutwine, that was sonne to Kenricke the sonne of Certicus, the first king of Westsaxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the dailiant prowes knowne to rest in his worthie person, than for the successiue offspring of which he was descended. The first boiage that he made, was against the Kentishmen, on whome he purposed to re-

Finallie, when Inas had reigned 27 yeres, and 10 or 11 od moneths, he renounced the rule of his kingdome, together with all worlde pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pilgrime, and there ended his life: but before this, during the time of his reigne, he shewed himselfe vertie deuout and zealous towards the aduancement of the christian religion. He made and ordeined also good & wholesome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, which are yet extant and to be read, written in the Saxon tongue, and translated into the Latine in times past, and now latelie againe by William Lambert gentleman, and printed by John Day, in the yere 1568, together with the lawes and statutes of other kings before the conquest, as to the learned maie appere.

Marth. West.  
saith 722.  
The end of the kingdome of the Southsaxons.

Inas went to Rome and there died.

Moreouer, king Ine builded the monasterie of Glaffenburie, where Ioseph of Arimathea in times past builded an oratorie or chappell (as before is recited) when he with other christians came into this land in the daies of Armiragus, & taught the gospell here to the Britains, conuerting manie of them to the faith. Moreouer, king Ine or Inas builded the church of Welles, dedicating it vnto saint Andrew, where afterwards a bishops see was placed, which at length was translated vnto Salisburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble linage, who had bene earnest with him a long time to perswade him to forsake the world: but she could by no meanes bring hir purpose to passe, till vpon a time the king and she had lodged at a manor place in the countrie, where all prouision had bene made for the receiuing of them and their traine in most sumptuous manner that might be, as well in rich furniture of household, as also in costlie viands, and all other things needfull.

Polydor.

Ethelburga.

Will. Malines.

The deuil of  
quene Ethel-  
burga to per-  
suade her hus-  
band to for-  
sake the world

fall, or that might serue for pleasure, and when they were departed, the quene the foresaid Ethelburga caused the keeper of that house to remove all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had been brought thither and ordered for the beautifull setting forth of the house, and in place thereof to bring ordure, straw, & such like filth, as well into the chambers and hall, as into all the houses of office, and that done, to laie a sow with pigs in the place where before the kings bed had stood. Whereupon when she had knowledge that euerie thing was ordered according to hir appointment, she perswaded the king to returne thither againe, feining occasions great and necessarie.

Now when he was returned to that house, which before seemed to the eye a palace of most pleasure, and now finding it in such a filthie state as might loath the stomach of anie man to behold the same, she took occasion thereupon to perswade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this world, which in a moment turne to naught, together with the corruption of the flesh, being a filthie lump of clai, after it should once be dissolved by death: and in fine, where before she had spent much labour to moue him to renounce the world, though all in vaine, yet now the beholding of that change in his pleasant palace, wherein so late he had taken great delight, wrought such an alteration in his mind, that his words lastlie took effect: so that he resigned the kingdome to his chosen Ethelard, and went himselfe to Rome (as a booke is mentioned) and his wife became a nun in the abbey of Barking, where she was made abbess, and finally there ended hir life. This Inas was the first that caused the monie called Peter pence, to be paid vnto the bishop of Rome, which was for euerie household within his dominion a pence.

Peter pence.

King Ethel-  
red becom-  
meth a monk.  
Offrida.

Beda in Epir.  
697  
King Kenred

711  
Naucerus.  
Egwin bishop  
of Worcester.

3 fabulous  
and trifling  
deuils.

Bale.

712

El-Huna

In this meane time Ethelred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the kingdome of Mercia by the reame of 29 yeeres, became a monke in the abbey of Warde-  
nie, and after was made abbat of that house. He had to wife one Offrida the sister of Egfride king of Northumberland, by whome he had a sonne named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the sonne of his brother Aulfher to succede him in the kingdome. The said Offrida was cruellie slaine by the treason of hir husbands subjects, about the yeere of our Lord 697. And as for Kenred, he was a prince of great vertue, deuout towards God, a furtherer of the common-wealth of his countrie, and passed his life in great sinceritie of manners. In the first yeere of his reigne, he renounced the world, and went to Rome, together with Offa king of the East Saxons, where he was made a monke: and finally died there, in the yeere of our Lord 711. By the aid and furtherance of this Kenred, a monke of saint Benets order (called Egwin) builded the abbey of Evesham, who after wards was made bishop of Worcester.

The find recorded by writers, that this Egwin had warning given him by visions (as he constantlie affirmed before pope Constantine) to set by an image of our ladie in his church. Whereupon the pope appointing the testifications of this bishop by his bulls, writ to Wightheald archbishop of Canturburie, to assemble a synod, and by authoritie thereof to establish the vse of images, charging the kings of this land to be present at the same synod, vpon paine of excommunication. This synod was holden about the yeere of our Lord 712, in the daies of Inas king of Westsaxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia successor to the foresaid Kenred.

After Kenred succeded Ceolred, the sonne of his vnckle Ethelred, & died in the 8 yeere of his reigne, and was buried at Lichfield. Then succeded Ethelbaldus that was descended of Wopa the brother of

king Wenda, as the fourth from him by lineall succession. This man gouerned a long time without anie notable trouble: some warres he had, and spent much. In the 18 yeere of his reigne, he besieged Somerton and won it. He also invaded Northumberland, and got there great riches by spoile and pillage, which he brought from thence without anie battell offered to him.

He overcame the Welshmen in battell, being then at quiet, and ioined as confederats with Cuthred la. of Westsaxons. But in the 37 yeere of his reigne, he was overcome in battell at Wexford by the same Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yeeres after, that is to say, in the 41 yeere of his reigne, he was slaine in battell at Secandon, or Schenton, by his owne subjects, which reared warres against him, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, who after he had slaine his naturall prince, took vpon him the kingdome: but he prospered not long, being slaine by Offa that succeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Kipton.

Bonifacius the archbishop of Pentz or Moguntz, hauing assembled a councell with other bishops and doctors, deuised a letter, and sent it vnto this Ethelbald, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes-giving to the reliefe of the poore, and also for his vpright dealing in administration of iustice, to the punishment of robbers and such like midwers: but in that he abstained from marriage, and swallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerse women, and namelie with nuns, they sore blamed him, and withall declared in what infamie the whole English nation in those daies remained by common report in other countries for their licentious liuing in sinfull fornication, and namelie the most part of the noble men of Mercia by his euill example did forsake their wiues, and deflowered other women which they kept in adulterie, as nuns and others. Moreover, he shewed how that such euill women, as well nuns as other, used to make awaite in secret wise their children which they bare out of wedlocke, and so filled the graues with dead bodies, and hell with damned soules. The same Bonifacius in an other epistle which he wrote vnto Cuthbert the archbishop of Canturburie, counsellled him not to permit the English nuns to wander abroad so often on pilgrimage, because there were few cities either in France or Lombardie, wherein might not be found English women, that liued wantonlie in fornication and whoredome.

Offa king of the East Saxons with other go to Rome, he is shauen and becommeth a monke, succession in the kingdome of the East Saxons and East Angles, Ofred king of Northumberland hath carnall knowledge with nuns, he is slaine in battell, Ofrike renouncing his kingdome becometh a monke, bishop Wilfrid twice restored to his see, Westsaxonie diuided in two diocesses, bishop Aldhelme a founder of religious houses, Ethelard succedeth Inas in regiment, two blasing starres seene at once, and what ensued, the king deeth: the successiue reigne of Wichtreds three sonnes ouer Kent, what prouinces were gouerned by bishops, of what puissance Ethelbald king of Mercia was, Egbert archbishop of Yorke aduanceth his see; a notable remembrance of that excellent man Beda, his death.

## The second Chapter.



In this meane time Sigward and Scutred, kings of the East Saxons, being departed this life, one Offa that was sonne to Sigerius succeded in gouernment

Ran.Cro.

Hen.Hun.

Wexford

711

Offa king  
from Cam-  
worth,  
Wilt.Malm

718

March.Wex

The bishop  
of Mogunt.

Anna kept  
for concu-  
bines.

Pilgrimage  
of nuns.

King of the  
East Saxons  
Beda lib. 4  
cap. 20.  
Offa king of  
East Saxons

ment of that kingdome, a man of great toward-  
ness, and of right comelie countenance: but after he  
had ruled a certeine time, being moued with a reli-  
gious deuotion, he went to Rome in companie of  
Kerred king of Mercia, and of one Egwine bishop  
of Worcester, and being there shaued into the order  
of monks, so continued till he died. After him one  
Deired the sonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the East-  
saxons the tearme of 38 yeres. After Aldulfe the  
king of Eastangles departed this traile life, which  
chanced about the yere of our Lord 688, his brother  
Elfwold or Alfwold succeeded him, and reigned a-  
bout twelue yeres. After whose decease one Weorne  
was made king of Eastangles, and reigned about  
26 yeres. In this meane while, that is to say, in the  
yere of our Lord 705, Alfride king of Northumber-  
land being dead, his sonne Ofred, a child of 8 yeres  
of age succeeded him in the kingdome, and reigned  
11 yeres, spending his time when he came to ripe  
yeres in filthie abusing his bodie with nans, and o-  
ther religious women.

About the seventh yere of his reigne, that is to  
say, in the yere of our Lord 711, one of his capitains  
named earle Werthfride fought with the Brits, be-  
twixt two places called Heue and Cere, and obtai-  
ning the victorie, slew an huge number of the ene-  
mies. At length king Ofred by the traitorous means  
of his consens that arreared warre against him, was  
slaine in battell, and so ended his reigne, leaving to  
those that procured his death the like fortune in time  
to come. For Kerred reigning two yeres, and Of-  
ricke ten yeres, were famous onclie in this, that be-  
ing worthilie punished for shedding the blood of their  
naturall prince and soueraine lord, they finished  
their liues with dishonourable deaths, as they had  
well deserued. Ofricke before his death, which chan-  
ced in the yere of our Lord 729, appointed Ceol-  
wulfe the brother of his predecessor Kerred, to suc-  
ceed him in the kingdome, which he did, reigning as  
king of the Northumbers by the space of 8 yeres  
current, and then renouncing his kingdom, became  
a monk in the Ile of Lindeserne.

In this meane while, bishop Wilfride being dead,  
one Acca that was his chapline was made bishop of  
Berham. The said Wilfride had bene bishop by the  
space of 45 yeres: but he liued a long time in exi-  
le: for first being archbishop of Yorke, and exercising  
his iurisdiction ouer all the north parts, he was after  
banished by king Egbert, and againe restored to the  
see of Berham. in the second yere of king Alfride,  
and within five yeres after estones banished by the  
same Alfride, and the second time restored by his suc-  
cessor king Ofred, in the fourth yere of whose reigne  
being the yere after the incarnation of our Sau-  
our 709, he departed this life, and was buried at  
Rippon. Whereouer, after John the archbishop of  
Yorke had resigned, one Wilfride surnamed the se-  
cond was made archbishop of that see: which Wil-  
fride was chapline to the said John, and gouerned  
that see by the space of fiftene yeres, and then died.  
About the yere of our Lord 710, the abbat Adstan  
which came into this land with Theodore the archbi-  
shop of Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) de-  
parted this life, about 39 yeres after his coming  
hither.

Also Inas the king of Westsaxons, about the 20  
yere of his reigne, diuided the prouince of the West-  
saxons into two bishopps sees, whereas before they  
had but one. Daniell was ordeined to gouerne the  
one of those sees, being placed at Winchester, hauing  
vnder him Suffex, Southerte and Hamshire. And  
Aldhelme was appointed to Shireburne, hauing vnder  
him, Warkehire, Wiltshire, Sommerfetshire,  
Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornwall. This Ald-

helme was a learned man, and was first made ab-  
bat of Malinesburie, in the yere of our Lord 675, by  
Cleutherius then bishop of the Westsaxons, by  
whose diligence that abbacie was greatly aduanced,  
being afore that time founded by one Medulf a Sco-  
tish man, but of so small reuenues afore Aldhelms  
time, that the monks were scarce able to liue there-  
on. Also the same Aldhelme was a great furtherer  
vnto king Inas in the building of Glaffenburie.

Ethelard, the cosen of king Inas, to whom the  
same Inas resigned his kingdome, began to go-  
uerne the Westsaxons in the yere of our Lord 728,  
or rather 27, which was in the 11 yere of the emperor  
Leo Isaurus, in the second yere of Theobaldus king  
of France, and about the 802 yere of Horbache  
king of the Scots. In the first yere of Ethelards  
reigne, he was disquieted with ciuill warre, which one  
Afwald a noble man, descended of the roiall blood  
of the Westsaxon kings, procured against him: but  
in the end, when he perceived that the kings power  
was too strong for him, he fled out of the countie, lea-  
uing it thereby in rest.

In the yere 729, in the moneth of Januarie there  
appeared two comets or blazing starres, verie terri-  
ble to behold, the one rising in the morning before the  
rising of the sunne, and the other after the setting  
thereof: so that the one came before the breake of the  
day, and the other before the closing of the night,  
stretching forth their fierie bzards toward the north;  
and they appeared thus euerie morning and euening  
for the space of a fortnight together, menacing as it  
were some great destruction or common mishap to  
follow. The Saracens shortly after entred France,  
and were ouerthrowne. Finally, when king Ethel-  
ard had reigned the terme of foure etene yeres cur-  
rant, he departed this life.

Now when Alhtred king of Kent had gouer-  
ned the Kentishmen by the space of 33 yeres,  
with great commendation for the good orders which  
he caused to be obserued amongst them, as well con-  
cerning matters ecclesiasticall as temporall, he de-  
parted this life, leaving behind him three sonnes, who  
successiuele reigned as heires to him one after ano-  
ther (that is to say) Edbert 23 yeres, Ethelbert 11  
yeres current, and Alrike 24 yeres, the which three  
princes following the steps of their father in the ob-  
seruance of politike orders & commendable lawes,  
lived for the more part their fathers good lucke and for-  
tune, except that in Ethelberts time the citie of Can-  
turburie was burned by casual fire, and Alrike lost  
a battell against them of Mercia, whereby the glorie  
of their times was somewhat blemished: for so it  
came to passe, that whatsoeuer chanced euill, was  
kept still in memorie, and the good haps that came  
forward, were soon forgotten and put out of re-  
membrance.

In the yere of our Lord 731, Betrwald archbi-  
shop of Canturburie departed this life in the first ides  
of Januarie, after he had gouerned that see by the  
space of 27 yeres, 6 moneths, and 14 daies: in whose  
place the same yere one Lactwine was ordeined  
archbishop, that before was a priest in the monaste-  
rie of Wandon within the prouince of Mercia. He  
was consecrated in the citie of Canturburie, by the  
renowned fathers Daniell bishop of Winchester,  
Alfwald bishop of London, Alstwin bishop of Lich-  
field, and Aldwulf bishop of Rochester, the tenth day  
of Iune being Sunday.

As touching the state of the English church for  
ecclesiasticall gouernours, certeine it is, that the  
same was as hereafter followeth. The prouince of  
Canturburie was gouerned touching the ecclesi-  
asticall state by archbishop Lactwine, and bishop  
Aldwulf. The prouince of the Eastsaxons by bishop  
Ingwald.

The abbacie of  
Malinesburie

Ethelard.

728  
Math. West.  
or rather 27, which was in the 11 yere of the emperor  
Leo Isaurus, in the second yere of Theobaldus king  
of France, and about the 802 yere of Horbache  
king of the Scots.

Math. West.

729

Blazing Stars

Wil. Malin.

Beda lib. 5.  
cap. 24.

731

Bishops  
what prouin-  
ces they go-  
uerned.



Mach. West.

Ethelbald k.  
of Mercia, of  
what puissance  
he was.

Ingtwald, The prouince of Eastangles by bishop Cadbertus and Hadulacus, the one keeping his see at Elmham, and the other at Dunwich. The prouince of the Westsaxons was gouerned by the foresaid Daniell and by Forthere, who succeeded next after Alodelme in the see of Sherburne. His Forthere in the yere of our Lord 738, left his bishopricke, and went to Rome in companie of the quene of the Westsaxons. Many as well kings as bishops, noble and vnnoble, priests and laicmen, togither with women, vsed to make such iournies thither in those daies. The prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foresaid Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and one bishop Walstod holding his see at Herford gouerned those people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Sauerne toward the west. The prouince of Willes, that is, Worcester, one Wilfride gouerned. The Southsaxons and the Isle of Wight were vnder the bishop of Winchester. In the prouince of the Northumbers were foure bishops, that is to say, Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, Edilwald bishop of Lindisferne, Acca bishop of Werham, and Deahelmus bishop of Whiterne, otherwile called Candida Casa, he was the first that gouerned that church after the same was made a bishops see. And thus stood the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernors in that season.

And as for temporall gouernement, king Ceolbulf had the soueraigne dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the prouinces on the southside of Humber, with their kings and rulers, were subiect vnto Edilbald or Ethelbald king of Mercia. The nation of the Picts were in league with the Englishmen, and gladlie became partakers of the catholike faith and veritie of the vniuersall church. Those Scots which inhabited Britaine, contenting themselves with their owne bounds, went not about to practise anie deceitfull traires nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains otherwile called Welshmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the English nation, & the obseruance of the feast of Ester appointed by the whole catholike church, yet (both diuine and humane force vtterlie resisting them) they were not able in neither behalfe to attaine to their wished intentions, as they which though they were partlie free, yet in some point remained still as thrall and mancipate to the subiection of the Englishmen: who (saith Beda) now in the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse, manie amongst them of Northumberland, laying armour and weapon aside, applied themselves to the reading of holie scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, than to exercise feats of warre: but that will come therof (saith he) the age that followeth shall see and behold. With these wordes doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yere of our Lord 731, which was from the comming of the Englishmen into this land, about 285 yeres, according to his account.

732

Wil. Malm.

733

In the yere following, that is to say 732, in place of Wilfrid the second, Egbert was ordeined bishop of Yorke. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, who as then was king of Northumberland, by whose helpe he greatlie advanced the see of Yorke, and recouered the pall: so that where all the other bishops that held the same see before him with Paulins daies, wanted the pall, and so were counted simple but particular bishops: now was he intituled by the name of archbishop. He also got togither a great number of god books, which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke. In the yere 733, on the 18 kalends of September, the sunne suffered a great eclipse about thre of the clocke in the after none, in somuch that the earth seemed to be couered with a

blacke and horrible penttse.

In the yere 735, that reuerend and profound learned man Beda departed this life, being 82 yeres of age, vpon Ascension day, which was the 7 kalends of June, and 26 of Maie, as Mart. Westm. hath diligently obserued. W. Harison addeth hitherto, that it is to be read in an old epistle of Cutbert monke of the same house vnto Cuthwine, that the said Beda lieng in his death-bed, translated the gospel of saint John into English, and commanded his brethren to be diligent in reading and contemplation of god booke, and not to exercise themselves with fables and frivulous matters. Finally he was buried in the abbey of Cerne, distant fve miles from Wiltremouth, an abbey also in the north parts, not far from Petercassell (as is before remembered.) He was brought vp in those two abbeies, and was scholar to John of Beuerley. Heo throughlie he was sene in all kinds of good literature, the booke which he wrote do manifestlie beare witnesse. His iudgement also was so much esteemed ouer all, that Sergius the bishop of Rome wrote vnto Celside the abbat of Wiltremouth, requiring him to send Beda vnto the court of Rome for the deciding of certain questions moued there, which without his opinion might seme to rest doubtfull. But whether he went thither or not we can not affirme: but as it is thought by men worthy of credit, he neuer went out of this land, but continued for the most part of his life in the abbeies of Cerne and Wiltremouth, first vnder Benet the first abbat and founder of the same abbeies, and after vnder the said Celside, in whose time he received orders of priesthood at the hands of bishop John, surnamed of Beuerley: so that it may be marvelled that a man borne in the vttermost corner of the world, should proue so excellent in all knowledge and learning, that his fame should so spread ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his native countrie to seeke it. But who that maketh in reading old histories the state of abbeies and monasteries in those daies, shall well perceiue that they were ordered after the manner of our scholes or colleges, hauing in them diuerse learned men, that attended onelie to teach & bring vp youth in knowledge of god learning, or else to go abroad and preach the word of God in townes and villages adioining.

The same yere died archbishop Lacine, and in the yere following, that is to say 735, Rothelmus was ordeined archbishop of Canturburie in his place, and Egbert the archbishop of Yorke the same yere got his pall from Rome, and so was confirmed archbishop, and ordeined two bishops, Frudbert, and Frudwald. But some refer it to the yere 744.

Cuthred king of the Westsaxons, he is greatlie troubled by Ethelbald king of Mercia, they are pacified; Kenric king Cuthreds sonne slaine, earle Adelme rebelleth against him whom the king pardoneth; Cuthred fighteth with Ethelbald at Hereford, he hath the victorie, he falleth sicke and dieth; Sigebert succedeth him in the kingdome, he is cruell to his people, he is expelled from his roiall estate, murder reuenged with murder, succession in the kingdome of Eastangles, kings change their crownes for moones cowles; the Britaines subiect to the king of Northumberland and the king of Picts, the moone eclipsed.

### The third Chapter.



After the decesse of Ethelard king of Westsaxons, his cosine Cuthred was made king and gouernour of those people, reigning the tearme of 16 yeres. He began his reigne in the yere

Cuthred

749. pere of our Lord 749, in the twentie fourth pere of the emperor Leo Isaurus, in the 14 pere of the reign of the second Theobaldus Celsus of France, and about the 6 pere of Ethelred king of Scots. This Ethelred had much to do against Eadwald king of Mercia, who one while with stirring his owne subjects the Westsaxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and sometime by secret craft and subtil practises sought to disquiet him. Whoebeit, in the fourth pere of his reigne, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then joining their powers together, they went against the Westsaxons, & gaue them a great overthrow, as before is partly touched. In the 9 pere of this Ethelreds reigne, his sonne Kenric was slaine in a seditious tumult amongst his men of warre, a gentleman being in peres, but of a stout courage, and verie forward, whereby (as was thought) he came the soner to his wooll end.

In the 11 pere of his reigne, Ethelred had wars against one of his earls called Adelme, who raising a commotion against him, adventured to give battell though he had the smaller number of men; and yet was at point to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wound at that instant receiued, his periclie had not bene punished, and the kings iust cause advanced to triumph ouer his aduersarie, whom yet by way of reconciliation he pardoned. In the 13 pere of his reigne, king Ethelred being not well able to susteine the pond erations and hard doings of Eadwald king of Mercia, raised his power, and encountered with the same Eadwald at Hereford, having before him the said earle Adelme, in whose valiant proweste he put great hope to attaine victorie: neither was he deceived, for by the stout conduct and noble courage of the said Adelme, the losse of king Eadwald was abated, so that he was there put to flight, and all his armie discomfited, after soze and terrible fight continued and maintained euen to the vttermost point. In the 24 pere of his reigne, this Ethelred fought oftentimes with the Westsaxons, and obtained the upper hand, without anie great losse of his people: for the enimies were easilie put to flight and chased, to their owne destruction. In the pere after, king Ethelred fell sicke, and in the 16 pere of his reigne he departed this life, after so manie great victories got against his enimies.

755. *Sigbert.* After him succeeded one Sigbert, a cruell and vnnicerfull prince at home, but yet a coward abroad. This Sigbert or Sigbert began his reigne in the pere of our Lord 755, verie nere ended. He intreated his subjects verie cruell, setting law and reason at naught. He could not abide to heare his faults told him, and therefore he cruellie put to death an earle named Cumbra, which was of his counsell, and faithfullie admonished him to reforme his euill doings: whereupon the rest of his nobles assembled themselves together with a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his estate in the beginning of the second. or (as some say) the first pere of his reigne. Then Sigbert, as he was fearefull of nature, fearing to be apprehended, got him into the wood called as then Andredeswald, and there hid himselfe, but by chance a swineheard that belonged to the late earle Cumbra at Punctsford found him out, and perceiuing what he was, due him in reuenge of his maisters death.

¶ To here you may see how the righteous iustice of God rewardeth wicked doings in this world with twofold recompense, as well as in the world to come, appointing euill princes sometimes to reigne for the punishment of the people, according as they deserue, permitting some of them to haue gouerne-

ment a long time, th it both the foresaid nations may suffer long for their sins, and that such wicked princes may in an other world taste the more bitter torment. Againe, other he taketh out of the waie, that the people may be deliuered from oppression, and also that the naughtie ruler for his misdeemour may speedilie receiue due punishment.

738. *Ethelred.* After Edoene king of East Angles one Ethelred succeeded in gouernment of that kingdome a man noted to be of god and vertuous qualities, in that he brought vp his sonne Ethelred (which succeeded him) so in the feare of the Lord, that he proued a right goodlie prince. This Ethelbert reigned (as writers say) the terme of 52 yeares.

After that Eadulf king of Northumberland was become a monke in the abbie of Lindesferrie, his vnles sonne Egbert (by order taken by the said Eadulf) succeeded him in the kingdome, and gouerned the same right worthilie for the terme of 24 yeares, and then became a monke, by the example both of his predecessour the said Eadulf, and also of diuers other kings in those daies, so that he was the right king who in this land had changed a kings crowne for a monks coule (as Simon Dunel. writeth).

756. This Egbert (in the 18 pere of his reigne) and August king of Pias came to the cite of Alclud with their armies, and there receiued the Britains into their subiection, the first day of August: but the tenth day of the same month, the armie which he led from Duan into Newburgh, was for the more part lost and destroied. ¶ The same pere on the 8 kalends of December, the moone being as then in hir full, appeared to be of a bloudie colour, but at length she came to hir accustomed shew, after a maruellous meanes, for a starre which followed hir, passed by hir, & went before hir, the like disface as it kept in following hir before she lost hir vsuall light.

40. Offa king of Mercia, his manhood and victories against the Kentishmen and Westsaxons, he killeth Egilbert king of East Angles by a policie or subtil deuise of profered currence, he inuadeth his kingdome, and possesseth it, the archbishops see of Cantuarie removed to Lichfield; archbishop Lambert laboring to defend his prerogative is deprivied by king Offa, he seizeth vpon churches and religious houses; mistrusting his estate, he aliech himselfe with other princes; he maketh amends for the wrongs that he had done to churches and religious houses, he goeth to Rome, maketh his realme tributarie to the said see, Peter pence paid, he falleth sicke and dieth, places to this day bearing his name in memorie of him, the short reigne of his sonne.

### The fourth Chapter.

60. *Offa.* After that Offa had slaine Berned the usurper of the kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned) the same Offa took vpon him the gouernment of that kingdome 758, a man of such stoutnesse of stomack, that he thought he should be able to bring to passe all things whatsoeuer he conceived in his mind. He reigned 39 yeares. His doings were great and marvellous, and such as some times his vertues surpassed his vices, and sometime againe his vices seemed to ouermatch his vertues. He overcame the Kentishmen in a great battell at Otford, and the Northumbrians also were by him vanquished, and in battell put to flight. With Kenulf king of Westsaxons he fought

*Ethelred.*

738

Egbert king of Northumberland.

758

Changing of crownes for monkes coules.

756

*Offa.*

758

Math. West.

Wil. Malm.

The victories of king Offa.

Math. West.

772

fought in open battell, and obtained a noble victorie, with small losse of his people; although the same Kenulfe was a right valiant prince, and a good capitaine.

Againe, perceiving that to proceed with craft, should sooner advance his purpose, than to use open force against Egilbert king of Eastangles, under faire promises to give unto him his daughter in marriage, he allured him to come into Mercia, and receiving him into his palace, caused his head to be stricken off, and after by wrongfull meanes invaded his kingdome, and got it into his possession: yet he caused the bones of the first martyr of this land saint Albane (by a miraculous meanes brought to light) to be taken up, and put in a rich shrine adorned with gold and stone, building a goodlie church of excellent workmanship, and founding a monasterie in that place in honor of the same saint, which he endowed with great possessions. He removed the archbishops see from Canturburie unto Lichfield, thereby to advance his kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie & preeminence of spirituall power as temporall. He made great suit to having his purpose to passe in the court of Rome, and at length by great gifts and rewards obtained it at the hands of pope Adrian the first, then governing the Romane see. And so Cadulfus then bishop of Lichfield was adorned with the pall, and taken for archbishop, having all those bishops within the limits of king Offa his dominion suffragans unto him; namely, Denebertus bishop of Worcester, Werbertus bishop of Chester, Cadulfus bishop of Dorchester, Willnar-dus bishop of Hereford, Halard bishop of Elham, and Cedferth bishop of Donwiche. There remained onelie to the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Shireburne.

The archbishops see removed from Canturburie to Lichfield.

The archbishops see removed from Canturburie to Lichfield.

The archbishops see removed from Canturburie to Lichfield.

The archbishops see removed from Canturburie to Lichfield.

The archbishops see removed from Canturburie to Lichfield.

The archbishops see removed from Canturburie to Lichfield.

The archbishops see removed from Canturburie to Lichfield.

by way of tribute unto the church of Rome, appointing that every house within the limits of his dominions should yearly pay unto the apostolike see one penny, which payment was after named, Rome Scot, and Peter pence. After his returne from Rome, perceiving himselfe to draw into yeares, he caused his sonne Egfrid to be ordeined king in his life time: and shortly after departing out of this world, left the kingdome unto him, after he had governed it by the space of 39 yeares.

Amongst other the doings of this Offa, which were great and matuellous, this may not passe with silence, that he caused a mightie great ditch to be cast betwixt the marshes of his countrie, and the Welch confines, to divide thereby the bounds of their dominions. This ditch was called Offa's ditch ever after, and stretched from the south side by Wiltshire, under the mountaines of Wales, running northward over the rivers of Scuerne and Doe, unto the verie mouth of Dee, where that river falleth into the sea. He likewise builded a church in Warwickshire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offa's church even to this day. Egfrid taking upon him the rule, began to follow the approved god doings of his father, and first restored unto the churches their ancient privileges, which his father sometimes had taken from them. Great hope was conceived of his further god proceeding, but death cut off the same, taking him out of this life, after he had reigned the space of foure moneths, not for his owne offenses (as was thought) but rather for that his father had caused so much blood to be spilt for the confirming of him in the kingdome, which so small a time he now inioined.

Osulph king of Northumberland traitorously murdered, Edilwald succeedeth him, the reward of rebellion, a great mortalitye of foules fishes and fruits, moonkes licenced to drinke wine, great wast by fire, Edelerd king of Northumberland is driven out of his countrie by two dukes of the same, Ethelbert king of the Eastangles commended for his vertues, Alfred the daughter of king Mercia is affianced to him, tokens of mischaps towards him, his destruction intended by queene Quendred, his platforme of the practise to kill him, Offa invadeth Ethelberts kingdome, and Alfred his betrothed wife taketh his death greivouslie, and becometh a nun, the decaye of the kingdome of Eastangles, succession in the regiment of the Westsaxons, the end of the government of the Eastsaxons, prince Algar is smitten blind for seeking to ravish a virgine Frilwide, and at his praies restored to his sight.

### The first Chapter.

**W**hen Caddbert or Egbert king of Northumberland was become a monke, his sonne Osulphus succeeded him: but after he had reigned onelie one yeare, he was traitorously murdered by his owne servants at Winton, on the 9 kalends of August. Then succeeded one Hott, otherwise called Edilwald: Edilwald, but not immediatlie, for he began not his reigne till the nones of August in the yeare following, which was after the birth of our saviour 759. This man proved right valiant in government of his subiects. He was in battell an earle of his countrie named Oswin, who arrearing warre against him, fought with him in a pitch field at Cadwines Cline, and received the worthy reward of rebellion.

The

This chanced in the third yeare of his reigne, and shortly after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 764, there fell such a marvellous great snow, and therewith so extreame a frost, as the like had not bene heard of, continuing from the beginning of the winter, almost till the middell of the spring, with the rigour whereof, trees and fruits withered awaie, and lost their huerlie shape and growth: and not onelie feathered foules, but also beasts on the land, & fishes in the sea died in great numbers. The same yeare died Ceolwulf then king of Northumberland, unto whome Beda did dedicate his booke of histories of the English nation. After that he was become a monke in the monasterie of Lindesberne, the monks of that house had licence to drinke wine, or ale, whereas before they might not drinke anie other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule prescribed them of the bishop Aidan first founder of the place. The same yeare sundrie cities, towne, and monasteries were defaced and sore wasted with fier chancing on the sudden, as Stretehu, Gwenton Antwicke, London, Worke, Doncaster, &c.

After that Aoll had reigned 6 yeares, he resigned his kingdome. But other write that he reigned 11 yeares, and was in the end slaine by treason of his successor Alured. This Alured reigned ten yeares ouer the Northumbers, and was then expelled out of his kingdome by his owne subjects. Then was Ethelbert, named also Edeled, the sonne of the foresaid Aoll, made king of Northumberland, and in the first yeare of his reigne, he was driven out of his kingdome by two dukes of his countrie named Edebald and Herebert, who mouing warre against him, had slaine first Aldulfe the sonne of Wofa the generall of his armie at Kingesclisse; and after Linewulf and Egga, other two of his dukes, at Hetherne in a sore foughten field: so that Ethelbert despairing of all recoverie, was constrained to get him out of the countrie. And thus was the kingdome of Northumberland brought into a miserable state, by the ambitious working of the princes and nobles of the same.

After that Ethelbert king of Eastangles was dead, his sonne Ethelbert succeeded him, a prince of great towardnesse, and so vertuouslie brought up by his fathers circumspect care and diligence, that he utterly abhorred vice, and delighted onelie in vertue and commendable exercises, for the better attaining to knowledge and vnderstanding of good sciences. There remaine manie sundrie sayings & doings of him, manifestlie bearing witness that there could not be a man more honorable, thankefull, courteous or gentle. Amongest other he had this saying oftentimes in his mouth, that the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themselves: for the Lord putteth proud and mightie men from their seates, and exalteth the humble and meeke.

Whereouer he did not onelie shew himselfe wise in words, but desired also to excell in staiednesse of manners, and continencie of life. Whereby he won to him the hearts of his people, who perceiving that he was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore minded not marriage, they of a singular loue and fauour towards him, required that he should in anie wise yet take a wife, that he might haue issue to succeed him. At length the matter being referred to his counsell, he was persuaded to follow their aduises. And so Alureda the daughter of Offa king of Mercia was affianced to him: so that he himselfe appointed (as meanes to procure more fauour at his father in lawes hands) to go fetch the bride from his fathers house.

Some strange things that happened to him in ta-

king vpon him this iourne, put him in great doubt of that which should follow. He was no longer moun- ted on his horse, but that (as seemed to him) the earth shooke vnder him: againe, as he was in his iourne, about the mid-time of the day, such a darke mist compassed him on each side, that he could not see nor discern for a certaine time anie thing about him at all: lastlie, as he laie one night asleepe, he thought he saw in a dreame the roose of his owne palace fall dolone to the ground. But though with these things he was brought into great feare, yet he kept on his iourne, as he that mistrusted no deceit, measuring other mens manners by his owne. King Offa right honourable receiued him: but his wife named Quendred, a wise woman, but therewith wicked, conceiued a malicious deuise in hir hart, & straightwaies went about to persuaue hir husband to put it in execution, which was to murder king Ethelbert, and after to take into his hands his kingdome.

Offa at the first was offended with his wife for this motion, but in the end, through the importunate request of the woman, he consented to hir mind. The order of the murder was committed vnto one Winnebert, that had serued both the said Ethelbert & his father before time, the which feining as though he had bene sent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto him in the night season, shew him that once mistrusted not anie such treason. Offa hauing thus dispatched Ethelbert, invaded his kingdome, and conquered it.

But when the bride Alureda vnderstood the death of hir liked make and bridegrome, abhorring the fact, she cursed father and mother, and as it were inspired with the spirit of prophesie, pronounced that worthie punishment would shortly fall on hir wicked mother for hir heinous crime committed in persuaading so detestable a deed: and according to hir words it came to passe, for hir mother died miserable within thre moneths after. The maid Alureda refusing the world, professed herselfe a nun at Crowland, the which place began to wax famous about the yeare of our Lord 695, by the meanes of one Cutlake, a man esteemed of great vertue and holinesse, which chose to himselfe an habitation there, and departing this life about the yeare of our Lord 714, was buried in that place, where afterwards an abbey of monks was builded of saint Benets order. The bodie of k. Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though first it was committed to buriall in a vile place, nere to the banke of a riuer called Ang.

The kingdome of Eastangles from thenceforth was brought so into decay, that it remained subiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the Westsaxons; and somethile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmund surnamed the martyr got the gouernment thereof (as after shall appere.) After that Selred king of the Eastsaxons had gouerned the tearme of 38 yeares, he was slaine, but in what maner, writers haue not expressed. After him succeeded one Swithed or Swithred, the 11 and last in number that particularlie gouerned those people. He was finally expelled by Egbert k. of Westsaxons, the same yeare that the said Egbert ouercame the Kentishmen (as after shall be shewed) and so the kings of that kingdome of the Eastsaxons ceased and toke end.

About this time, there was a maid in Oxford named Friswilde, daughter to a certaine duke or noble man called Wdanas, with whome one Algar a prince in those parties fell in loue, and would haue rauished hir, but God the reuenger of sinnes was at hand (as the storie saith.) For when Algar followed the maid that fled before him, she getting into the ap. towne,

Tokens of misdeeds follow.

The innocent mistrustfull of no craft.

John Capgr. winnebert.

Sim. Dun. faith 771. Offa conquered East Angles.

Alureda a nun Beda. March. West.

H Hunt

Frisswilde a burgine.

Sim. Dun. 764

Will. Maline. Alured began his reigne in the yeare 765 as Sim. Dun. saith. Henr. Hunt. Marc. West. Ethelbert.

H. Hunt. John Capgr. March. West. and others. Ethelbert king of East Angles.

The strength of king Ethelbert.

771

Dun. me.

old story

to lorne the gate was shut against him, and his sight also was suddenlie taken from him. But the maid by hir prayers pacified Gods wrath towards him, so that his sight was againe restored to him. But whether this be a fable or a true tale, hereof grew the report, that the kings of this realme long times after were afraid to enter into the citie of Oxford. So easilie is the mind of man turned to superstition (as saith Polydor.)

Kinewulfe king of Westsaxons, his conquest over the Britains, his securitie and negligence, he is slaine by conspirators, inquisition for Kineard the principall procurer of that murther, he is slaine in fight; legats from the pope to the kings and archbishops of this land about reformation in the church, a counsell holden at Mercia; iudge Beorne burnt to death for crueltie, Alfwold reigneth over Northumberland, his owne subjects murder him; a booke of articles sent by Charles king of France into Britaine quite contrary to the christian faith, Albinus writeth against it; great waste by tempests of wind and rage of fire.

### The sixt Chapter.

Kinewulf  
Hon. Hunt.

756  
Simon Dun.  
saith 755.

The Brit-  
tains vanquish  
Hrd.



After that the Westsaxons had depriued their vnpromisable king Sigibert, they advanced Kinewulfe, or Cinebulfus, the which began his reigne about the yere of our Lord 756, which was in the 16 yere of the emperour Constantinus, surnamed Copronimos, in the 6 yere of the reigne of Pipin king of France, and about the 22 yere of Ethine king of Scots. This Kinewulfe proued a right worthy and valiant prince, and was descended of the right line of Cerdicus. He obtained great victories against the Britains or Welshmen, but at Benfington or Benton he lost a battell against Offa king of Mercia, in the 24 yere of his reigne: and from that time forward taking manie displeasures, at length through his owne follie came vnto a shamefull end. For whereas he had reigned a long time neither slouthfullie nor presumptuouslie, yet now as if were advanced with the glorie of things passed, he either thought that nothing could go against him, or else doubted the securtie of their state whom he should leaue behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whose fame he perceiued to increase more than he would haue wished.

This Kineard assembling the matter, as he that could giue place to time, got him out of the countrie, and after by a secret conspiracie assembled together a knot of vngratious companies, and returning priuie into the countrie againe, watched his time, till he espied that the king with a small number of his seruants was come vnto the house of a noble woman, whom he kept as paramour at Sperton, where vpon the said Kineard vpon the sudden beset the house round about. The king perceiuing himselfe thus besieged of his enemies, at the first caused the doores to be shut, supposing either by courteous words to appeale his enemies, or with his princelie authoritie to put them in feare.

Kinewulfe  
slaine by con-  
spirators.

But when he saw that by neither meane he could do good, in a great chafe he brake forth of the house vpon Kineard, and went verie nere to haue killed him: but being compassed about with multitude of enemies, whilste he stood at defense, thinking it a dishonour for him to flee, he was beaten downe and slaine, together with those few of his seruants which he had there with him, who chose rather to die in the

king reuenge of their masters death, than by colour-dise to yeld themselves into the murderers hands. There escaped none except one Welshman or Britaine, an hostage, who was neuer the lesse sore wounded and hurt.

The brute of such an heinous act was straightwaies blowne ouer all, and brought with speed to the eares of the noble men and peeres of the realme, which were not farre off the place where this slaughter had bene committed. Amongst other, one Derike, for his age and wisdom accounted of most authoritie, exhorted the residue that in no wise they should suffer the death of their soveraigne lord to passe unpunished vnto their perpetuall shame and reproche. Wherevpon in all hast they ran to the place where they knew to find Kineard, who at the first began to plead his cause, to make large promises, to pretend cosenage, and so forth: but when he perceiued all that he could say or do might not preuaile, he encouraged his companie to shew themselves valiant, and to resist their enemies to the uttermost of their powers. Wherevpon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part striving to saue their liues, and the other to attaine honour, and punish the slaughter of their soveraigne lord. At length the victorie rested on the side where the right was, so that the wicked murderer after he had fought a while, at length was slaine, together with fourescore and eight of his mates. The kings bodie was buried at Willenhesser, & the murderers at Reapingdon. Such was the end of king Kinewulfe, after he had reigned the tearme of 31 yeres.

In the yere of our Lord 786, pope Adrian sent two legats into England, Gregorie, or (as some copies haue) George bishop of Asia, and Theophylactus bishop of Tuberto, with letters commendatorie vnto Offa king of Mercia, Alfwold king of Northumberland, Icanbright or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, and Caubald archbishop of Yorke. These legats were gladlie receiued, not onlie by the foresaid kings and archbishops, but also of all other the high estates, aswell spirituall as temporall of the land, & namely of Kinewulfe king of the Westsaxons, which repaired vnto king Offa to take counsell with him for reformation of such articles as were contained in the popes letters.

There were twentie severall articles which they had to propound on the popes behalfe, as touching the receiuing of the faith or articles established by the Nicene counsell, and obteing of the other general counsels, with instructions concerning baptism and keeping of synods yereleie, for the examination of priests and ministers, and reforming of naughty liuers. Moreover touching discretion to be used in admitting of gouernors in monasteries, and curats or priests to the ministerie in churches: and further for the behavior of priests in wearing their apparell, namely that they should not presume to come to the altar bare legged, lest their dishonour might be discovered. And that in no wise the chalice or paten were made of the horne of an ore, because the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a cruell, but of pure bread. Also whereas bishops used to sit in counsels to iudge in secular causes, they were now forbidden so to do.

Many other things were as meanes of reformation articles, both for spirituall causes, and also concerning ciuill ordinances, as disabling children to be heirs to the parents, which by them were not be- got in lawfull matrimonie but on concubines, whether they were nunnes or secular women. Also of payment of tithes, performing of vobes, anoynting of vndecent apparell, and abolishing of all manner of heathenly vices and custumes that stande con- trarie

Simon Dun.  
H. Hunt.

Fele. h. h.  
Magd.  
786  
H. Hunt.  
Legats see  
the page.

The same  
articles which  
the legats had  
to propound

Simon Dun.  
concubines.



Containing of  
hystories.

trarie to the order of christianitie, as curtailing of  
horses, and eating of horses flesh these things with  
manie other expressed in 20 principall articles (as  
we haue said) were first concluded to be received by  
the church of the Northumbers in a counsell holden  
there, and subscribed by Alfwold king of the Nor-  
thumbers, by Delberike bishop of Werham, by Cu-  
baldo archbishop of Yorke, Wigtwald bishop of Lin-  
colne, Edelbert bishop of Whitene, Aldulfe bi-  
shop of Epieth, Ethelwine also another bishop by his  
deputies, with a number of other of the clergie; and  
lords also of the temporaltie, as duke Alrike, duke  
Hegtwile, abbat Alebericke, and abbat Erhard. Af-  
ter this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there  
was also a counsell holden in Mercia at Cealtide;  
in the which these persons subscribed, Jambert or  
Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, Osta king of  
Mercia, Hughbryght bishop of Lichfield, Edelulfe bi-  
shop of Faron, with Ethelwine bishop of Ligo, and  
nine other bishops, besides abbats; and three dukes,  
as Wodde, Farwald, and Wercoald, with earle Oth-  
bald.

But now to retorne backe to speake of other do-  
mings, as in other parts of this land they fell out. A-  
bout the yere of our Lord 764, the see of Canturbu-  
rie being void, one Jambert or Lambert was elec-  
ted archbishop there, and in the yere 766, the archbi-  
shop of Yorke Egbert departed this life, in whose  
place one Adelbert succeeded. About the 25 yere  
of Kentulfe king of Westsaxons, the Northumbers  
hauing to their captiue two noble men, Osbal and  
Ethelherard, burned one of their iudges named  
Wearne, because he was more cruell in iudgement  
(as they toke the matter) than reason required. In  
which vengeance executed vpon the cruell iudge (if  
he were so sicure as this attempt of the two noble  
men doth offer the readers to suspect) all such of his  
luerie & calling are taught lenitie & mildnes, wher-  
with they should leuen the rigor of the lawe. For

*capit indulgentia mentes,  
Asperit. as odium sentaque bella mouet.  
Odinus accipitrem, quia uiuit semper in armis,  
Et pauidum solitos in pectus ire lupos.  
At caret insidys hominum, quia mita hirundo est,  
Quisque colat turres Chaois ales habet.*

At the same time, one Alfwald or Alfwald reigned  
ouer the Northumbers, being admitted k. after that  
Ethelbert was expelled, and when the same Alfwald  
had reigned 10, or (as some say) 11 yeres, he was  
traitorously and without all guilt made away;  
the chiefe conspirator was named Siga. The same  
Alfwald was a iust prince, and worthilie gouerned  
the Northumbers to his high praise and commen-  
dation. He was murdered by his owne people (as  
before ye haue heard) the 23 of September, in the  
yere of our Lord 788, and was buried at Werham.

In the yere 792, Charles king of France sent  
a booke into Britaine, which was sent vnto him from  
Constantinople, containing certaine articles agreed  
vpon in a synod (wherein were present about the  
number of three hundred bishops) quite contrarie  
and disagreeing from the true faith, namelie in this,  
that images ought to be worshipped, which the church  
of God vtterlie abhorreth. Against this booke Albi-  
nus that famous cleerke wrote a treatise confirmed  
with places taken out of holie scripture, which trea-  
tise, with the booke in name of all the bishops and  
princes of Britaine, he presented vnto the king of  
France. In the yere 800, on Christmasse euen  
chanced a marvellous tempest of wind, which ouer-  
threw whole cities and towres in diuerse places, and  
trees in great number, beside other harmes which it  
did, as by death of cattell, &c. In the yere following  
a great part of London was consumed by fire.

Brittricus K. of the Westsaxons, his in-  
clination, Egbert being of the bloud roiall  
is banished the land, & why; crosses of bloudie  
colour and drops of bloud fell from heauen, what  
they did prognosticate; the first Danes that arrived  
on the English coasts, and the cause of their coming; fire dra-  
gons flying in the aire foretokens of famine and warre; Bri-  
tricus is poisoned of his wife Ethelburga, his ill qualities; why  
the kings of the Westsaxons decreed that their wiues should  
not be called queenes, the miserable end of Ethelburga; Ke-  
nulf king of Mercia, his vertues, he restoreth the archbishops  
see to Canturburie which was translated to Lichfield, he  
inuaeth Kent, taketh the king prisoner in the field,  
and bountifullie setteth him at libertie, the  
great ioy of the people therevpon; his  
rare liberalitie to churchmen, his  
death and buriall.

## The seuenth Chapter.



fter Kentulfe, one Bri-  
tricus or Wightrike was or-  
dained king of Westsaxons,

and began his reigne in the  
yere of our Lord 787, which  
was about the 8 yere of the  
gouernment of the emperour  
Extrene with his son Constan-  
tinus, and about the second yere of the reigne of  
Achatus k. of Scots. This Wightrike was velen-  
ded of the line of Cerdicus the first king of West-  
saxons, the 16 in number from him. He was a man  
of nature quiet & temperate, more desirous of peace  
than of warre, and therefore he stood in doubt of the  
noble valiance of one Egbert, which after succeeded  
him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicus was  
in that season so confounded and mingled, that eu-  
erie one as he grew in greatest power, streue to be  
king and supreme gouernour. But speciallie  
Egbertus was knowne to be one that coueted  
that place, as he that was of the bloud roiall, and  
a man of great power and lustie courage. King  
Wightrike therefore to liue in more safetie, bani-  
shed him the land, and appointed him to go into  
France. Egbert vnderstanding certenly that this  
his departure into a forreine countrie should ad-  
uance him in time, obeyed the kings pleasure.

About the third yere of Wightrikes reigne,  
there fell vpon mens garments, as they walked a-  
broad, crosses of bloudie colour, and blood fell from  
heauen as drops of raine. Some toke this wonder  
for a signification of the persecution that followed by  
the Danes: for shortly after, in the yere insu-  
ing, there arrived three Danish ships vpon the  
English coasts, against whome the lieutenant of the  
parties adioining made forth, to apprehend those that  
were come on land, howbeit aduenturing himselfe  
ouer rashlie amongst them, he was slaine: but after-  
wards when the Danes perceiued that the people of  
the countries about began to assemble, and were  
comming against them, they fled to their ships, and  
left their prey and spoile behind them for that time.  
These were the first Danes that arrived here in this  
land, being onelie sent (as was perceiued after) to  
vieth the countrie and coasts of the same, to vnder-  
stand how with a greater power they might be able  
to inuaue it, as shortly after they did, and warred so  
with the Englishmen, that they got a great part of  
the land, and held it in their owne possession. In the  
tenth yere of king Wightrikes reigne, there were  
sene in the aire fire dragons flying, which betokened  
(as was thought) two grieuous plagues that follo-  
wed. First a great dearth and famine: and secondlie  
a cruell war of the Danes, which shortly followed,  
as ye shall heare.

Britri-  
cus.  
Hen. Hunt.  
Matt. VVest.  
saith 787.  
Simon Dun-  
saith 786.

Egbert ba-  
nished.

A strange  
wonder.

Matt. West.  
Wil. Malin.  
Hen. Hunt.  
Danes.

Famine & war  
signified.

764

Sim. Dun.  
saith 780.

Simon Dun.

Ouid lib. de  
artam.

He began his  
reigne Anno,  
792, as saith  
Simon Dun.  
and reigned  
but ten yeres.

783

Matt. W. Est.  
Simon Dun.

792

Sim. Dunel.  
800

Ran. Cest.  
his cap. 25.  
Englishes  
departed  
thence.

Ethelburga  
hir condicions  
and wicked  
nature.

A decree of the  
kings of the  
west Saxons  
against their  
wives.

The end of  
Ethelburga.  
Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.  
Beaulife.

The archbis-  
hops be re-  
stored to Can-  
turburie.

The king of  
Kent taken  
prisoner.

Kentish libe-  
raltie to-  
wards church  
men which  
was not for-  
gotten by  
them in their  
bishops.

Finallie, after that Brightrike had reigned the space of 16 yeres, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham. Some write that he was poisoned by his wife Ethelburga daughter unto Offa king of Mercia (as before ye haue heard) and he married hir in the fourth yere of his reigne. She is noted by writers to haue bin a verie euill woman, proud, and high-minded as Lucifer, and therewith disdainfull. She bare hir the more statelie, by reason of hir fathers great fame and magnificence: whome she hated the world accuse to hir husband, and so put them in danger of their liues. And if she might not so lyecke hir rancour, she would not sticke to poison them.

It happened one day, as she meant to haue poisoned a young gentleman, against whome she had a quarrell, the king chanced to tast of that cup, and died thereof (as before ye haue heard.) His purpose indeed was not to haue poisoned the king, but onelie the young gentleman, the which drinking after the king, died also, the poison was so strong and vehement. For hir heinous crime it is said that the kings of the West Saxons would not suffer their wives to be called queenes, nor permit them to sit with them in open places (where their maiesties should be shewed) manie yeres after. Ethelburga fearing punishment, fled into France with great riches and treasure, & was well cherished in the court of king Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an abbey, and demeaned hirselfe so lewdlie there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne countrie men, that she was banished the house, and after died in great miserie.

Egbert king of Mercia departing this life, after he had reigned foure moneths, ordained his cousin Kenulfe to succeed in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the line of Penda king of Mercia, as rightlie descended from his brother Kentwalke. This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisdom, and upright dealing, was worthy to be compared with the best princes that haue reigned. His vertues passed his fame: nothing he did that coulde with iust cause reprove. At home he shewed himselfe godlie and religious, in warre he became victorious, he restored the archbishops for againe to Canturburie, wherein his humblenes was to be praised, that made no account of worldly honour in his prouince, so that the order of the ancient canons might be obserued. He had waies left him as it were by succession from his predecessor Offa against them of Kent, and therupon entering that countrie with a mightie armie, wastes and spoiled the same, and encountering in battell with king Eobert or Ethelbert, other wise called Drenne, ouerthrew his armie, and took him prisoner in the field, but afterwards he released him to his great praise and commendation. For where as he builded a church at Winchcombe, vpon the day of the dedication thereof, he led the Kentish king as then his prisoner, vpon to the high altar, and there set him at libertie, declaring thereby a great proofe of his good nature.

There were present at that sight, Cuthbert whom he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Eobert, with 13 bishops, and 10 dukes. The noise that was made of the people in reioicing at the kings bountious liberalitie was marvellous. For not onelie he thus restored the Kentish king to libertie, but also bestowed great rewards vpon all the prelates and noble men that were come to the feast, euerie priest had a peece of gold, and euerie menlic a shilling. Also he dealt and gaue away great gifts amongst the people, and founded in that place an abbey, endowing the same with great possessions. Finallie, after he had reigned 24 yeres, he departed

this life, and appointed his buriall to be in the same abbey of Winchcombe, leauing behind him a sonne named Kenelme, who succeeded his father in the kingdome, but was sone murdered by his vnnaturall sister Osred, the 17 of Julie, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Osrike king of Northumberland leaueth the kingdome to Edelbert reuoked out of exile, king Alfwalds sons miserable slaine, Osred is put to death, Ethelbert putteth away his wife and marieth another, his people rise against him therefore and kill him, Osred succeeding him is driven out of the land; Ardulf king of Northumberland, duke Wade raiseth warre against him and is discomfited; duke Aldred is slaine; a sore battell fought in Northumberland, the English men assist one another with ciuill warres; king Ardulf deposed from his estate; the regiment of the Northumbrians rent as dangerous and deadlie by destine, what befall them in lieu of their disloyaltie; the Danes invade their land and are vanquished; the roiall race of the Kentish kings decayeth; the state of that kingdome; the primasie restored to the see of Canturburie; Egbert (after the death of Briticus) is sent for to undertake the gouernement of the West Saxons, his linage.

### The eight Chapter.

When Alfwald king of Northumberland was made away, his brother Osred the sonne of Alred took vpon him the rule of that kingdome anno 788, and within one yere was expelled, and left the kingdome to Ethelbert; Edelred as then reuoked out of exile, in which he had remained for the space of 12 yeres, and now being restored, he continued in gouernement of the Northumbrians 4 yeres, or (as some say) 7 yeres; in the second yere thereof duke Cardulf was taken and led to Winton, and there without the gate of the monasterie wounded (as was thought) to death by the said king, but the monks taking his bodie, and laing it in a tent without the church, after midnight he was found alieue in the church.

Moreouer, about the same time the sonnes of king Alfwald were by force dratone out of the cite of Yorke, but first by a wile they were trained out of the head church where they had taken sanctuary, and so at length miserable slaine by king Ethelbert in Worlabymerie, one of them was named Alnus, the other Alfwiln. In the yere of our Lord 792, Osred vpon trust of the othes and promises of diuers noble men, secretly returned into Northumberland, but his owne souldiers forsooke him, and so was he taken, and by king Ethelberts commandement put to death at Cunburge on the 14 day of September.

The same yere king Ethelbert married the ladie Alfed the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, forsaking his former wife which he had, & having no iust cause of diuorce giuen on hir part, whereby his people took such displeasure against him, that finallie after he had reigned now this second time 4 yeres, or (as other say) seven yeres, he coulde not auoid the destenie of his predecessors, but was miserable killed by his owne subiects at Cobbe, the 18 day of Aprill. After whome, one Oswald a noble man was ordained king, and within 27 or 28 daies after was expelled, and constrained to flie first into the Ile of Lindisferne, and from thence vnto the king of Dacia.

Then Ardulf that was a duke and sonne to one Arnulfe was reuoked out of exile, made king, & consecrated also at Yorke by the archbishop Cuthbert.

Osred.  
788  
Wil. Malm.  
Mund. S.  
Hond.  
Simon Dun.

Duke Cardulf  
taken and  
executed.

791

Osred  
killed  
at Cobbe.

796

799

The English  
men assured  
each other  
with ciuill  
warre.

This chanced  
in the yere  
of our Lord  
796, as Simon  
Dun. saith.

The Danes  
invade Flop-  
thumberland.

The Danes  
brought. This was in  
anno 794. as  
Simon Dun.  
saith.

and three other bishops, the 25 of June, in the yere 396. About two yeres after, to wit, in the yere 798, one duke Alade, and other conspirators which had bene also partakers in the murdering of king Ethelbert, raised warre against king Ardule, and fought a battell with him at Alaleg, but king Ardule got the upper hand, and chased Alade and other his enemies out of the field. In the yere 799, duke Alode that had murdered Ethelbert or Athelred king of Northumberland, was slaine by another duke called Chorthmund, in reuenge of the death of his maister the said Ethelbert. Shortly after, about the same time that Wightrike king of Westsaxons departed this life, there was a foze battell foughten in Northumberland at Wellehare, in the which Alricke the sonne of Herbert, and manie other with him were slaine: but to rehearse all the battells with their successes and issues, it should be too tedious and irksome to the readers, for the English people being naturallic hard and high-minded, continuallie scourged each other with intestine warres. About six or seuen yeres after this battell, king Ardule was expelled out of the state.

¶ Thus ye may consider in what plight things stood in Northumberland, by the often seditions, tumults and changings of gouernors, so that there be which haue written, how after the death of king Ethelbert, otherwise called Edred, diuers bishops and other of the chiefe nobles of the countrie distaining such traitorous prince-killings, ciuill seditions, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in daillie practice amongst the Northumbers, departed out of their native borders into voluntarie exile, and that from thenceforth there was not anie of the nobilitie that durst take vpon him the kingly gouernement amongst them, fearing the fatall prerogative thereof, as if it had bene Seians horse, whose rider came euer to some euill end. But yet by that which is heretofore shewed out of Simon Dunelm. it is euident, that there reigned kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authoritie and power to command, it may be doubted.

Howbeit this is certaine, that the sundrie murdering and banishments of their kings and dukes gine vs greatlie to gesse, that there was but sozie obedience vsed in the countrie, whereby for no small space of time that kingdome remained without an head gouernor, being set open to the prey and iniurie of them that were borderers vnto it, and likewise vnto strangers. For the Danes, which in those daies were great rousers, had landed before in the north parts, & spoiled the abbey of Lindisferne otherwise called holie Gland, and perceiuing the fruitfulness of the countrie, and easinesse for their people to invade it (because that through their priuate quarrelling there was little publike resistance to be looked for) at their coming home, enticed their countreymen to make boiages into England, and so landing in Northumberland, did much hurt, and obtained a great part of the countrie in manner without resistance, because there was no ruler there able to raise anie power of men by publike authoritie to encounter with the common enemies, whereby the countrie was brought into great miserie, partlie with war of the Danes, and ciuill dissention amongst the nobles and people themselves, no man being of authoritie (I say) able to reforme such misorders. Yet we find that the nobles and capitaines of the countrie assembling together at one time against the Danes that were landed about Tinnmouth, constrained them by sharpe fight to slee backe to their ships, and toke certaine of them in the field, whose heads they stroke off there vpon the shore. The other that got to their ships, suffered great losse of men,

and likewise of their vessels by tempest.

¶ Here then we are taught that the safest way to mainteine a monarchie, is when all degrees liue in loialtie. And that it is necessarie there should be one supereminent, vnto whom all the residue should scope: this fraile booke of ours may giue vs sufficient instruction. For reason ruleth in the mind as Soueraigne, and hath subiect vnto it all the affections and inward motions, yea the naturall actions are directed by hir gouernement: wherefo if the will be obedient there cannot creepe in anie outrage or disorder. Such should be the sole regiment of a king in his kingdome; other wise he may be called *Reus regendo*, as *Mons a mouendo*. For there is not a greater enemie to that estate, than to admit participants in roialtie, which as it is a ready way to cause a subuersion of a monarchie; so it is the shortest cut ouer to a disordered anarchie. But to proceed in the historie.

After that Alricke (the last of king Wightrikes sonnes, which reigned in Kent successiuelie after their father) was dead, the noble offspring of the kings there so decayed, and began to bade awaie, that euerie one which either by flattering had got riches together, or by seditious partaking was had in estimation, sought to haue the gouernement, and to usurp the title of king, abusing by vntoward means the honor and dignitie of so high an office. Amongest others, one Eobert or Edelbert, surnamed also *Æthelbert*, gouerned the Kentishmen for the space of two yeres, and was in the end banquished by them of Mercia, and taken prisoner, as before is said: so that for a time he liued in captiuitie, and although afterwards he was set at libertie, yet was he not receiued againe to the kingdome, so that it is uncerteine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Æthelbulf the king of Mercia, to reigne in place of the same Eobert or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eight yeres as king, rather by name than by act, inheriting his predecessors euill hap and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discord.

After that Jambith or Lambert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed this life, one Edred was ordeined in his place, vnto whom the primacie was restored, which in his predecessors time was taken awaie by Offa king of Mercia, as before is recited. Also after the death of Eubald archbishop of Dorke, another of the same name called Eubald the second was admitted to succeed in that see. After that Wightrike the king of Westsaxons was departed this life, messengers were sent with all speed into France, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egbert, which as before is shewed, was constrained by the said Wightrike to depart the countrie. At the first, he withdrew vnto Offa king of Mercia, with whom he remained for a time, till at length (through suit made by Wightrike) he perceiued he might not longer continue there without danger to be deliuered into his enemies hands; and so Offa working at the matter, he departed out of his countrie, and got him ouer into France. But being now aduertised of Wightrikes death, and required by earnest letters sent from his friends to come and receiue the gouernement of the kingdome, he returned with all conuenient speed into his countrie, and was receiued immediatlie for king, by the generall consent of the Westsaxons, as well in respect of the good hope which they had conceiued of his worthie qualities and aptnesse to haue gouernement, as of his roiall linage, being lineallie descended from Arnigils the brother of king Inas, as sonne to Alkmund, that was the sonne of one Cassa, which Cassa was sonne to Ope the sonne of the foresaid Arnigils.

Æth.

Egbert

Eobert.

Lambert.

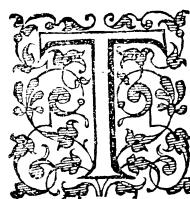
Egbert receiued a king of Westsaxons this linage.

Egbert reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, his practise or exercise in the time of his exile, his martiall exploits against the Cornishmen and Welshmen, Bernulfe king of Mercia taketh indignation at Egbert for the enlarging of his roiall authoritie, they fight a fore battell, Egbert overcome, great ods betwene their souldiers, bishop Alstan a warrior; Kent, Essex, Southerie, Suffex, and Eastangles subiect to Egbert; he killeth Bernulfe K. of Mercia, and conquereth the whole kingdome, Whitlase the king thereof becommeth his tributarie, the Northumbers submit themselves to Egbert, he conquereth Northwales and the cite of Chester, he is crowned supreme gouernour of the whole land, when this he was called England, the Danes invade the land, they discomfit Egberts host, the Welshmen ioine with the Danes against Egbert, they are both vanquished, Egbert dieth.

### The ninth Chapter.

Egbert.

802 as Simon Dunel. and M. W. hath noted but 807.



His Egbert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 800, which was the 4 yeare almost ended, after that the emperour Cirine began the second time to rule the empire, and in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Charles the great king of France, which also was in the same yeare after he was made emperour of the west, and about the second yeare of Contwall king of Scots. Whilest this Egbert remained in exile, he turned his aduersaries into an occasion of his valiancie, as it had bene a grindstone to grind awaie and remoue the rust of sluggish slothfulness, in so much that hauing the wars in France, in service of Charles the great, he attained to great knowledge and experience, both in matters appertaining to the wars, and likewise to the well ordering of the common wealth in time of peace. The first wars that he toke in hand, after he had attended to the kingdome, was against the Cornishmen, a remnant of the old Britains, whome he shortly overcame and subdued. Then he thought good to tame the vniquiet Welshmen, the which still were ready to moue rebellion against the Englishmen, as they that being vanquished, would not yet seeme to be subdued, wherefore about the 14 yeare of his reigne, he invaded the countrie of Wales, and went through the same from east to west, not finding a nic person that durst resist him.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Bernulfe king of Mercia.

A battell fought at Ellendun.

Egbert won the victorie.

souldiers (through long ease) were cowardlie persons, and ouercharged with fleshy. The battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord 826.

King Egbert hauing got this victorie, was aduanced into such hope, that he perswaded himselfe to be able without great adde to overcome the residue of his neighbours, whose estates he saw plaine-lye soze weakened and fallen into great decaye. Whereupon before all other, he determined to assaile Egelbulf king of Kent, whome he knew to be a man in no estimation amongst his subiects. A competent armie therefore being leuted, he appointed his sonne Egelwulf & Alstan bishop of Shirebozne, with earle Maithard to haue the conduct thereof, and sent them with the same into Kent, where they wrought such maisteries, that they chased both the king and all other that would not submit themselves, out of the countrie, constraining them to passe ouer the Thames. And herewith the Westsaxons following the victorie, brought vnder subiection of king Egbert the countries of Kent, Essex, Southerie, and Suffex. The Eastangles also about the same time receiued king Egbert for their soueraigne Lord, and comforted by his setting on against Bernulfe king of Mercia, invaded the confines of his kingdome, in reuenge of displeasures which he had done to them lately before, by invading their countrie, and as it came to passe, incountring with the said Bernulfe which came against them to defend his countrie, they slue him in the field.

Thus their minds on both parts being kindled into further wrath, the Eastangles estones in the yeare following fought with them of Mercia, and overcame them againe, and slue their king Ludicenus, who succeeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with 5 of his earles. The state of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceived an assured hope of good successe, & in the 27 yeare of his reigne, made an open inuasion into the countrie, and chasing Whitlase king of Mercia (that succeeded Ludicenus) out of his estate, conquered the whole kingdome of the Mercies. But yet in the yere next following, or in the third yeare after, he restored it againe to Whitlase, with condition, that he should introy the same as tributarie to him, and acknowledge him for his supreme gouernour. The same yeare that Bernulfe king of Mercia was slaine by the Eastangles, there was a soze battell foughten at Gaueford, betwixt them of Deuonshire, and the Britains, in the which manie thousands died on both parts.

King Egbert hauing conquered all the English people inhabiting on the south side of Humber, led forth his armie against them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers being not onelie terred with ciuill sedition, but also with the often inuasion of Danes, perceiued not how they should be able to resist the power of king Egbert: and therefore vpon god aduise ment taken in the matter, they resolved to submit themselves, and thereupon sent ambassadours to him to offer their submission, committing themselves wholie vnto his protection. King Egbert glablie receiued them, and promised to defend them from all forren enemies. Thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder subiection to the kings of the Westsaxons, after the state had ben soze weakened with contention and ciuill discord that had continued amongst the nobles of the countrie, for the space of manie yeres, beside the inuasion made by outward enemies, to the greuous damage of the people.

After that king Egbert had finished his businesse in Northumberland, he turned his power towards the countrie of Northwales, and subdued the same, with

The countie of the westsaxons.

Hen. Hunt.

Bernulfe king of Mercia.

Simon Dun.

The men of the Cornishmen as it be supposed.

King Egbert inuaded Northumberland.

the name of  
the king when  
he was chan-  
ged.

The name of  
the king when  
he was chan-  
ged.

The Danes.

The English-  
men discomfited  
by Danes.  
Simon Dun.  
Alfham.  
North. West.  
834

Danes and  
Westmen  
brought.

836  
North. West.

Egbert de-  
parteth this  
life.  
837  
North. West.

Egbert  
the  
jumble

the  
jumble

with the citie of Chester, which till those daies, the Britains or Welshmen had kept in their possession. When king Egbert had obtained these victories, and made such conquests as before is mentioned, of the people here in this land, he caused a counsell to be assembled at Winchester, and there by advise of the high estates, he was crowned king, as sovereigne gouernour and supreme lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that he caused a commission to be directed forth into all parts of the realme, to giue com- mandement, that from thence forthward all the people inhabiting within this land, should be called English men, and not Saxons, and likewise the land should be called England by one generall name, though it should appeere (as before is mentioned) that it was so called shortly after the first time that the Angles and Saxons got possession thereof.

Now was king Egbert settled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of the troubles of warre, when suddenlie newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of 35 ships, were arrived on the English coasts, and began to make sore warre in the land. Egbert being thereof aduertised, with all conuenient speed got together an armie, and went forth to giue battell to the enimies. Hereupon encountering with them, there was a sore foughten field betwixt them, which continued with great slaughter on both sides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Englishmen, which before were at point to haue gone awaie with victorie, were vanquished and put to flight, yet king Egbert by couert of the night escaped his enimies hands: but two of his chiefe captiues Dudda and Dimond, with two bi- shops, to wit, Werferd of Winchester, and Wlgerd of Shireborne, were slaine in that battell, which was foughten at Carrum, about the 834 of Christ, and 34 yere of king Egberts reigne.

In the yere following, the Danes with their nauie came into Westsuales, and there the Welshmen joining with them, rose against king Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune vanquished and slue both the Danes and Welshmen, and that in great num- ber, at a place called Hengistenton. The next yere after also, which was 836, he ouerthrew another ar- mie of Danes which came against him, as one auto- ritie saith. Finally, when king Egbert had reigned the tearme of 36 yeres and seuen moneths with great glorie for the enlarging of his kingdome with wide bounds, which when he receiued was but of small compassse, he departed this life, leauing to his issue matter of worthy praise to mainteine that with order which he with painefull diligence had toine- ged. His bodie was buried at Winchester, and he left behind him two sonnes Ethelwulf, otherwile named Athulf and Adelfan. The first he appointed to succeed him in the kingdome of Westsaxons, and Adelfan he ordeined to haue the gouernment of Kent, Sussex, and Essex.

¶ Here we see the paterne of a fortunate prince in all his affaires, as well forren as domesticall, wherein is first to be obserued the order of his edu- cation in his tender yeres, which agreeing well with a princes nature, could not but in the progresse of his age bring great matters to passe, his manifold victories are an argument that as he lacked no poli- cie, so he had prouelle enough to encounter with his enimies, to whome he gaue manie a fole discomfite- ture. But among all other notes of his skill and hope of happie successe in his martiall affaires, was the good chiefe that he made of seruiceable souldiers, being such as knew how to get the victorie, and ha- uing gotten it, were not vntaught to vse it to their benefit, by their warinesse and headtaking; for

*Sapius incanta nocuit victoria turba.*

The kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, the end of the kingdome of Kent and Essex; Kenelm king of Mercia murdered by the means of his owne sis- ter Quendred, the order of his wicked practise; his death prophesied or foretold by a signe, the kings of Mercia put by their roialtie one after another, the kingdome of Britaine beginneth to be a monarchie; Ethelwulf king of the Westsaxons, he marrieth his butlers daughter, his disposition; the fourth destruction of this land by forren enimies, the Danes sought the ruine of this Ile, how long they afflicted and troubled the same; two notable bishops and verie seruiceable to king Ethelwulf in warre, the Danes discomfited, the Eng- lishmen chased, Ethelwulfs great victorie ouer the Danes, a great slaughter of them at Tenet, king Ethelwulfs deuotion and liberalitie to churches, Peter pence paid to Rome, he ma- rieth the ladie Iudith, his two sonnes conspire (vpon oc- casion of breaking a law) to depose him, king Ethel- wulf dieth, his four sonnes by his first wife Osburga, how he bequeathed his kingdoms.

## The tenth Chapter.



When Cuthred K. of Kent Wil. Malm. had reigned 8 yeres, as be- fore is mentioned, he was constrained to giue place vnto one Walbrod, that took vpon him the gouernment, & reig- ned the space of 18 yeres, without anie great authoritie, for his subiects regarded him but forlie, so that in the end, when his countrie was inuaded by the West- saxons, he was easilie constrained to depart into ex- ile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, after the same kingdome had continued in gouernment of kings created of the same nation for the space of 382 yeres, that is to say, from the yere of our Lord 464, vnto the yere 827. Suthred or Suthred king of Essex was vanquished and expelled out of his kingdome by Egbert king of Westsaxons (as before ye maie read) in the same yere that the Kentishmen were subdued by the said Egbert, or else verie shortly af- ter. This kingdome continued 281 yeres, from the yere 614, vnto the yere 795, as by the table of the Heptarchie set forth by Alexander Neuell appe- reth. After the deceasse of Kentwulf king of Mercia, his sonne Kenelm a child of the age of seuen yeres was admitted king, about the yere of our Lord 821. He had two sisters, Quendred and Burgensild, of the which the one (that is to say) Quendred, of a ma- licious mind, moued through ambition, enuied hir brothers advancement, and sought to make him a- waie, so that in the end he corrupted the gouernour of his person one Alshbert, with great rewards and high promises persuaading him to dispatch hir inno- cent brother out of life, that the might reigne in his place: Alshbert one day vnder a colour to haue the young king forth on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie, an- time by reason of his tender yeres and innocent age, vnto the world void of gilt, and yet thus traito- rouslie murdered without cause or crime: he was afterward reputed for a martyr.

There hath gone a tale that his death should be signified at Rome, and the place where the murder was committed, by a strange manner: for (as they say) a white doue came and lighted vpon the altar of saint Peter, bearing a scroll in hir bill, which she let fall on the same altar, in which scroll among other things this was contained, In elenc kou bath, Ken- elme kinbarne lieth vnder thorne, heaued becau- ed: that is, at Clenc in a cow pasture, Kenelm the kings child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale

The end of  
the kingdome  
of Kent.  
827

The end of  
the kingdome  
of Essex.

Matt. Westm.  
821  
The wicked-  
ness of Quen-  
dred.

King Kenelm  
murdered.

See legenda  
aurea, fol. 165.  
in the life of  
S. Kenelm.



Ceolwulfe k.  
of Mercia.  
823

I rehearse, not for anie credit I thinke it wortie of, but onelie for that it seemeth to note the place where the young prince innocentlie lost his life.

After that Kenelme was thus made awaie, his uncle Ceolwulfe the brother of king Kenulfe was created king of Mercia, and in the second yere of his reigne was expelled by Bernwulfe. Bernwulfe in the third yere of his reigne, was vanquished and put to flight in battell by Egbert king of Westsaxons, and shortly after slaine of the Eastangles, as before ye haue heard. Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created king of Mercia, and within two yeres after came to the like end that happened to his predecessor before him, as he went about to reuenge his death, so that the kingdome of Britaine began now to riele from their owne estate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erection of a perfect monarchie, and finall subuersion of their particular estates and regiments. After Ludicenus, succeeded Wightlase, who first being vanquished by Egbert king of Westsaxons, was afterwards restored to the kingdome by the same Egbert, and reigned 13 yeres, whereof twelue at the least were vnder tribute which he paid to the said Egbert and to his sonne, as to his souereignes and supream gouernours. The kingdome of Northumberland was brought in subiection to the kings of Westsaxons, as before is mentioned, in the yere of our Lord 828, and in the yere of the reigne of king Egbert 28, but yet here it toke not end, as after shall appere.

Ethelwulfus.

Henric Hunt.  
March. West.

Wil. Malm.

Four expect-  
all destructi-  
ons of this  
land.

Simon Dun.  
Hen. Hunt.

Ethelwulfus, otherwise called by some writers Aethulfus, began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons in the yere 837, which was in the 24 yere of the empero: Ludouicus Pius that was also k. of France, in the tenth yere of Theophilus the empero: of the East, & about the third yere of Kenneth, the second of that name king of Scots. This Ethelwulfe minding in his youth to haue bene a priest, entered into the orders of subdeacon, and as some write, he was bishop of Winchester: but howsoeuer the matter stood, whether he was or not, sure it is, that shortly after he was absolved of his bowes by authoritie of pope Leo, and then married a proper gentlewoman named Osburga, which was his butlers daughter. He was of nature courteous, and rather desirous to liue in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the gouernment of manie countries, so that contenting himselfe with the kingdome of Westsaxons, he permitted his brother Adelfan to inioy the residue of the countries which his father had subdued, as Kent and Essex, with other. He aided Burthoth the king of Mercia against the Welshmen, and greatlie aduanced his estimation, by giuing vnto him his daughter in marriage.

But now the fourth destruction which chanced to this land by forren enemies, was at hand: for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of those northeast regions, which in that season were great rousers by sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and prizes as they had taken in the same, so that perceiuing they could not purchase more profit anie where else, they set their minds to inuade the same on eche side, as they had partly begun in the daies of the late kings Wightrike and Egbert. The persecution vsed by these Danes seemed more grieuous, than anie of the other persecutions, either before or sithens that time: for the Romans hauing quicklie subdued the land, gouerned it noblie without seeking the subuersion thereof. The Scots and Picts onelie inuaded the north parts. And the Saxons seeking the conquest of the land, when they had once got it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and aduance it to a flourishing estate.

The Romans likewise hauing made a conquest,

granted both life, libertie, and ancient lawes to the former inhabitants: but the Danes long time and often assailing the land on euerie side, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at the first so much couet to conquer it, as to spoile it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waste and destroy it: who if they were at anie time overcome, the victors were nothing the more in quiet: for a new nation, and a greater armie was ready to make some new inuasion, neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one companie on the east side, and another in the west, or in the north and south coasts, in such sort, that the Englishmen knew not whether they should first go to make resistance against them.

This mischief began chieflie in the daies of this king Ethelwulfe, but it continued about the space of two hundred yeres, as by the sequel of this booke it shall appere. King Ethelwulfe was not so much giuen to ease, but that vpon occasion for defense of his countrie and subiects, he was ready to take order for the beating backe of the enemies, as occasion serued, and spectallie chose such to be of his counsell, as were men of great experience and wisdom. Amongst other, there were two notable prelates, Suthune bishop of Winchester, and Adelfan bishop of Shireborne, who were ready euer to giue him good aduise. Suthune was not so much expert in worldly matters as Adelfan was, & therefore chieflie counselled the king in things appertaining to his soules health: but Adelfan toke in hand to order matters appertaining to the state of the commonwealth, as prouiding of monie, and furnishing forth of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him manie things were both boldly begun, and happily achieved, as by writers hath bene recorded. He gouerned the se of Shireborne the space of 50 yeres, by the good counsell and faithfull aduise of those two prelates.

King Ethelwulfe gouerned his subiects verie politely, and by himselfe and his capteins oftentimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receiued at their hands great losses, and sundrie foie detriments. In the first yere of his reigne, the Danes arrived at Hampton, with 33 ships, against whom he sent earle Aethelhard with part of his armie, the which giuing battell to the enemies, made great slaughter of them, and obtained a noble victorie. He sent also earle Adelfane with the Dorsetshire men against an other number of the Danes, which were landed at Dorsetmouth, but after long fight, the said Adelfane was slaine, and the Danes obtained the victorie. In the yere following, earle Herbert fought against the Danes at Herefware, and was there slaine, and his men chased. The same yere, a great armie of Danes passing by the east parts of the land, as through Lindsey, East Angles, and Kent, slue and murdered an huge number of people. The next yere after this, they entered further into the land, and about Canturburie, Rochester, and London, did much mischief.

King Ethelwulfe in the fifth yere of his reigne, with a part of his armie incountred with the Danes at Carrum, the which were arrived in those parties with 30 ships, hauing their full fraught of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of men of warre, in so much that they obtained the victorie at that time, and put the king to the flight. About the tenth yere of king Ethelwulfs reigne, one of his capteins called Cenwulfe, and bishop Adelfan, with the Summerfetshire men, and an other capteine called Othred, with the Dorsetshire men, fought against the Danes, at a place called Bedredeselmuth, and vanquished them with great triumph. In the sixteenth yere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe and his sonne Edelfard hauing assembled all

The Danes  
fought the  
Battles of  
this land.

How long the  
persecution  
of the Danes  
lasted.

Will. Malm.

Two notable  
bishops in  
Ethelwulfs  
dayes.

Simon Dun.  
Hen. Hunt.

Danes vs.  
conquered.  
March. West.

Englishmen  
put to flight.

They are  
conquered  
quitted.

Cerrom.

The Danes  
won the  
victory in  
this battle.  
Danes  
quitted.  
Simon Dun.  
811



Bertwolfe king of Mercia tributarie to the West Saxons, the same of Modwen an Irish virgine, she was a great builder of monasteries, she had the gift of healing diseases, Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuide their fathes kingdome betwixt them, Ethelbald marieth his mother, he dieth, Winchester destroyed by the Danes, they played the trucebreakers and did much mischief in Kent, Ethelbright dieth; Ethelred king of the West Saxons, his commendable qualities, his regiment was full of trouble, he fought against the Danes nine times in one yere with happie success, the kings of Mercia fall from their fealtie and allegiance to Ethelred, Hungar & Vbba two Danish capteines with their power lie in East Angles, Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine of the Danes in battell, they set Yorke on fire, a commendation of bishop Adelfstan, his departure out of this life.

### The cleuenth Chapter.

Bertwolfe,  
of Mercia.



Math. West.  
smith the  
daughter.  
Ranulf. Cest.  
John Cap-  
grau.

After Wightlase king of Mercia, one Bertwolfe reigned as tributarie unto the West Saxons, the space of 13 yeres, about the end of which tearme he was chased out of his countrie by the Danes, and then one Wuthred was made king of that kingdome, which married Ethelswida the sister of Ethelwolfe king of West Saxons. In this season, one Modwen a virgine in Ireland was greatlie renowned in the world, unto whome the forenamed king Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease, that was thought incurable: but by his meanes he recovered health, and therefore when his monasterie was destroyed in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, unto whom king Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two abbeies, and also deliuered unto his sister Edith to be possessed a nun. Modwen hereupon built two monasteries, one at Donlesworth, ioining to the bounds of Arderne, wherein she placed the foresaid Edith, with Edith and Athea: the other, whether it was a monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenthall or Trentfall, where she herselfe remained solitarie a certeine time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thence to Rome, and finally died, being 120 yeres of age. Her bodie was first buried in an Island compassed about with the riuer of Trent called Andrefey, taking that name of a church or chappell of saint Andrefey, which she had built in the same Island, and dwelled therein for the space of seven yeres. Many monasteries she builded, both in England (as partly aboue is mentioned) and also in Scotland, as at Striueling, Edenbrough; and in Ireland, at Celestine, and elswhere.

Ethelbald  
and Ethel-  
bright.

857

The unlawfull  
marriage of  
Ethelbald,  
with Malm.

Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuiding their fathes kingdome betwixt them, began to reigne, Ethelbald ouer the West Saxons and the South Saxons, and Ethelbright ouer them of Kent and Essex, in the yere of our Lord 857, which was in the second yere of the emperor Lewis the second, & the 17 of Charles surnamed Calvus or the bald king of France, and about the first yere of Donald the first of that name king of Scots. He said Ethelbald greatlie to his reproch toke to wife his mother in law quene Judith, or rather (as some write) his owne mother, whom his father had kept as concubine. He liued not past five yeres in gouernement of the kingdome, but was taken out of this life to the great sorow of his subjects whom he ruled right woorthilie, and so as they had him in great loue and estimation. Then his brother Ethelbright toke on him the rule of the whole gouernment, as well ouer the West Saxons & them

of Sussex, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Essex.

In his daies the Danes came on land, and destroyed the citie of Winchester: but duke Osrike with them of Hamthire, and duke Aethelwulf with the Barke: shire men gaue the enemies battell, & banquishing them, slue of them a great number. In the first yere of Ethelbrights reigne, a nauie of Danes arrived in the Ile of Kent, unto whome when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of monie to haue a truce granted for a time, the Danes one night, before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and walked all the east part of Kent: whereupon the Kentishmen assembled together, made towarde those trucebreakers, and caused them to depart out of the countrie. The same yere, after that Ethelbright had ruled well and peaceably the West Saxons five yeres, and the Kentishmen ten yeres, he ended his life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

After Ethelbright succeeded his brother Ethelred, and began his reigne ouer the West Saxons and the more part of the English people, in the yere of our Lord 867, and in the 12 yere of the emperor Lewis, in the 27 yere of the reigne of Charles Calvus king of France, and about the 6 yere of Constantine the second king of Scots. Conquering this Ethelred, he was in time of peace a most courteous prince, and one that by all kind of meanes sought to win the hearts of the people: but abroad in the warres he was sharpe and stern, as he that understood what appertained to good order, so that he would suffer no offense to escape unpunished. By which meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but he neither liued any long time in the gouernement, nor yet was suffered to passe the short space that he reigned in rest and quietnesse.

For whereas he reigned not past six yeres, he was continually during that tearme vexed with the inuasion of the Danes, and speciallie towards the latter end, inasmuch that (as hath bene reported of writers) he fought with them nine times in one yere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with the victorie. Beside that, he oftentimes lay in wait for their foragers, and such as strayed abroad to rob and spoile the countrie, whom he met withall and overthrew. There were slaine in his time nine earles of those Danes, and one king, beside other of the number so without number.

But here is to be understood, that in this meane time, whilst Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the inuasions of the Danes in the south and west parts of this land, the kings and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland taking occasion thereof, began to withdraw their couenanted subiection from the West Saxons, and toke upon them as it were the absolute gouernment and rule of their countries, without respect to aid one another, but rather were contented to suffer the enemies within their dominions, than to prevent the iniurie with dutifull assistance to those, whom by allegiance they were bound to serue and obey.

By reason hereof, the Danes without resistance grew into greater power amongst them, whilst the inhabitants were still put in feare each day more than other, and euery late gotten victorie by the enemies by the increase of prisoners, increased occasion of some other conquest to follow. Euen about the beginning of Ethelreds reigne, there arrived upon the English coasts an huge armie of the Danes, under the conduct of two renowned capteins Hungar and Abba, men of marvellous strength and valiance, but both of them passing cruell of nature. A hee

Hen. Hunt.  
Winchelsea  
destroyed by  
Danes.  
Danes  
banquish.

Ethelred.

867

Some yeres  
for monies  
saith Harlow.  
Wil. Malm.  
Ethelred  
fought with  
the Danes  
nine times in  
one yere.

The kings of  
Mercia and  
Northumber-  
land weiged  
their duties.

The Danes  
grew in power  
there.

Hungar &  
Abba

lay all the winter season in Estangle, compounding with them of the countrie for truce upon certeine conditions, sparing for a time to shew their force for quietnesse sake.

In the second yere of king Ethelred, the said captains came with their armies into Dorsetshire, finding the country unprovided of necessarie defence because of the civill discord that reigned among the Southumbres, the which had lateine expelled king Oswigt, that had the gouvernement of those parts, and placed one Ella in his roome: howbeit now they were constrained to reuoke him home againe, and sought to accord him and Ella. But it was long yet that might be brought to passe, notwithstanding yet at length they were made friends, by reason of this invasion attempted by foren enemies, and then raising their powers they came to Porke, where the Danes, having wasted the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine, were lodged.

The English host entring the cite, began to fight with the Danes, by reason whereof a foze battell issued betwixt them: but in the end the two kings Oswigt and Ella were slaine, and a great number of the Southumbres, what within the cite, and what without lost their liues at that time, the residue were constrained to take truce with the Danes. This battell was fought the 21 day of March being in Lent, on the Friday before Palm Sunday, in the yere 657.

Some haue written otherwise of this battell, reporting that the Southumbres calling home king Oswigt (whome before they had banished) incoun- tred with the Danes in the field, without the walles of Porke, but they were easilie beaten backe, and chased into the cite, the which by the Danes pursuing the victorie, was set on fire and burnt, together with the king and people that were fled into it for succour. How soeuer it came about, certeine it is, that the Danes got the victorie, and now having subdued the Southumbres, appointed one Egbert to reigne ouer them as king, under their protection, which Egbert reigned in that foxt six yeares ouer those which inhabited beyond the riuer of Tine. In the same yere, Adelfane bishop of Shireborne departed this life, having gouerned that see the terme of 50 yeares.

This Adelfane was a man of high wisdom, and one that had borne no small rule in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when king Ethelwulf returned from Rome, he would not suffer him to be admitted king, because he had done in certeine points contrarie to the ordinances and lawes of the same kingdome, whereupon by this bishops means Ethelbald the sonne of the same king Ethelwulf was established king, and so continued till by agreement the kingdome was diuided betwixt them, as before is mentioned. Finally, he greatlie enriched the see of Shireborne, and yet though he was feruentlie set on couetousnesse, he was neuertheless verie free and liberall in gifts: which contrarie extremities so ill matched, though in him (the time wherein he liued being considered) they might seeme somewhat tollerable, yet simple & in truth they were verie repugnant to the law of the spirit, which bid- deth that none should doe euill that god may come thereof. Against which precept because Adelfane could not but offend in the heat of his couetousnesse, which is termed the rot of all mischiefe, though he was exceeding bountifull and large in distributing the wealth he had greedilie gotten together, he must needs incur reprehension. But this is so much the lesse to be imputed vnto him as a fault, by how much he was ignorant that (by the rule of equitie and conscience) was requirable in a christian man, or one of his vocation.

Burthred king of Mercia with aid be- seegeth the Danes in Nottingham, Bas- reeg and Halden two Danish kings with their powers invade the Westsaxons, they are incoun- tered by Ethelwulf earle of Berkshire; King Ethel- red giueth them and their chiefe guides a fore discomfure; what Polydor Virgil recordeth touching one Iuarus king of the Danes, and the warres that Ethelred had with them, his death; Edmund king of Eastangles giueth battell to the Danes, he yeeldeth himselfe, and for christian religion sake is by them most cruelly murdered, the kingdome of the Eastangles endeth, Guthrun a Dane gouerneth the whole countrie, K. Ofbriht rauisheth the wife of one Beorne a noble man, a bloodie bat- tell ensueth thereupon, wherein Of- briht and Ella are slaine.

## The twelfth Chapter.

In the yere following, Burthred that is to say, in the third yere of Ethelreds reigne, he with his brother Alured went to aid Burthred king of Mercia, against the two foresaid Danish captiues Hungar and Abba, the which were entred into Mercia, and had won the tokeine for the winter season. Whereupon the foresaid Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Nottingham, and besieged the Danes within it. The Danes perceiuing themselves in danger, made suite for a truce & abstinence from war, which they obtained, and then departed backe to Porke, where they sojourned the most part of all that yere.

In the first yere of king Ethelreds reigne, a new armie of great force and power came into the countrie of the Westsaxons under two leaders of kings of the Danes, Basreeg and Halden. They lodged at Reding with their maine armie, and with in three daies after the earle of Berrockshire Edelwulf fought at Englesfield with two earles of those Danes, vanquished them, and slue the one of those earles, whose name was Sidroc. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alured came with a great host vnto Reding, and there gaue battell vnto the armie of Danes, so that an huge number of people died on both parts, but the Danes had the victorie.

After this also king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought againe with those Danes at Ache- don, where the armies on both sides were diuided into two parts, so that the two Danish kings lead the one part of their armie, & certeine of their earles lead the other part. Likewise on the English side king Ethelred was placed with one part of the host against the Danish kings, and Alured with the other part was appointed to incounter with the earles. Whereupon they being on both parts readie to giue battell, the euening coming on caused them to de- ferre it till the morow. And so earlie in the morning when the armies should loine, king Ethelred staid in his tent the heare divine seruice, whilst his brother upon a forward courage hasted to incounter his enemies, the which receiued him so sharplie, and with so cruell fight, that at length, the Englishmen were at point to haue turned their backs. But here- with came king Ethelred and manfullie ended the battell, staid his people from running away, and so encouraged them, and discouraged the enemies, that by the power of God (whom as was thought in the morning he had serued) the Danes finally were chased and put to flight, losing one of their kings (that is to say) Basreeg or Dircg, and 5 earles, Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the yonger, Dherne, Freine,

How Ethel- red was deposed and Ella placed.

Oswigt and Ella kings of Southumbria. Oswald be- came king in the 10th yere of Ethelred, and was killed by the Danes.

The battle of Porke.

The comment- ary of Bede on the death of Oswigt.

Sidroc the elder and the yonger.

Burthred king of Mercia.

Danes besieged in Nottingham.

Basreeg and Halden.

Edelwulf, earle of Berkshire fought at Englesfield with the Danes.

The Danes man the victorie at Achedon.

The Danes discomfited.

A battell at  
Sperton.He was bi-  
shop of Shire-  
borne as Matt.  
West. saith.

Polyd. Virg.

Iuarus.

Danes put to  
flight.Agnerus and  
Hubba.Winborne ab-  
bey.Agnerus.  
Fabian.

870

Edmund k.  
of the East-  
angles.Frammingham  
castell.  
King Ed-  
ward shot to  
death.

freine, and Harold. This battell was sore fought, and continued till night, with the slaughter of manie thousands of Danes. About 14 daies after, king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought battles with the Danish armie at Walsing, where the Danes had the victorie. Also two moneths after this they likewise fought with the Danes at Sperton. And there the Danes, after they had bene put to the worse, & pursued in chase a long time, yet at length they also got the victorie, in which battell Edmund bishop of Shireborne was slaine, and manie other that were men of worthie fame and good account.

In the summer following, a mightie host of the Danes came to Reading, and there sojourned for a time. These things agree not with that which Polydore Virgil hath written of these warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes: for he maketh mention of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he writeth) at the mouth of Humber, and like a stout enimie invaded the countrie adjoining. Against whom Ethelred with his brother Alured came with an armie, and encountering the Danes, fought with them by the space of a whole day together, and was in danger to have bene put to the worse, but that the night severed them asunder. In the morning they joined againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chanced to be slaine in the beginning of the battell, discouraged the Danes, so that they were easilie put to flight, of whom (before they could get out of danger) a great number were slaine. But after that they had recovered themselves together, and found out a convenient place where to pitch their campe, they chose to their capitaines Agnerus, and Hubba, two brethren, which indued themselves by all meanes possible to repaire their armie: so that within 15 daies after, the Danes with forces fought with the Englishmen, and gaue them such an overthrow, that little wanted of making an end of all incounters to be attempted after by the Englishmen.

But yet within a few daies after this, as the Danes attended their market to spoile the countrie and range somewhat licentiouslie abroad, they fell within the danger of such ambushes as were laid for them by king Ethelred, that no small slaughter was made of them, but yet not without some losse of the Englishmen. Amongest others, Ethelred himselfe received a wound, whereof he shortly after died. Thus saith Polydore touching the warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes, who yet confesseth (as the truth is) that such authors as he herein followed, varie much from that which the Danish writers do record of these matters, and namely touching the doings of Iuarus, as in the Danish historie you may see more at large.

But now to our purpose touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reason of hurt received in fight against the Danes (as Polydore saith) or otherwise, certaine it is, that Ethelred anon after Easter departed this life, in the first yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Winborne abbey. In the daies of this Ethelred, the foresaid Danish capitaines, Hungar, otherwise called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the north parts into the countrie of the Eastangles, came unto Chetford, whereof Edmund, who reigned as king in that season over the Eastangles, being advertised, raised an armie of men, and went forth to give battell to this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chased out of the field, and fled to the castell of Frammingham, where being environed with a siege by his enimies, he yielded himselfe unto them. And because he would not renounce the christian faith, they bound him to a tree, and shot arrows at him till he died: and afterwards cut off his head from his

bodie, and threwe the same into a thicke grove of bushes. But afterwards his friends took the bodie with the head, and buried the same at Egleston: where afterward also a faire monastierie was builded by one bishop Alwin, and changing the name of the place, it was after called saint Edmundstorie. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruell Danes for his constant confessing the name of Christ, in the 16 yeare of his reigne, and so ceased the kingdome of Eastangles. For after that the Danes had thus slaine that blessed man, they conquered all the countrie, & wasted it, so that through their tyrannie it remained without any gouernour by the space of nine yeares, and then they appointed a king to rule ouer it, whose name was Guthrum, one of their owne nation, who gouerned both the Eastangles and the Eastsaxons.

We haue heard how the Danes slue Erike and Ella kings of Northumberland. After which victorie by them obtained, they did much hurt in the north parts of this land, and amongst other cruell deeds, they destroyed the citie of Acluid, which was a famous citie in the time of the old Saxons, as by Beda and other writers doth manifestlie appeare. Here is to be remembred, that some writers beare the cause to be this. Edbright or Erike king of Northumberland rautished the wife of one Berne that was a noble man of the countrie about Poike, who took such great despight thereat, that he fled out of the land, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke his cousin of the iniurie done to him by king Edbright. Whereupon the king of Denmarke, glad to haue so iust a quarrell against them of Northumberland, furnished forth an armie, and sent the same by sea (under the leading of his two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they slue first the said king Edbright, and after king Ella, at a place besides Poike, which vnto this day is called Ellas croft, taking that name of the said Ella, being there slaine in defense of his countrie against the Danes. Which Ella (as we find registred by writers) was elected king by such of the Northumbers, as in fauour of Berne had refused to be subiect vnto Edbright.

Alfred ruleth ouer the Westsaxons and the greatest part of England, the Danes afflict him with sore warre, and cruellie make wast of his kingdome, they lie at London a whole winter, they invade Mercia, the king whereof (Burthred by name) forsaketh his countrie and goeth to Rome, his death and buriall. Halden king of the Danes diuideth Northumberland among his people: Alfred encountereth with the Danes vpon the sea, they sweare to him that they will depart out of his kingdome, they breake the truce which was made betwixt him and them, he giueth them battell, and (besides a great discomfiture) killeth manie of their capitaines, the Danes and English fight neere Abington, the victorie vncertaine, seuen foughten fieldes betwixt them in one yeare, the Danes sojourn at London.

## The xiiij. Chapter.



After the decease of king Ethelred, his brother Alured or Alfred succeeded him, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and other the more part of the people of England, in the yeare of our Lord 872, which was in the 19 yeare of the emperorour Letres the second, and 32 yeare of the reigne of Charles the bald, king of France, and about the eleventh yeare of Constantine



time the second king of Scotland. Although this Alured was consecrated king in his fathers life time by pope Leo (as befoze ye haue heard) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the decease of his three elder brethren: for he being the youngest, was kept backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wisdom and policie most highlie esteemed and had in all honour.

Alured persecuted by Danes.

Mar. Westm.

The Danes notice the victory.

The Danes wintered at London.

874  
Kington.

Southey king of Mercia.

875  
The Danes went into Northumberland.

The Danes at Cambridge  
876

The Danes took an oth.  
Hen. Hunt.

The Danes went to Exeter.

Hen. Hunt.

877  
Polydor.

In the beginning of his reigne he was wraped in manie great troubles and miseries, speciallie by the persecution of the Danes, which made fore and greuous wars in sundrie parts of this land, destroying the same in most cruell wise. About a moneth after he was made king, he gaue battell to the Danes of Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, so that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the worse, yet in the end they obtained the victorie. Shortlie after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Westsaxons. And the Danes that had lien at Reading, remoued from thence vnto London, where they lay all the winter season. In the second yeare of Alured his reigne, the Danish king Halden led the same armie from London into Lindsey, and there lodged all that winter at Loxhote. In the yeare following, the same Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintered at Ripindon. There were come to him three other leaders of Danes which our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Ekstetell, & Ammond, so that their power was greatlie increased. Burthred king of Mercia which had gouerned that countrie by the space of 22 yeares, was not able to withstand the puissance of those enemies: whereupon he was constrained to auoid the countrie, and went to Rome, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of our labie, nere to the English schole.

In the fourth yeare of king Alured the armie of the Danes diuided it selfe into two parts, so that king Halden with one part thereof went into Northumberland, and lay in the winter season nere to the riuer of Tyne, where hee diuided the countrie amongst his men, and remained there for the space of two yeares, and oftentimes fetched thither booties and preies out of the countrie of the Brits. The other part of the Danish armie with the three foresaid kings or leaders came vnto Cambridge, and remained there a whole yeare. In the same yeare king Alured fought by sea with 7 ships of Danes, took one of them, & chased the residue. In the yeare next ensuing, the Danes came into the countrie of the Westsaxons, and king Alured took truce with them againe, and they sware to him (which they had not vsed to doo to anie afoze that time) that they would depart the countrie. Their armie by sea sailing from Warham toward Creefer, sustained great losse by tempest, for there perished 120 ships at Swane-wicke.

Whereouer the armie of the Danes by land went to Creefer in breach of the truce, and king Alured followed them, but could not overtake them till they came to Creefer, and there he appoched them in such wise, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performance of such covenants as were accorded betwixt him and them. And so then they departed out of the countrie, and drew into Mercia. But shortlie after, when they had the whole gouernment of the land, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to suffer king Alured to continue in rest with the residue of the countries beyond Thames. And therefore the three foresaid rulers of Danes, Godrun, Ekstetell, and Ammond, inuading the countrie of Westsaxons came to Chipnam, distant 17 miles from Wilton, & there pitched their tents. King Alured aduertised hereof, hasted thither,

and lodging with his armie nere to the enemies, prouoked them to battell. The Danes perceiuing that either they must fight for their liues, or die with shame, boldlie came forth, and gaue battell. The Englishmen rashlie encountered with them, and though they were ouermatched in number, yet with such violence they gaue the onset, that the enemies at the first were abashed at their hardie assaults. But when as it was perceiued that their slender ranks were not able to resist the thicke leggers of the enemies, they began to shrinke & looke backe one vpon another, and so of force were constrained to retire: and therewithall did cast themselves into a ring, which though it seemed to be the best way that could be deuised for their safetie, yet by the great force and number of their enemies on each side assailing them, they were so thronged together on heaps, that they had no room to stir their weapons. Which disadvantage notwithstanding, they slue a great number of the Danes, and amongst other, Hubba slaine, brother of Agner, with manie other of the Danish captiues. At length the Englishmen hauing valiantlie foughten a long time with the enemies, which had compassed them about, at last brake out and got them to their campe. To be brieue, this battell was foughten with so equall fortune, that no man knew to whether part the victorie ought to be ascribed. But after they were once seuered, they took care to cure their hurt men, and to burie the dead bodie, namely the Danes interred the bodie of their captiue Hubba with great funerall pompe and solemnitie: which done, they held out their iournie till they came to Abington, whither the English armie shortlie after came also, and incamped fast by the enemies.

Hubba slaine.

The victorie doubtfull.

Abington.

In this meane while, the rumor was spread abroad that king Alured had bene discomfited by the Danes, because that in the last battell he withdrew to his campe. This turned greatlie to his advantage: for thereby a great number of Englishmen hasted to come to his succour. On the morrow after his comming to Abington, he brought his armie ready to fight into the field: neither were the enemies slacke on their parts to receiue the battell, and so the two armies ioined and fought verie sore on both sides: so that it seemed the Englishmen had not to doo with those Danes, which had bene diuerse times befoze discomfited and put to flight, but rather with some new people fresh and lustie. But neither the one part nor the other was minded to giue over: in so much that the horsemen alighting on foot, and putting their horses from them, entered the battell amongst the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, which parted the affray, being one of the sorest foughten fields that had bene heard of in those daies. To whether partie a man might iustlie attribute the victorie, it was doubtfulie vncertaine, with so like losse & gaine the matter was tried & ended betwixt them. With the semblable chance of danger and glorie seven times that yeare did the English and Danes encounter in battell, as writers haue recorded. At length, when their powers on both parts were sore diminished, they agreed vpon a peace, with these conditions, that the Danes should not attempt anie further warre against the Englishmen, nor bring into this land a nie new supplie of souldiers out of Denmarke. But this peace by those peacemakers was violated and broken, in so much as they ment nothing lesse than to fall from the conceiued hope which they had of bearing rule in this land, and of enriching themselves with the goods, possessions, rents and reuenues of the inhabitants. The same yeare the Danes sojourned in the winter season at London, according as they had done often times befoze.

The Danes and Englishmen fight near to Abington.

Uncertaine victorie.  
Thus farre Polydor.

Ran. Higd.

A peace agreed vpon.

The Danes sojourned at London.

Rollo a noble man of Denmarke with a fresh power entred England, and beginneth to waste it, king Alured giueth him battell, Rollo saileth ouer into France; who first inhabited Normandie, and whereof it tooke that name; the Danes breake the peace which was made betwixt them and Alured, he is driuen to his shifts by their inuasions into his kingdome, a vision appeereth to him and his mother; king Alured disguising himselfe like a minstrell entereth the Danish campe, marketh their behauiour vn suspected, assaileth them on the sudden with a fresh power, and killeth manie of them at aduantage; the Deuonshire men giue the Danes battell vnder the conduct of Haldens brother, and are discomfited; Alured fighteth with them at Edanton, they giue him hostages, Gurthrun their king is baptised and named Adelstan, a league concluded betwixt both the kings, the bounds of Alureds kingdome.

### The xiiij Chapter.

Ann. 876 faith  
Simon Dun.



30 yeeres after  
this he was  
baptised.

King Alured  
driuen to his  
shifts.

Edlingsey.

A vision if it  
be true.

About the same time, 20  
shortly after, there came into  
England one Rollo, a noble  
man of Denmarke 20  
way, with a great armie, and  
(notwithstanding the peace  
concluded betwixt the En-  
glishmen and the Danes) be-  
gan to waste and destroy the countrie. King Alured  
hearing these newes, with all speed thought best in  
the beginning to stop such a common mischiefe, and  
immediatly assembling his people, went against  
the enimies, and gaue them battell, in the which there  
died a great number of men on both sides, but the  
greater losse fell to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthew  
Westmin. faith, that the Englishmen were put to  
flight. After this, it chanced that Rollo being warned  
in a dreame, lest England, & sailed ouer into France,  
where he found fortune so fauourable to him, that he  
obtained in that region for him and his people a  
countrie, the which was afterwards named Nor-  
mandie, of those northerne people which then began  
to inhabit the same, as in the histories of France  
you maie see more at large.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king  
Alured (as before you haue heard) shortly after, vpon  
the first occasion, brake the same, and by often in-  
uasions which they made into the countrie of West-  
saxons, brought the matter to that passe, that there  
remained to king Alured but onelie the three coun-  
tries of Hamshire, Wiltshire, & Summerfetshire, 50  
in so much that he was constrained for a time to  
keepe himselfe close within the fennes and marshes  
groundes of Summerfetshire, with such small com-  
panies as he had about him, constrained to get their  
liuing with fishing, hunting, and other such shifts. He  
remained for the most part within an Ile called E-  
dington, that is to say, the Island of noble men, enu-  
roned about with fennes and marshes.

Whiles he was thus shut vp within this Island, he  
was by dreame aduertised of better hap shortly to  
follow: for as it hath bene said, saint Guthbert ap-  
peered to him as he laie in sleepe, and comforted him,  
declaring to him, that within a while fortune should  
so turne, that he should recouer againe his kingdome  
to the confusion of his enimies. And to assure him  
that this should proue true, he told him that his men  
which were gone abroad to catch fish, should bring  
home great plentie, although the season was against  
them, by reason that the waters were frozen, and that  
a cold rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of  
their purpose. His mother also at that time being in  
sleepe, saw the like vision. And as they had dreamed,  
so it came to passe: for being awakened out of their  
sleepe, became his men with so great follo of fish,

that the same might haue sufficed a great armie of  
men, for the vittelling of them at that season.

Shortly after, king Alured toke vpon him the ba-  
bit of a minstrell, and going forth of his closure, re-  
paired to the campe of the Danish king, onelie ac-  
companied with one trustie seruant, and tarrying  
there certeine daies together, was suffered to go in-  
to euerie part, and plaie on his instrument, as well  
afore the king as others, so that there was no secret,  
but that he vnderstood it. Now when he had scene and  
learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned  
againe to his people at Edlingsey, and there decla-  
red to his nobles what he had scene and heard, what  
negligence was amongst the enimies, and how ea-  
sie a matter it should be for him to indamage them.  
Whereupon they conceiuing a marvellous good  
hope, and emboldened with his words, a power was  
assembled together, and spies sent forth to learne and  
bring word where the Danes lodged: which being  
done, and certificat made accordingly, king Alured  
comming vpon them on the sudden, slue of them a  
great number, hauing them at great aduantage.

About the same time the brother of king Halden  
came with thirtie and three ships out of Wales into  
the countrie of Westsaxons, on the coast of Deuon-  
shire, where the Deuonshire men gaue him battell,  
and slue him with 840 persons of his retinue. Other  
write, that Halden himselfe was present at this con-  
flict, with Ingware, other wise called Hungar, and  
that they were both slaine there, with twelue hun-  
dred of their companie (before a certeine castell cal-  
led Aintwith) receiuing as they had deserued for their  
cruell dealing latelie by them practised in the parties  
of Southwales, where they had wasted all afore them  
with fire and sword, not sparing abbeies more than  
other common buildings.

King Alured being with that good lucke the more  
comforted, builded a fortreffe in the Ile of Edling-  
sey, afterwards called Athelney, and breaking out  
offentimes vpon the enimies, distressed them at sur-  
prise times with the aid of the Summerfetshire men,  
which were at hand. About the seventh weeke after  
Easter, in the seventh yeere of his reigne, king Al-  
ured went to Eglington, on the east part of Sel-  
wood, where there came to him the people of Sum-  
merfetshire, Wiltshire, & Hamshire, reioicing great-  
ly to see him abroad. From thence he went to Edan-  
ton, & there fought against the armie of the Danes,  
and chased them vnto their strength, where he remai-  
ned afore them the space of fouretene daies. Then  
the armie of the Danes belliuered him hostages and  
covenants to depart out of his dominions, and that  
their king should be baptised, which was accom-  
plished: for Gurthrun, whome some name Gurmond,  
a prince or king amongst these Danes, came to Al-  
ured and was baptised, king Alured receiuing him at  
the fontaine, named him Adelstan, and gaue to him  
the countrie of Eastangle, which he gouerned (or ra-  
ther spoiled) by the space of twelue yeeres.

Diuers other of the Danish nobilitie to the num-  
ber of thirtie (as Simon Dunelmensis faith) came at  
the same time in companie of their king Gurthrun,  
and were likewise baptised, on whome king Alured  
bestowed manie rich gifts. At the same time (as is  
to be thought) was the league concluded betwixt  
king Alured and the said Gurthrun or Gurmond, in  
which the bounds of king Alureds kingdome are set  
forth thus: First therefore let the bounds or marches  
of our dominion stretch vnto the riuer of Thames,  
and from thence to the water of Lea, even vnto the  
head of the same water, and so forth streight vnto  
Bedford: and finally going alongst by the riuer of  
Ouse, let them end at Watlingstreet.

This league being made with the aduise of the  
same

King Alured  
disguiseth  
himselfe  
Polydor.  
Fabian.

Henric. Hunt.  
877  
878  
March. West.

Simon Dun.

Edlingsey.

Edanton.

This battell  
should laste  
the same day  
Polydor. Hunt.  
keth at fought  
at Edington.  
Polydor.  
John Pike.

Gurthrun or  
Gurmond be-  
tised, and na-  
med Adelstan,  
is made king  
of Eastangle.

sage personages as well English as those that inhabited within east England, is set forth in maister Lamberts booke of the old English lawes, in the end of those lawes of ordinances which were established by the same king Alured, as in the same booke ye may see more at large.

Th'English called diuers people Danes whom the French named Normans, whereupon that generall name was giuen them; Gurmo Anglicus K. of Denmark, whose father Frotto was baptised in England; the Danes besiege Rochester, Alfred putteth them to flight, recouereth London out of their hands, and committeth it to the custodie of duke Eldred his sonne in law; he assaulteth Hasting a capteine of the Danes, causeth him to take an oth, his two sonnes are baptised; he goeth forth to spoile Alfreds countrie, his wife, children, and goods, &c. are taken, and fauourable giuen him againe; the Danes besiege Excester, they flee to their ships, gaine with great losse, they are vanquished by the Londoners, the death of Alfred, his issue male and female.

The xv. Chapter.

**T**here is to be noted, that writers name diuerse of the Danish capteins, kings (of which no mention is made in the Danish chronicles) to reigne in those parties. But true it is, that in those daies, not onelie the Danish people, but also other of those northeast countries or regions, as Swedeners, Norwegians, the Wondens, and such other (which the English people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen Normans) used to roaue on the seas, and to invade forren regions, as England, France, Flanders, and others, as in conuenient places ye may find, as well in our histories, as also in the writers of the French histories, and likewise in the chronicles of those north regions. The writers berelie of the Danish chronicles make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name Anglicus, because he was borne here in England, which succeeded his father Frotto in gouernment of the kingdome of Denmarke. which Frotto receiued baptisme in England, as their stories tell.

In the eight yere of king Alfred his reigne, the armie of the Danes wintered at Cirencester, and the same yere an other armie of strangers called Wincg, late at Fulham, and in the yere following departed forth of England, and went into France, and the armie of king Godun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eastangle, and there diuiding the countrie amongst them, began to inhabit the same. In the 14 yere of king Alfred his reigne, part of the Danish armie which was gone ouer into France, returned into England and besieged Rochester. But when Alfred approached to the rescue, the enimies fled to their ships, and passed ouer the sea againe. King Alfred sent a naue of his ships well furnished with men of warre into Eastangle, the which at the mouth of the river called Sture, encountering with 16 ships of the Danes, set upon them, and ouercame them in fight: but as they returned with their prizes, they encountered with another mightie armie of the enimies, and fighting with them were overcome and vanquished.

In the yere following, king Alfred besieged the citie of London, the Danes that were within it fled from thence, and the Englishmen that were inhabitants thereof gladlie receiued him, reioysing that there was such a prince bred of their nation, that

was of power able to reduce them into libertie. This citie being at that season the chiefe of all Mercia, he deliuered into the keeping of duke Edoed, which had married his daughter Ethelreda, & held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before time possessed by the grant of the Danes, after they had subdued it. But the (as before is said.) About the 21 yere of it. Alfred, an armie of those Danes & Normans, which had bene in France, returned into England, and arrived in the haven or riuer of Limene in the east part of Kent, nere to the great wood called Andredeslep, which did containe in times past 120 miles in length, and thirtie in breadth. These Danes landing with their people builded a castle at Appledore.

In the meane time came Hasting with 80 ships into the Thames, and builded a castle at Middelton, but he was constrained by siege which king Alfred planted about him, to receiue an oth that he should not in any wise annoie the dominion of king Alfred, who upon his promise to depart, gaue great gifts as well to him as to his wife and children. One of his sonnes also king Alfred held at the fontstone, and to the other duke Edoed was god father. For as it were to win credit, and to auoid present danger Hasting sent vnto Alfred these his two sonnes, signifying that if it stood with his pleasure, he could be content that they should be baptised. But neuertheless this Hasting was euer most untrue of word and deed, he builded a castle at Beamsfield. And as he was going forth to spoile and wast the kings countries, Alfred took that castle, with his wife, children, ships and goods, which he got together of such spoils as he had abroad; but he restored vnto Hasting his wife and children, because he was their godfather.

Shortly after, newes came that a great number of other ships of Danes were come out of Northumberland, and had besieged Excester. Whilest king Alfred went then against them, the other armie which lay at Appledore invaded Eder, and built a castell in that countrie, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded another castell nere vnto the riuer of Seuerne: but being diuinen out of that countrie, they returned againe into Eder. Those that had besieged Excester, upon knowledge had of king Alfreds comming, fled to their ships, and so remaining on the sea, roaued abroad, seeking prizes. Besides this, other armies there were sent forth, which comming out of Northumberland took the citie of Chester, but there they were so beset about with their enimies, that they were constrained to eate their horses. At length, in the 24 yere of king Alfred, they left that citie, and fetcht a compass about North Wales, and so meaning to saile round about the coast to come into Northumberland, they arrived in Eder, and in the winter following drew their ships by the Thames into the water of Luie. That armie of Danes which had besieged Excester, took prizes about Chichester, and was met with, so that they lost manie of their men, and also diuerse of their ships.

In the yere following, the other armie which had brought the ships into the riuer Luie, began to build a castell nere to the same riuer, twentie miles distant from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battell to the Danes, slew foure of the chiefe capteins. But by Simon Dunel. and Mart. Westm. it should seme, that the Londoners were at this time put to flight, and that foure of the kings barons were slaine in fight. Howbeit Henrie Hunt. hath written as before I haue recited; and further saith, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the castell, king Alfred caused the water of Luie to be diuided into three chanel, so that the Danes should not bring backe their ships out of the place where they laie at anchor. When the Danes perceived

Will. Malm. Ethelreda. Colwolphus.

Limene, now Rother.

Andredeslegia

A castell built at Appledore.

892

Simon Dun. At Middelton.

Hasting the capteine of the Danes besieged. He receiveth an oth.

Beamsfield saith M. West.

This enterprise was attended by Edoed duke of Mercia in the absence of the king, as March. West. Excester besieged.

Seuerne.

Chester taken by Danes.

Great famine

Hen. Hunt.

The water of Luie, now Aze.

Hen. Hunt.

The Londoners braved against the Danes.

Quethbydige  
or Wake-  
bydige.

perceiued this, they left their ships behind them, and went into the borders of Wales, where at Cartbydige vpon Seuerne they built another castell, and lay there all the winter following, hauing left their wiues and children in the countrie of Eastangles. King Alfred pursued them, but the Londoners take the enemies ships, and brought some of them to the citie, and the rest they burnt.

The Danish  
armie diuided  
into parts.

Thus for the space of three yeres after the arriuing of the maine armie of the Danes in the bauen of Lule, they sore indamaged the English people, although the Danes themselues sustained more losse at the Englishmens hands than they did to them with all pilfering and spoiling. In the fourth yere after their coming, the armie was diuided, so that one part of them went into Northumberland, part of them remained in the countrie of Eastangles, & another part went into France. Also certaine of their ships came vpon the coast of the Westsaxons, oftentimes setting their men on land to rob and spoile the countrie. But king Alfred took order in the best wise he might for defense of his countrie and people, and caused certaine mightie vessels to be builded, which he appointed forth to encounter with the enemies ships.

The death of  
king Alfred.

Thus like a worthy prince and politike gouernor, he presented each way to resist the force of his enemies, and to safegard his subiects. Finallie after he had reigned 29 yeres and an halfe, he departed this life the 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Winchester: he left behind him issue by his wife Ethelwitha the daughter vnto earle Ethelred of Mercia, two sonnes, Edward surnamed the elder, which succeeded him, and Adelwold: also three daughters, Elfreda or Ethelfreda, Ethelgea or Edgiva, and Ethelwitha.

His issue.

Elfreda.

How Elfreda king Alfreds daughter  
(being married) contemned fleshlie pleasure; the praise of Alfred for his good qualities,  
his lawes for the redresse of theenes, his diuiding of  
countrie into hundreds and tithings, of what monasteries he was founder, he began the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford, which is not so ancient as Cambridge by 265 yeres; king Alfred was learned, his zeale to traine his people to lead an honest life, what learned men were about him, the pitifull murdering of Iohn Scot by his owne scholars, how Alfred diuided the 24 houres of the day and the night for his necessarie purposes, his last will and bequests; the end of the kingdome of Mercia, the Danes haue it in their hands, and dispose it as they list, Eastangle and Northumberland are subiect vnto them, the Northumbers expell Egbert their king, his death; the Danes make Guthred king of Northumberland, priuileges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine; the death of Guthred, and who succeeded him in the seat roiall.

### The xvj. Chapter.



At the end of the former chapter we shewed what children Alfred had, their number & names, among whom we made report of Elfreda, who (as you haue heard) was married vnto duke Eadred. This gentlewoman left a notable example behind hir of despising fleshlie pleasure; for bearing hir husband one child, and soze hand, led before she could be deliuered, she ever after forbore to companie with hir husband, sauing that it was great foolishnesse to vse such pleasure which therewith should bring so great griefe.

The notable  
saueing of  
Elfreda.

To speake sufficientlie of the worthy praisse due

to so noble a prince as Alfred was, might require eloquence, learning, and a large volume. He was of person comelie and beautifull, and better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was (as before is touched) greatly distressed with the inuasion of forein enemies, yet did he both manfullie from time to time inducours himselfe to repell them, and also attempted to fix his subiects gouerned in god and bright iustice. And albeit that god lawes amongst the clinking noise of arms are oftentimes put to silence, yet he perceiving how his people were greued with thauens and robbers, which in time of warre grew and increased, deuised god statutes and wholesome ordinances for punishing of such offenders.

Amongst other things he ordeined that the countries should be diuided into hundreds and tithings, that is to say, quarters containing a certaine number of towne-ships adioining together, so that euerie Englishman liuing vnder prescription of lawes, should haue both his hundred and tithing; that if anie man were accused of anie offense, he should find suertie for his god meano; and if he could not find such as would answer for him, then should he tast censure of the lawes. And if anie man that was gilty fled before he found suertie, or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelt, should be put to their fine. By this deuise he brought his countrie into good tranquillitie, so that he caused bracelets of gold to be hanged by aloft on his where anie common waies lay, to see if anie durst be so hardie to take them away by stealth. He was a liberal prince namelie in relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed such priuileges as his father had granted before him, and he also sent rewards by way of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of saint Thomas in India. Sigheimus the bishop of Shirebozne bare the same, and brought from thence rich stones, and sweet oiles of inestimable balure. From Rome also he brought a peece of the holie crosse which pope Martinus did lend for a present vnto king Alfred.

Whereouer king Alfred founded three goodlie monasteries, one at Edinsley, where he liued sometime when the Danes had brecaued him almost of all his kingdome, which was after called Athelney, distant from Taunton in Somersetshire about fve miles: the second he builded at Winchester, called the new minster; and the third at Shaftesburie, which was an house of nuns, where he made his daughter Ethelgea or Edgiva abbess. But the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford passed all the residue of his buildings, which he began by the good exhortation and aduise of Neotus an abbat, in those daies highly esteemed for his vertue and learning with Alfred. This worke he took in hand about the 23 yere of his reigne, which was in the yere of our Lord 895. So that the vniuersitie of Cambridge was founded before this other of Oxford about 265 yeres, as Polydore gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eastangles began to erect that vniuersitie at Cambridge about the yere of our Lord 630.

King Alfred was learned himselfe, and giuen much to studie, in so much that beside diuerse good lawes which he translated into the English tongue, gathered together and published, he also translated diuerse other bookes out of Latine into English, as Orosius, Pastorale Gregorij, Beda de gestis Anglorum, Doctrina de consolatione philosophiae, and the booke of Psalmes; but this he finished not, being prevented by death. So this worthy prince minded well toward the common wealth of his people, in that season when learning was little esteemed amongst the west nations, did studie by all meanes possible to instruct his sub-

Will. M.

King Alfred  
his lawes.

Foundation  
of monasteries

895.  
Polydore.  
The vniuersitie  
of Oxford

The virtuous  
gentle of Alured  
to bring  
his people to  
an honest  
state of life.  
He persuas  
ed by his mo  
ther, to supplie  
himselfe to  
learning.

Alured  
agreement  
to Alured.  
John Scot.

Grumbald.

Alured divid  
ed the time  
for his neede  
and blis.

Alured divid  
ed the time  
for his neede  
and blis.

lets in the trade of leading an honest life, and to im  
courage them generally to embrace learning. He  
would not suffer any to beare office in the court, ex  
cept he were learned: and yet he himselfe was twelve  
yeeres of age before he could read a word on the  
booke, and was then trained by his mothers persua  
sion to studie, promising him a goodlie booke which she  
had in hir hands, if he would learne to read it.

Whereupon going to his booke in sport, he so car  
nestlie set his mind thereto, that within a small time  
he profited marvellouslie, and became such a fauor  
er of learned men, that he delighted most in their con  
pantie, to haue conference with them, and allured o  
uer to come vnto him out of other countries, as  
Alferius Mercensis bishop of Sherborne, & Al  
redus the bishop of Worcester, who by his com  
mandement translated the bookes of Gregories dia  
logs into English. Also J. Scot, who whiles he was  
in France translated the booke of Dionysius Ariopa  
gita, intituled *hierarchie*, out of Greke into Latine,  
and after was scholeraister in the abbey of Spal  
mesburie, and there murdered by his scholars with  
penknives. He had diuerse other about him, both  
Englishmen & strangers, as Alemond after ward  
archbishop of Cantimburie, Grimbald gouernour of  
the new monasterie at Winchester, with others.

But to conclude with this noble prince king A  
lured, he was so carefull in his office, that he diuided  
the 24 houres which containe the day and night, in  
three parts, so that eight houres he spent in working,  
reading, and making his praiers, other eight he em  
ployed in relieuing his bodie with meate, drinke and  
sleepe, and the other eight he bestowed in dispatching  
of businesse concerning the gouernement of the  
realme. He had in his chapell a candle of 24 parts,  
whereof euerie one lasted an houre: so that the ser  
uon, to whome that charge was committed, by bur  
ning of this candle, warned the king euer how the  
time passed away. A little before his death, he orde  
ned his last will and testamēt, bequeathing halfe  
the portion of all his goods iustlie gotten, vnto such  
monasteries as he had founded. All his rents and  
reuenues he diuided into two equall parts, and the  
first part he diuided into three, bestowing the first vpon  
his seruants in household, the second to such labour  
ers and workemen as he kept in his works of sun  
drye new buildings, the third part he gaue to stran  
gers. The second whole part of his reuenues was so  
diuided, that the first portion thereof was disper  
sed amongst the poore people of his countrie, the second  
to monasteries, the third to the finding of poore sch  
olers, and the fourth part to churches beyond the sea.  
He was diligent in inquirie how the iudges of his  
land behaued themselves in their iudgements, and  
was a sharpe corrector of them which transgressed in  
that behalfe. To be brieue, he liued so as he was had  
in great fauour of his neighbours, & highlie hono  
red among strangers. He married his daughter Ethel  
swida or rather Elfrida vnto Baldwine earle of  
Flanders, of whome he had two sonnes Arnulfe and  
Aduise, the first succeeding in the erle dome of Flan  
ders, and the yonger was made earle of Bullogne.

The bodie of king Alured was first buried in the  
bishops church: but afterwards, because the Ca  
nons raised a fond tale that the same should walke  
at nights, his sonne king Edward remoued it into  
the new monasterie which he in his life time had  
founded. Finallie, in memorie of him a certeine  
learned clark made an epitaph in Latine, which  
for the worthinesse thereof is likewise (verse for  
verse, and in a manner word for word) translated by  
Abraham Fleming into English, whose no litle labor  
hath bene diligentlie imploied in supplieng sundrie  
insufficiences found in this huge volume.

*N*obilis in hac tibi probitatis hunc  
Nobilis in hac tibi probitatis hunc  
(Armipotens Alured) dedit, probitatis hunc  
Of goodnes hath the honor giuen, and honor to his name  
Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui multa labori  
And solesome hath in endless name, whose labor is the alme  
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori  
Which were, and whose hope with fear was (yet more perplex)  
Si modò victor eras, ad crastina bella parerbas  
If this day thou wert conqueror, the next day warre thou dread  
Si modò victor eras, in crastina bella parerbas  
If this day thou wert conquered, to next day warre thou speed  
Cui velles sudore iugis, cui scilicet erore  
Whose clothing sweat it daily sweat, whose blade with bloudie stain  
Tanda iugis, quantum sit onus regnare probarent.  
How great a burden is in roialtie to reigne  
Non fuit imperis quisquam per climata mundi  
There hath not been in any part of all the world so wide  
Cui tot in aduersis vel respirare liceret  
Which that was able breath to take, and troubles such abide  
Nec tamē aussero contritus ponere, feram,  
And yet with weapons wearied would not weapons lay aside  
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finire labores  
Or with the sword the willesomnesse of life by death diuide  
Iam post transactos regni vitæque labores  
Now after labours past of realme and life (which he did spend)  
Christus ei sit vera quies sceptrumque perenne  
Christ is to him the quietnesse and scepter void of end.

In the daies of the foresaid king Alured, the king  
dome of Mercia toke end. For after that the Danes  
had expelled king Burthred, when he had reigned 22  
yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife  
also Ethelswida, the daughter of king Athulf that  
was sonne to king Egbert followed him, and died  
in Paula in Lombardie. The Danes hauing got the  
countrie into their possession, made one Celwulf k.  
thereof, whome they bound with an oth and delue  
rie of pledges, that he should not longer keepe the  
state with their pleasure, and further should be re  
adye at all times to aid them with such power as he  
should be able to make. This Celwulf was the ser  
uant of king Burthred. Within foure yeares after  
the Danes returned, and toke one part of that king  
dome into their owne hands, and left the residue vnto  
Celwulf. But within a few yeares after, king  
Alured obtained that part of Mercia which Celwulf  
ruled, as he did all the rest of this land, except those  
parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland,  
the countries of the East Angles, some part of Mer  
cia, and other.

The yeare, in the which king Alured thus obtai  
ned all the dominion of that part of Mercia, which  
Celwulf had in gouernance, was after the birth of  
our Sauour 886, so that the foresaid kingdome  
continued the space of 302 yeares vnder 22 kings,  
from Trida to this last Celwulf. But there be that  
account the continuance of this kingdome, onelie  
from the beginning of Penda, vnto the last yeare of  
Burthred, by which reckoning it stood not past 270  
yeares vnder 18, or rather 17 kings, counting the  
last Celwulf for none, who began his reigne vnder  
the subiection of the Danes, about the yeare of our  
Lord 874, where Penda began his reigne 604.

The East Angles and the Northumbers in these  
daies were vnder subiection of the Danes, as part  
lie may be perceiued by that which before is rehear  
sed. After Guthrum that gouerned the East Angles  
by the terme of 12 yeares, one Osbrike or Osric  
had the rule in those parts, a Dane also, and reigned  
14 yeares, and was at length bereued of his go  
uernement by king Edward the sonne of king Alu  
red, as after shall appeare. But now, although that  
the Northumbers were brought greatlie vnder sot  
by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old ac  
customed maner to stirre tumults and rebellion a  
gainst their gouernours, insomuch that in the yeare  
872, they expelled not onelie Egbert, whome the  
Danes had appointed king ouer one part of the  
countrie (as before you haue heard) but also their  
archbi

Celwulf.

886  
March Weir.

Guthrum k.  
of the East An  
gles died 890.  
Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

872  
Egbert king  
of Northum  
berland expel  
led from his  
kingdome.  
archbi



Egbert departed  
this life.  
Riclig.

The Danes  
winter in  
Limbrie.

975

Riclig departed  
this life.

983

Cuthred or  
denied king  
of Northum-  
berland.

The bishops  
for remoued  
fro holie land  
to Chester in  
the street.

Priviledges  
granted to S.  
Cuthberts  
shrine.

894  
Polydor.  
Will. Malm.

Will. Malm.  
Sithrike.

archbishop Wulfhere. In the yere following, the same Egbert departed this life, after whome one Riclig or Ricfige succeeded as king, and the archbishop Wulfhere was restored home.

In the same yere the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thence into Northumberland, and wintered in Limbrie, at a place called Tokiscie, and went the next yere into Mercia. And in the yere 975, a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye have heard. In the yere following, Riclig the king of Northumberland departed this life: after whome an other Egbert succeeded. And in the yere 983, the armie of the Danes meaning to inhabit in Northumberland, and to settle themselves there, chose Cuthred the sonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had sometime sold to a certeine widow at Wilttingham. But now by the aduise of an abbat called Aldred, they redeemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule both Danes and Englishmen in that countrie. It was said, that the same Aldred being abbat of holie land, was warned in a vision by S. Cuthbert, to giue counsell both to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Cuthred king. This chanced about the 13 yere of the reigne of Alured king of Westsaxons.

When Cuthred was established king, he caused the bishops to be remoued from holie land vnto Chester in the street, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iurisdiction belonging thereto, he assigned and gaue vnto saint Cuthbert all that countrie which lieth betwixt the riuers of Tise and Tine. Which christian act of the king, living in a time of palpable blindness and mistie superstition, may notwithstanding be a light to the great men and pères of this age (who pretend religion with zeale, and professe (in shew) the truth with seruencie) not to impoverish the patrimonie of the church to enrich themselves and their posteritie, not to pull from bishopricks their ancient reuenues to make their owne greater, not to alienate ecclesiasticall livings into temporall commodities, not to seeke the conuersion of college lands into their priuat possessions; not to intend the subuersion of cathedrall churches to fill their owne cofers, not to ferret out concealed lands for the supporte of their owne priuat lordlines; not to destroy whole townehips for the erection of one statelie manour; not to take and pale in the commons to enlarge their feueralles; but like god and gracious common-wealth-men, in all things to preferre the peoples publike profit before their owne gaine and glozie, before their owne pompe and pleasure, before the satisfieng of their owne inordinate desires.

Moreouer, this priuiledge was granted vnto saint Cuthberts shrine: that whosoener fled vnto the same for succour and safegard, should not be touched or troubled in any wise for the space of thirtie & seven daies. And this freedome was confirmed not onlie by king Cuthred, but also by king Alured. Finally king Cuthred departed this life in the yere of our Lord 894, after he had ruled the Northumbers with much crueltie (as some say) by the terme of 11 yeres, or somewhat more. He is named by some writers Surmond, and also Curmo, & thought to be the same whome king Alured caused to be baptised. Whereas other affirme, that Cuthred, who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured receiued at the fontstone: William Malmesburie taketh them to be but one man, which is not like to be true. After this Cuthred or Curmo his sonne Sithrike succeeded, and after him other of that line, till king Adelfane depriued them of the dominion, and toke it into his owne hands.

Edward succeedeth his father Alured in regiment. He is disquieted by his brother

Adelwold a man of a defiled life, he flieth to the Danes and is of them receiued, king Edwards prouision against the irruptions and forraies of the Danes, Adelwold with a name of Danes entreth Eastangles, the Essex men submit themselves, he inuadeth Mercia, and maketh great wast, the Kentishmens disobedience, prejudiciall to themselves, they and the Danes haue a great conflict, king Edward concludeth a truce with them, he maketh a great slaughter of them by his Westsaxons and Mercians, what lands came to king Edward by the death of Edred duke of Mercia, he recouereth diuers places out of the Danes hands, and giueth them manie a foile, what castles he builded, he inuadeth Eastangles, putteth Ericke a Danish king therof to flight, his owne subiects murder him for his crueltie, his kingdom returneth to the right of king Edward with other lands by him thereto annexed, his sister Elfleda gouerned the countrie of Mercia during his life.

### The xvij. Chapter.



After the deceasse of Alured, his sonne Edward surnamed the elder began his reigne ouer the more part of England, in the yere of our Lord 901, which was in the second yere of the emperor Lewes, in the eight yere of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simpler king of France, and about the eight yere of Donald king of Scotland. He was consecrated after the manner of other kings his ancestors by Athelred the archbishop of Canturburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princelie power more high and honorable, for he toined the kingdom of Eastangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after shall be shewed, and vanquished the Danes, Scots, and Welshmen, to his great glorie and high commendation.

In the beginning of his reigne he was disquieted by his brother Adelwold, which toke the towne of Winborne besides Bath, and married a nun there, whome he had deflowred, & attempted manie things against his brother. Whereupon the king came to Bath, and though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would haue abidded the chance of warre within Winborne, yet he stole awaie in the night, and fled into Northumberland, where he was iustlie receiued of the Danes. The king toke his wife being left behind, and restored hir to the house from whence she was taken. Some haue written, that this Adelwold or Ethelwold was not brother vnto king Edward, but his vnckles sonne.

After this, king Edward prouiding for the suertie of his subiects against the forraies, which the Danes used to make, fortified diuers cities and townes, and stuffed them with great garriisons of souldiers, to defend the inhabitants, and to erpell the enimies. And suertie the Englishmen were so inuaded with warres in those daies, that the people being aduertised of the inuasion of the enimies in any part of their countrie, would assemble oftentimes without knowledge of king or capitaine, and setting vpon the enimies, went commonlie awaie with victorie, by reason that they overmatched them both in number and practise. So were the enimies despised of the English souldiers, and laughed to scorn of the king for their folish attempts. Yet in the third yere of king Edwards reigne, Adelwold his brother came with a name of Danes into the parties of the Eastangles, and euen at the first the Essex men yielded themselves vnto him. In the

Edward  
the elder.  
901

Winborne

Hen. Hen.  
Berthold  
fleth with  
Danes.

Will. Malm.

The English  
men were  
so inuaded  
with warres  
go commonlie  
awake  
the enimies

Hen. Hen.

Essex men  
yielded  
to Adelwold  
the

King Edw.

Spencer.

Hen. Hunt.

The death of  
the king  
Edward  
the first  
by the  
Danes  
in the  
year 1017.

Some dates  
from Simon  
Dun.

Hen. Hunt.

Wightham.

Chester, or  
the first  
city of  
the  
Danes.

Digence.

Archenfeld.

perce following he invaded the countrie of Mercia with a great armie, waisting and spoiling the same into Crilclade, and there passing over the Thames, rode forth till he came to Wasingfokke, or (as some booke haue) Wittingden, harieing the countrie on each side, and so returned backe into Castangles with great toy and triumph.

King Edward awakened herewith, assembled his people, and followed the enemies, waisting all the countries betwixt the river of Duse and saint Edmunds ditch. And when he should returne, he gaue commandement that no man should staie behind him, but come backe together for doubt to be forelaide by the enemies. The Kentishmen notwithstanding this ordinance and commandement, remained behind, although the king sent seven messengers for them. The Danes awaiting their advantage, came together, and fiercelie fought with the Kentishmen, which a long time valiantlie defended themselves. But in the end the Danes obtained the victorie, although they lost more people there than the Kentishmen did: and amongst other, there were slaine the foresaid Adelwold, and diuerse of the chiefe captains amongst the Danes. Likewise of the English side, there died two dukes, Sitwolve & Singlom; Sigebene, with sundrie other men of name, both temporall and also spirituall lords and abbats. In the fift yere of his reigne, king Edward concluded a truce with the Danes of Castangle and Northumberland at Kingford. But in the yere following, he sent an armie against them of Northumberland, which slue manie of the Danes, and toke grea boties both of people and cattell, remaining in the countrie the space of five weekes.

The yere next ensuing, the Danes with a great armie entered into Mercia, to rob & spoile the countrie, against whome king Edward sent a mightie host, assembled together of the Westsaxons & them of Mercia, which set upon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, and slue of them an huge multitude, together with their chiefe captains and leaders, as king Halden, and king Colwils; earle Uter, earle Scurfa, and diuerse other. In the yere 912, or (as Simon Dunel. saith) 908, the duke of Mercia Edred or Ethelred departed this life, and then king Edward seized into his hands the cities of London and Wrford, and all that part of Mercia which he held. But afterwards he suffered his sister Elfreda to inioy the most part thereof, except the said cities of London and Wrford, which he still retained in his owne hand. This Elfreda was wife to the said duke Edred or Ethelred, as before you haue heard: of whose worthie acts more shall be said hereafter.

In the ninth yere of his reigne, king Edward built a castell at Hertford, and likewise he builded a towne in Essex at Wightham, and lay himselfe in the meane time at Maldon, otherwise Meauldun, bringing a great part of the countrie vnder his subiection, which before was subiect to the Danes. In the yere following, the armie of the Danes departed from Northampton and Chester in breach of the former truce, and slue a great number of men at Hochenorton in Wrfordshire. And shortly after their returne home, an other companie of them went forth, and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrie being assembled together, fought with them & put them to flight, taking from them all the spoile which they had got, and also their hosties.

In the 11 yere of king Edward, a fleet of Danes compassed about the west parts, & came to the mouth of Seuerne, and so toke prizes in Wales: they also toke prisoner a Welch bishop named Camclagret, at Archenfeld, whome they led to their ships: but king Edward redeemed him out of their hands, pay-

eng them fortie pounds for his ransom. After that the armie of Danes went forth to spoile the countrie about Archenfeld, but the people of Chester, Wrford, and other towne and countries thereabout assembled together, and giuing battell to the enemies, put them to flight, and slue one of their noble men called earle Rehald, and Geolcil the brother of earle Uter, with a great part of their armie, & gaue the residue into a castell, which they besieged till the Danes within it gaue hostages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings land. The king caused the coasts about Seuerne to be watched, that they should not breake into his countrie: but yet they stole twice into the borders: neuertheless they were chased and slaine as manie as could not swim, and so get to their ships. Then they remained in the Isle of Stepen, in great miserie for lacke of vittels, because they could not go abroad to get anie. At length they departed into Northwales, and from thence sailed into Ireland.

The same yere king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and there tarted a whole moneth, building two castels, the one vpon the one side of the water of Duse, and the other vpon the other side of the same river. He also subdued Turketillus an earle of the Danes that dwelt in that countrie, with all the residue of the noble men and barons of the shires of Weford and Northampton. In the 12 yere of king Edwards reigne, the Kentishmen and Danes fought together at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared. Simon Dunelm. speaketh of a battell which the citizens of Canturburie fought against a number of Danish rousers at Holme, where the Danes were put to flight, but that should be (as he noteth) 8 yeres before this supposed time, as in the yere 904, which was about the third yere of king Edwards reigne.

After this, other of the Danes assembled themselves together, and in Staffordshire at a place called Tottenhall fought with the Englishmen, and after great slaughter made on both parties, the Danes were ouercome: and so likewise were they shortly after at Woodfield or Wodenfield. And thus king Edward put the Danes to the worke in each place commonlie where he came, and hearing that those in Northumberland ment to breake the peace: he invaded the countrie, and so afflicted the same, that the Danes which were inhabitants there, gladlie continued in rest and peace. But in this meane time, Cricke the king of those Danes which held the countrie of Castangle, was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioine with him against the Englishmen, that with common agreement they might set vpon the English nation, and bitterlie subdue them.

King Edward hauing intelligence hereof, purposed to preuent him, and therevpon entering with an armie into his countrie, cruelly waisted and spoiled the same. King Cricke hauing alreadie his people in armor through displeasure conceiued hereof, and desire to be reuenged, halsted forth to incounter his enemies: and so they met in the field, and fiercelie assailed each other. But as the battell was rashlie begun on king Cricke side, so was the end betrie harmefull to him: for with small a doe, after great losse on both sides, he was vanquished and put to flight.

After his coming home, because of his great ouerthrow and fowle discomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigor & sharper dealing than before time he had vsed. Whereby he prouoked the malice of the Castangles so highlie against him, that they fell vpon him and murdered him: yet did they not gaine so much hereby as they looked to haue

Danes discomfited.

The Isle of Stepen. Wcomedun. Danes sailed into Ireland.

Turketillus an earle.

Simon Dun.

Anno, 911. Simon Dun.

Polydor. Cricke king of Castangles.

King Edward invaded the countrie of the Castangles.

Cricke put to flight.

Danes.

The kingdom  
of the East-  
Angles subdued  
by K. Edward

done: for shortly after, they being brought low, and not able to defend their countrey, were compelled to submit themselves unto king Edward. And so was that kingdom joined unto the other dominions of the same king Edward, who shortly after annexed the kingdom of Mercia unto other of his dominions, immediately upon the death of his sister Elfreda, whom he permitted to rule that land all his life.

Elfreda the sister of king Edward highly commended for government, what a necessary state she was unto him in his life time, what townes she builded and repaired, her warlike exploits against the Danes, his death and buriall; the greatest part of Britaine in K. Edwards dominion, he is a great builder and repaire of townes, his death, the dreame of his wife Egina, and the issue of the same, what children king Edward had by his wives, and how they were employed, the decay of the church by the means of troubles procured by the Danes, England first cursed and why; a provinciaall councill summoned for the reliefe of the churches ruine, Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie sent to Rome, bishops ordeined in sundrie provinces; dissention among writers what pope should denounce the foresaid curse; a succession of archbishops in the see of Canturburie, one brother killeth another.

### The xviij. Chapter.

**N**ot without good reason did king Edward permit his sister Elfreda the government of Mercia, during his life time: for by his wife and politike order used in all his doings, he was greatly furthered & assisted; but specially in repairing and building of townes & castles, wherein she shewed his noble magnificence, in so much that during his government, which continued about eight yeeres, it is recorded by writers, that she did build and repaire these townes, whose names here insue: Tamworth beside Litchfield, Stafford, Warwick, Shrewsburie, Waterburie or Weddesburie, Chisburie or rather Cadisburie, in the forest of De la mere besides Chester, Birminstrie bridge upon Seuerne, Rouncorne at the mouth of the river of Chelfer, which by Danes had bene greatly defaced, was newlie repaired, fortified with walls and turrets, and greatly enlarged. So that the castell which stood without the walls before that time, was now brought within compasse of the new wall.

Moreover she boldlie assailed his enemies which went about to trouble the state of the countrey, as the Welshmen and Danes. She sent an armie into Wales, and took the towne of Brecknocke with the queene of the Welshmen at Bicenamere. Also she won from the Danes the towne of Darbie, and the countrey adjoining. In this enterprize she put her owne person in great adventure: for a great multitude of Danes that were withdrawen into Darbie, valiantlie defended the gates and entrie, in so much that they slew foure of his chiefe men of warre, which were named wardens of his person, even fast by her at the verie entrie of the gates. But this notwithstanding, with valiant fight his people entered, and so the towne was won: she got diuerse other places out of their hands, & constrained them of Northshire to agree with her, so that some of them promised to become his subjects: some vowed to aid her, and some swore to be at his commandment.

Finally, this martiall labie and manlie Elfreda, the supporter of his countriemen, and ferrouer of the enemies, departed this life at Tamworth about the

12 of June, in the 18 or rather 19 yere of his brother king Edwards reigne; as by Maab. West. it should appere. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that she deceased in the yere of Christ 915, which should be about the 14 yere of king Edwards reigne. Her bodie was conueied to Glocester, and there buried with in the monasterie of S. Peter, which her husband and she in their life time had builded, and translated thither the bones of saint Oswald from Bardona. The same monasterie was after destroyed by Danes. But Alsedus the archbishop of York, who was also bishop of Glocester, repared another in the same citie, that was after the chiefe abbey there. Finally, in memorie of the said Elfreda magnanimitie and valorous mind, this epitaph was fixed on her tombe.

O Elfreda potens, o terror vincto virorum,

O Elfreda potens, nomine digna viri.

Te quogue splendidior fecit natura puellam,

Te probis, & fecit nomen habere viri.

Tenutare decet sed solum nomina sexus,

Tu regina potens, & ex qua trophoea parant.

Iam nec Casares tantum mirere triumphos,

Casare splendidior vincto virago, vale.

O puissant Elfred, o thou maid

of men the dread and feare,

O puissant Elfred worthie maid

the name of man to beare.

A noble nature hath thee made

a maiden mild to bee,

Thy vertue also hath procured

a manlie name to thee.

It dooth but onelie thee become,

of sex to change the name,

A puissant queene, a king art thou

preparing trophes of fame.

Now maruell not so much at Ce-

sars triumphs [trim to view:]

O manlike maiden more renowned

than Caesar was, adieu.

After the deceasse of Elfreda, king Edward took the dominion of Mercia (as before we haue said) into his owne hands, and so disherited his neere Alfwen or Elfwen, the daughter of Elfreda, taking her alwaie with him into the countrey of Westsaxons. By this meanes he so amplified the bounds of his kingdom, that he had the most part of all this Island of Britaine at his commandment: for the kings of the Welshmen; namely the king of Strathclyd, and of the Scots, acknowledging him to be their chiefe soueraine lord, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept so short, that they durst attempt nothing against him in his latter daies: so that he had time to apply the building and repairing of cities, townes, and castles, wherein he so much delighted. He builded a new towne at Nottingham on the southside of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that river betwixt the old towne and the new. He also repaired Manchester beyond the river of Mercia in Lancashire, accounted as then in the south end of Northumberland, and he built a towne of ancient writers called Millwall, nere to the same river of Mercia, and placed therein a garrison of soldiers: diuerse other townes and castles he built, as two at Buckingham on either side the water of Ouse (as before is shewed) and also one at the mouth of the river of Auon. He likewise built or new repaired the townes of Worcester and Wigmore, with diuerse other, as one at Glademuth, about the last yere of his reigne. Some also he destroyed which seemed to serue the enemies turne for harborough, as a castell at Temnesford, which the Danes builded and fortified.

At length, after that this noble prince king Edward had reigned somewhat about the tearme of 25 yeeres, he was taken out of this life at Farington:

Hen. Hunt.  
Maab. West.  
Simon Dun.

Tamworth  
was by her  
repaired, anno  
914.  
Cadisburie  
and warwicke.  
915  
Chester re-  
pared, 905.  
Sim. Dun.

Queene of the  
Welshmen ta-  
ken.  
Bicenamere  
Ran. Higd.  
Hen. Hunt.  
918  
Darbie won  
from the  
Danes.

Hen. Hunt.

Translated  
by Abraham  
Fleming.

This office  
was filled by  
H. Hunt.  
Strathclyd  
Welshmen  
Wales.

K. Edward  
great builder  
and repaire of  
townes.  
Nottingham  
bridge built.

Maab. West.  
Manchester  
repaired.  
Anno 916.  
Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunt.

his bodie to as conueied from thence vnto Winche-  
ter, and there buried in the new abbey. He had three  
wives, as some haue written but two, affirming  
that Edgitha was not his wife, but his concubine, of  
whome he begat his eldest sonne Adelstan, who suc-  
ceeded him in the kingdome. This Edgitha (as hath  
bene reported) dreamed on a time that there rose a  
mone out of hir bellie, which with the bright shine  
thereof gaue light ouer all England; and telling hir  
dream to an ancient gentlewoman, who coniectur-  
ing by the dream that which followed, toke care of  
hir, and caused hir to be brought vp in good manners  
and like a gentlewoman, though she were boyne but  
of base parentage.

Whereupon when she came to ripe yeres, king Ed-  
ward by chance comming to the place where she was  
remaining, vpon the first sight was streight rapti-  
fied with hir beautie (which in deed excelled) that she could  
not rest till he had his pleasure of hir, and so begot of  
hir the foresaid Adelstan: by hir he had also a daugh-  
ter that was married vnto Sithrike a Dane and k.  
of Northumberland. The Scottish writers name hir  
Beatrice, but our writers name hir Editha. His se-  
cond or rather his first wife (if he were not married  
to Edgitha mother to Adelstan) was called Elfreda  
or Elfrida, daughter to one earle Etheline, by whom  
he had issue, to wit, two sonnes Ethelward and Ed-  
win, which immediatlie departed this life after their  
father; and six daughters, Elfreda, Edgitha, E-  
thelinda, Ethilda, Edgitha, and Elfgina. Elfreda  
became a nun, and Ethelinda also liued in perpetu-  
all virginitee, but yet in a laie habit.

Edgitha was married to Charles king of France,  
surnamed Simpler. And Ethilda by helpe of hir bro-  
ther Adelstan was bestowed vpon Hugh sonne to  
Robert earle of Paris, for hir singular beautie most  
highly esteemed: sith nature in hir had shewed as it  
were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all  
gifts and properties of a comelie personage. Edgitha  
and Elfgina were sent by their brother Adelstan in-  
to Germanie, vnto the emperor Henrie, who bestow-  
ed one of them vpon his sonne Dicho, that was after  
emperor, the first of that name; and the other vpon a  
duke inhabiting about the Alpes: by his last wife  
named Edgitha, he had also two sonnes, Edmund &  
Eldred, the which both reigned after their brother A-  
delstan successiuelie. Also he had by hir two daugh-  
ters, Edurge that was made a nun, and Edgine a  
ladie of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelstan  
gave in marriage vnto Lewis king of Aquitaine.

Whilest this land was in continuall trouble of  
warres against the Danes, as before is touched,  
small regard was had to the state of the church, in so-  
much that the whole countrie of the Westsaxons by  
the space of seuen yeres together (in the daies of this  
king Edward) remained without anie bishop, to  
take order in matters appertaining to the church.  
Whereupon the pope had accursed the English pro-  
ple, because they suffered the bishops sees to be vacant  
so long a time. King Edward to auoid the curse, as-  
sembled a prouinciall counsell, 905, in the which the  
archbishop of Canturburie Pleimond was presi-  
dent. Wherein it was ordeined, that whereas the pro-  
uince of Westsaxons in times past had but two bi-  
shops, now it should be diuided into siue diocesses, e-  
uerie of them to haue a peculiar bishop.

When all things were ordered and concluded in  
this synod (as was thought requisite) the archbishop  
was sent to Rome with rich presents, to appease the  
popes displeasure. When the pope had heard what or-  
der the king had taken, he was contented therewith.  
And so the archbishop returned into his countrie, and  
in one day at Canturburie ordeined seuen bishops,  
as siue to the prouince of Westsaxons, that is to say,

Fridesane to the see of Winchester, Adelstan to S.  
German in Cornwall, Wlstan to Shireborne, A-  
delme to Welles, and Eouls to Kirton. Also to the  
prouince of Sussex he ordeined one Wernegeus, and  
to Dorchester for the prouince of Mercia one Ce-  
nulfus.

¶ Here ye must note, that where William Malm-  
Polychro and other do affirme, that pope Formosus  
did accurse king Edward and the English nation,  
for suffering the bishops sees to be vacant, it can not  
stand with the agreement of the time, vntill that the  
curse pronounced by Formosus for this matter  
long afore was not regarded, vntill Edward had re-  
spect thereto. For the same Formosus began to go-  
uerne the Roman see about the yere of our Lord  
892, and liued in the papacie not past six yeres, so  
that he was dead before king Edward came to the  
croune. But how so euer this matter maie fall out,  
this ye haue to consider: although that Pleimond  
was sent vnto Rome to aduertise the pope that the  
king had decreed & done, in the ordeining of bishops  
to their seuerall sees, as before ye haue heard, yet (as  
maister Fox hath noted) the gouernance and directi-  
on of the church depended chieflie vpon the kings of  
this land in those daies, as it manifestlie appereth, as  
well by the decrees of king Alfred, as of this king  
Edward, whose authoritie in the election of bishops  
(as before ye haue heard) seemed then alone to be suf-  
ficient.

Moreover, I thinke it good to aduertise you in this  
place, that this Pleimond archbishop of Canturbu-  
rie (of whome ye haue heard before) was the 19 in  
number from Augustine the first archbishop there:  
for after Wightwold that was the 8 in number, and  
first of the English nation that gouerned the see, suc-  
ceeded Laduin, that sat thre yeres, Potelin siue  
yeres, Cuthbert 18 yeres, Wethwin thre yeres,  
Lambert 27 yeres, Adelard 13 yeres, Wlfrid 28  
yeres, Theologildus or Pleogildus 3 yeres, Celu-  
tus or Chelutus 10 yeres. Then succeeded Aldred, of  
whome king Edward receiued the croune, and he  
was predecessor to Pleimond. A litle before the death  
of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumber-  
land killed his brother Sigellus, and then king Kei-  
nold conquered the cite of Rome.

Adelstane succeedeth his father Ed-  
ward in the kingdome, Alfred praetising  
by treason to keepe him from the gouerne-  
ment, sanke downe suddenlie as he was taking his  
oath for his purgation; the cause why Alfred opposed  
himself against Adelstane, whose praise is notable, what he  
did to saue the expectation of his people, Ladie Beatrice  
king Edwards daughter married to Sithrike a Danish gouernor  
of the Northumbers, by whose meanes Edwin king Edwards  
brother was drowned, praetises of treason, the ladie Beatrice  
strangelie put to death by hir stepsons for being of coun-  
sell to poison hir husband Sithrike, hir death  
reuenged vpon the tormentors by hir father  
king Edward, and how chronographers  
varie in the report of this  
historic.

### The xix. Chapter.

Adelstane the eldest sonne Adelstan.  
of king Edward began his  
reigne ouer the more part of  
all England, the yere of our  
Lord 924, which was in the  
6 yere of the emperor Hen-  
rie the first, in the 21 yere of  
the reigne of Charles surna-  
med Simpler king of France, thre moneths after  
the burning of Paris, & about the 22 or 23 yere of  
Constantine the third, king of Scotland. This A-  
delstane

Polydor.  
304224.

Mat. West.  
Polydor.

Willelm.  
de Winton.

Willelm.  
de Malm.

Mat. West.  
Willelm.  
de Winton.

England first  
accursed.

Anno 905.

Winchester.  
Cornwall.  
Shireborne.  
Welles.  
Kirton.  
Mercia.

Willelm. Malm.  
saith that pope  
Formosus  
pronounced  
this curse.

904

Polydor.

Hen. Hunt.

Mat. West.  
Willelm. Malm.  
924

Alfred strineth in baine to keepe Abelsfane from the government. Wil. Malm. See mozt hereof in the acts and monuments set forth by M. Fox, vol. 1. seafe 195.

Abelsfane was crowned and consecrated king at Kingstone vpon Thames, of Aldelme the archbishop of Canturburie, who succeeded Bleimond. He was the 24 king in number from Cerdicus: Cerdike the first king of the Westsaxons. There were in the beginning some that set themselves against him, as one Alfred a noble man, which practised by treason to haue kept him from the gouernement: but he was apprehended per he could bring his purpose to passe, and sent to Rome there to trie himselfe guiltie or not guiltie. And as he took his oth for his purgation before the altar of saint Peter, he suddenly fell downe to the earth, so that his seruants took him vp, and bare him into the English schole or hospitall, where the thirde night after he died.

Pope John the tenth sent vnto king Abelsfane, to know if he would that his bodie should be laid in christian buriall or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds friends and kinsfolks, signified to the pope that he was contented that his bodie should be interred amongst other christians. His lands being forfeited were giuen by the king vnto God and saint Peter. The cause that moued Alfred and other his complices against the king, was (as some haue alledged) his basfardie. But whether that allegation were true or but a slander, this is certaine, that except that shame of his honor, there was nothing in this Abelsfane worthy of blame: so that he darkened all the glorious fame of his predecessors, both in vertuous conditions and victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in thy selfe wherein to excell, rather than to stand vpon the worthinesse of thine ancestors, sth that can not rightlie be called a mans owne.

After that king Abelsfane was established in the estate, he indued himselfe to answer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great wealth to issue by his noble and prudent gouernance. First therefore meaning to prouide for the surtie of his countrie, he concluded a peace with Sithrike king of the Northumbers, vnto whom (as ye haue heard) he gaue one of his sisters named Editha in marriage. Sithrike liued not past one yeere after he had so married hir. And then Abelsfane brought the prouince of the Northumbers vnto his subiection, expelling one Abdulph out of the same that rebelled against him. There be that write, that Godfrie and Aulase the sonnes of Sithrike succeeding their father in the gouernement of Northumberland, by practising to moue warre against king Abelsfane, occasioned him to invade their countrie, and to chase them out of the same, so that Aulase fled into Ireland, & Godfrie into Scotland: but other write, that Godfrie was the father of Keignold which wan Porke, after that Sithrike had slaine his brother Sigellus, as before is mentioned.

The Scottish chronicles varie in report of these matters from the English writers: whose chronicles affirme, that in the life time of king Edward, his daughter Beatrice was giuen in marriage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition that if anie male were procreated in that marriage, the same should inherit the dominions of king Edward after his decease. King Edward had a brother (as they say) named Edwin, a folie gentleman, and of great estimation amongst the Englishmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was sent into Flanders in a ship that leaked, and so was drowned, to the great reioicing of all the Danes, least if he had suruiued his brother, he would haue made some businesse for the crowne.

About the same time Abelsfane a base sonne of K. Edward fled the realme, for doubt to be made away by some like traitorous practise of the Danes. Shortly

lie after, king Edward vnderstanding that Sithrike went about some mischiefe toward him, persuaded his daughter to poison hir husband the said Sithrike. Then Aulase or Aualastus, and Godfrie the sonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, that Beatrice was of counsell in poisoning hir husband, they caused hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wise. She was set naked vpon a smithes cold anuill or stithie, and therewith hard roasted eggs being taken out of the hot imbers were put vnder hir armpits, and hir armes fast bound to hir bodie with a cord, and so in that state she remained till hir life passed from hir. King Edward in reuenge of his daughters death moued warre against the two brethren, Aulase and Godfrie, and in battell finallie vanquished them, but was slaine in the same battell himselfe.

Thus haue the Scottish chronicles recorded of these matters, as an induction to the warres which followed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates against king Abelsfane: but the truth thereof we leaue to the readers owne iudgement. For in our English writers we find no such matter, but that a daughter of king Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after hir fathers decease was by hir brother king Abelsfane, about the first yeere of his reigne, giuen in marriage (as before ye haue heard) vnto the foresaid Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was descended of the Danish blood, who for the loue of the young ladie, renounced his heathenish religion and became a christian; but shortly after, forsaking both his wife and the christian faith, he set vp againe the worshipping of idols, and within a while after, as an apostata miserable ended his life. Whereupon the young ladie, hir virginittie being preserved, and hir bodie vndeiled (as they write) passed the residue of hir daies at Hollesworth in Warwicksheire, spending hir time (as the same writers affirme) in fasting, watching, praying, and doing of alme dedes, and so at length departed out of this world. Thus our writers differ from the Scottish historie, both in name and maner of end as concerning the daughter of king Edward that was coupled in marriage with Sithrike.

Adelsfane subdueth Constantine king of Scots, Howell king of Wales, and Wulferth king of Northwales, the Scots possesse a great part of the north countries, Adelsfane conquereth the Scots for aiding Godfrie his enimie; a miracle declaring that the Scots ought to obey the king of England; king Adelsfane banisheth his brother Edwin, he is for a conspiracie drowned in the sea, Adelsfane repenteth him of his rigour (in respect of that misfortune) against his brother; Aulase sometimes king of Northumberland invadeth England, he disguiseth himselfe like a minstrell and surueieth the English campe vn suspected, he is discovered after his departure, he assaileth the English campe, Adelsfane being comforted with a miracle discomfitteth his enimies, he maketh them of Northwales his tributaries, he subdueth the Cornishmen, his death; the description of his person, his vertues, of what abbeys & monasteries he was founder, his estimation in forren realmes, what precious presents were sent him from other princes, and how he bestowed them; a remembrance of Guy the erle of Warwike.

### The xx. Chapter.

After that king Adelsfane had subdued them of Northumberland, he was advertised, that not onelie Constantine king of Scots, but also Huduald or Howell K. of Wales went about a private conspiracie against him.

Anno 925.  
Simon Dun.  
Polydor.

Wil. Malm.

H. Hunt.

He A. Boetius.  
The Scottish writers varie from our English authors. Beatrice daughter to K. Edward as the Scottish writers say. Edwin was not brother to K. Edward but son to him.

Abelsfane slith the Welsh.

Beatrice to death by stithie

Edithas virgin.



Will. Malm.

Hereupon with all conuenient speed assembling his power, he went against them, and with like god fortune subdued them both, and also Elmer of Wulferth of Northwales, so that they were constrained to submit themselves vnto him, who shortly after moued with pittie in considering their sudden fall, restored them all thre to their former estates, but so as they should acknowledge themselves to gouerne vnder him, pronouncing withall this notable saying, that more honorable it was to make a king, than to be a king.

North. West.  
The noble  
king of king  
Adelstane.  
926

Will. Malm.

Ye must vnderstand, that (as it appeareth in the Scottish chronicles) the Scottishmen in time of wars that the Danes gaue the English nation, got a part of Cumberland and other the north countries into their possession, and so by reason of their nere adioining vnto the confines of the English kings, there chanced occasions of warre betwixt them, as well in the daies of king Edward, as of this Adelstane his sonne, although in deed the Danes held the moie part of the north countries, till that this Adelstane conquered the same out of their hands, and ioined it vnto other of his dominions, constraining as well the Danes (of whom the moie part of the inhabitants then consisted) as also the Englishmen, to obey him as their king and gouerneur. Godfric (as is said) being fled to the Scots, did so much preuaile there by earnest sute made to king Constantine, that he got a power of men, and entring with the same into Northumberland, besieged the citie of Durham, soliciting the citizens to receiue him, which they would gladly haue done, if they had not perceived how he was not of power able to resist the puissance of king Adelstane: and therefore doubting to be punished for their offenses if they reuolted, they kept the enimies out. King Adelstane being sore moued against the king of Scots, that thus aided his enimies, raised an armie, and went northward, purposing to reuenge that iniurie.

934

Ran. Higd.

Sim. Dun.

The Scots  
subdued.

3 token the  
miracule  
howe that the  
Scots ought  
to be subiect  
to the kings  
of England.

Will. Malm.  
North. West.  
934

At his comming into Northshire, he turned out of the way, to visit the place where saint John of Beuerlie was buried, and there offered his knife, promising that if he returned with victorie, he would redeme the same with a worthie price: and so proceeded and went forwards on his iourne, and entring Scotland, waisted the countrie by land vnto Dunfermling and Wetermore, and his nauie by sea destroyed the coasts alongst the shore, euen to Catness, and so he brought the king of Scots and other his enimies to subiection at his pleasure, constraining the same k. of Scots to deliuer him his son in hostage.

It is said, that being in his iourne nere vnto the towne of Dunbar, he prayed vnto God, that at the instance of saint John of Beuerlie, it would please him to grant, that he might shew some open token, whereby it should appeare to all them that then liued, and should hereafter succeed, that the Scots ought to be subiect vnto the kings of England. Herewith, the king with his sword smote vpon a great stone standing nere to the castle of Dunbar, and with the stroke, there appeared a cleft in the same stone to the length of an elme, which remained to be shewed as a witness of that thing manie yeares after. At his comming backe to Beuerlie, he redeemed his knife with a large price, as before he had promised.

After this was Edwin the kings brother accused of some conspiracie by him begun against the king, whereupon he was banished the land, and sent out in an old rotten vessell without roouer or mariner, onelic accompanied with one esquier, so that being landed forth from the shore, through despaike Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned himselfe, but the esquier that was with him recovered his bodie, and brought it to land at Withland besides Cantur-

burie. But James Maier in the annales of Flanders saith, that he was drowned by fortune of the seas in a small vessell, and being cast vp into a craeke on the coast of Picardie, was found by Adolfe earle of Bullongne that was his cousin germane, and honorable buried by the same Adolfe in the church of Bertine. In consideration of which deed of pietie and dutie of mindfull consanguinitie, the king of England both hartlie thanked earle Adolfe, and bestowed great gifts vpon the church where his brother was thus buried. For verelie king Adolfe after his displeasure was allwaged, and hearing of this miserable end of his brother, sore repented himselfe of his rigour so extended towards him, in so much that he could neuer abide the man that had given the information against him, which was his cupbearer, so that on a time as the said cupbearer serued him at the table, and came towards him with a cup of wine, one of his feet chanced to slide, but he recovered himselfe with the helpe of the other foot, falling, and his brother yet hath holpen & succored the other: which words cost him his life. For the king remembring that by his accusation he had lost his brother that might haue bene an aid to him, caused this said cupbearer to be straight put to death.

In this meane while, Aulase the sonne of Stithrike, late king of Northumberland (who is also named by writers to be king of the Irishmen, and of manie Ilands) assembled a great power of Danes, Irishmen, Scots, and other people of the out Isles, and imbarcked them in 615 ships and craiers, with the which he arriued in the mouth of Humber, and there comming on land, began to invade the countrie. This Aulase had married the daughter of Constantine king of Scots, by whose procurement, notwithstanding his late submission, Aulase toke in hand this iourne. King Adelstane aduertised of his enimies arriual, gathered his people, and with all conuenient speed halsted towards them, and approaching nearer vnto them, pitched downe his field at a place called by some Byrnesburie, by others Byrnesford, and also Byrnesbright, and by the Scottish writers Byrneswillingfield.

When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies campe, Aulase enterprised a maruelous exploit, for taking with him an harpe, he came into the English campe, offering himselfe disguised as a minstrell, to shew some part of his cunning in musicks vpon his instrument: and so being suffered to passe from tent to tent, and admitted also to plaie afore the king, surueied the whole state and order of the armie. This done, he returned, meaning by a cammisado to set vpon the kings tent. But one that had serued as a souldier sometime vnder Aulase, chanced by marking his demeanour to know him, and after he was gone, vttered to the king what he knew. The king seemed to be displeased, in that he had not told him so much before Aulase's departure: but in excusing himselfe, the souldier said: Ye must remember (if it like your grace) that the same saith which I haue given vnto you, I sometime otoght vnto Aulase, therefore if I should haue betrayed him now, you might well stand in doubt least I should hereafter do the like to you: but if you will follow mine aduice, remoue your tent, least hapilie he assaile you by wares. The king did so, and as it chanced in the night following, Aulase came to assaile the English campe, and by fortune comming to the place where the kings tent stood before, he found a bishop lodged, which with his companie was come the same day to the armie, and had pitched vpon his tent in that place from whence the king was remoued: and so was the same bishop, and most part of his men there slaine. which slaughter executed, Aulase passed forward,

Repentance  
tolate.

Will. Malm.

937  
Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunt.  
Will. Malm.

Match. West.  
Heor. Boet.  
Ran. Higd.  
Aulase disguised,  
commeth  
to view the  
English campe

Aulase assaileth the English campe.

Ran. Higd.

Wil. Malm.  
The enemies  
discomfited.

Ran. Higd.

Tribute.

The Cornish  
men subdued.Excester re-  
pared.940  
Simon Dun.  
The decease  
of king Adel-  
stane.The descrip-  
tion of king  
Adelstane.Wolstan arch-  
bishop of  
Yorke.His estima-  
tion in foraine  
realmes.

ward, and came to the kings tent, who in this meane time, by reason of the alarm raised, was got vp, and taking to him his sword in that sudden fright, by chance it fell out of the scabbard, so that he could not find it, but calling to God and S. Adelme (as saith Polychron.) his sword was restored to the scabbard againe. The king comforted with that miracle, boldlie pleased forth vpon his enemies, and so valiantlie resisted them, that in the end he put them to flight, and chased them all that morning and day following, so that he slue of them an huge number. Some haue written, that Constantine king of Scots was slaine at this ouerthrow, and slue other small kings or rulers, with 12 dukes, and with all the armie of those strange nations which Aulase had gathered together. But the Scottish chronicles affirme, that Constantine was not there himselfe, but sent his sonne Malcolme, which yet escaped sore hurt and wounded from the battell, as in the same chronicles ye may see more at large.

When king Adelstane had thus vanquished his enemies in the north parties of England, he went against them of Northwales, whose rulers and princes he caused to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in such sort, that they covenanted to pay him yeerlie in lieu of a tribute 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of silver, and 25 head of neat, with halwes and hownds a certeine number. After this, he subdued the Cornishmen: and whereas till those daies they inhabited the citie of Excester, mingled amongst the Englishmen, so that the one nation was as strong within that citie as the other, he rid them quite out of the same, and repared the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and so remoued the Cornishmen further into the west parts of the countrie, that he made Tamer water to be the confines betwene the Englishmen and them. Finally the noble prince king Adelstane departed out of this world, the 26 day of October, after he had reigned the tearme of 16 yeares. His bodie was buried at Palmesburie.

He was of such a stature, as exceeded not the common sort of men, stooping somewhat, and pellothe haired, for his baliance joined with courtesie beloved of all men, yet sharpe against rebels, and of invincible constancie: his great deuotion toward the church appeared in the building, adorning & indowing of monasteries and abbeys. He built one at Wilton within the diocesse of Salisburie, and another at Michelnie in Summersetshire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous monasteries within this land, but that he adorned the same either with some new peece of building, jewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He had in exceeding fauour Wolstan archbishop of Yorke that liued in his daies, for whose sake he greatly enriched that bishopricke. His fame spread ouer all the parties of Europe, so that sundrie princes thought themselves happy if they might haue his friendship, either by affinitie or otherwise: by meanes whereof, he bestowed his sisters so highlie in marriage as before ye haue heard. He receiued manie noble and rich presents from diuers princes, as from Hugh king of France, horses and sundrie rich iewels, with certeine reliques: as Constantines sword, in the hilt whereof was set one of the nails wherewith Christ was fastened to the crosse, the speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the same wherewith the side of our sauour was pierced, the banner of saint Maurice, with a part of the holie crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned crowne: yet Mandeuille saith the one halfe of this crowne in France, and the other at Constantinople, almost 400 yeares af-

ter this time, as he writeth. Of these iewels king Adelstane gaue part to the abbie of saint Swiston at Winchester, and part to the abbie of Palmesburie. Moreover, the king of Northwale sent vnto him a goodlie ship of fine workmanship, with gilt sterne and purple sailles, furnished round about the decke within with a rowe of gilt pauises. ¶ In the daies of this Adelstane reigned that right worthy Countie of Marthike, who (as some writers haue recorded) fought with a mightie giant of the Danes in a singular combat, and vanquished him.

Edmund succeedeth Adelstane in the kingdome, the Danes of Northumberland rebell against him, a peace concluded betwene Aulase their king and king Edmund upon conditions, Aulase dieth, another of that name succeedeth him; king Edmund subdueth the Danes, and compelleth them to receiue the christian faith, Reinold and Aulase are baptised, they violate their fealitie vowed to king Edmund, they are put to perpetuall exile; why king Edmund wasted all Northumberland, caused the eyes of king Dunmills sonnes to be put out, and assigned the said countrie to Malcolme king of Scots; the Scottish chronicles error in peruertering the time & order of the English kings, king Edmunds lawes, by what misfortune he came to his end, how his death was foretold to Dunstane in a vision, a tale of the vertue of the crosse, Dunstane reprooueth duke Elstane, his dreame, and how the interpretation thereof came to passe.

## The xxj. Chapter.



After that Adelstane was departed this life, without leauing issue behind to succeed him in the kingdome, his brother Edmund, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edgite, took vpon him the gouernement of this land, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 940, which was in the fift yeare of the emperor Otto the 1, in the 13 of Letes furnished Frankmarinus king of France, and about the 38 yeare of Constantine the third king of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberland rebelled against this Edmund, and ordeined Aulase to be their king, whom they had called out of Ireland. Some write that this Aulase, which now in the beginning of Edmunds reigne came into Northumberland, was king of Northwale, & hauing a great power of men with him, marched forth towards the south parts of this land, in purpose to subdue the whole: but king Edmund raised a mightie armie, and incountred with his enemies at Leicester. Holobert, per the matter came to the uttermost triall of battell, through the earnest sute of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke Dudo and Wolstan, a peace was concluded; so as Edmund should introy all that part of the land which lieth from Watlingstreet southward, & Aulase should introy the other part as it lieth from the same street northward. Then Aulase toke to wife the lady Albiha, daughter to earle Dymus, by whose counsell and assistance he had thus obtained the upper hand. But this Aulase in the yeare following, after he had destroyed the church of saint Walter, and burned Eborningham, departed this life. Then the other Aulase that was sonne to king Swithike, took vpon him to gouerne the Northumbers.

After this, in the yeare 942, king Edmund assembling an armie, first subdued those Danes which had got into their possession the cities and towne of Lincolne, Leicester, Darbie, Stafford, and Nottingham,

Harding.

Edmund.

Willm.

941

Simon D.

942

943

944

945

946

947

948

949

950

951

952

Samuel  
of Dun-  
strey.  
Will. Malm.

944  
Samuel

John King  
of Dun-  
strey  
king Ed-  
mund in this  
enterprise.  
946

Polydor.  
The names of  
king Ed-  
mund.

Five peeres  
and 7 months  
king St. Dun.

ham, confremiting them to receiue the christian faith,  
and reduced all the countries euen vnto Hum-  
ber vnder his subiection. This done, Aulase and  
Reinold the sonne of Samr, who (as you haue  
heard) subdued Wyche, as a meane the sooner to ob-  
taine peace, offered to become christians, & to sub-  
mit themselves vnto him: whereupon he receiued  
them to his peace. There be that write, that this  
Aulase is not that Aulase which was sonne to king  
Sithike, but rather that the other was he with  
whom king Edmund made partition of the realme:  
but they agree, that this second Aulase was a Dane  
also, & being conuerted to the faith as well through  
constraint of the kings puissance, as through the  
preaching of the gospell, was baptised, king Ed-  
mund being godfather both vnto him, and vnto the  
foresaid Reinold, to Aulase at the berie fontstone,  
and to Reinold at his confirmation at the bishops  
hands. Whereupon, their wicked natures could  
not rest in quiet, so that they brake both promise to  
God, and to their prince, and were therefore in the  
yeare next following driuen both out of the coun-  
trie, and punished by perpetuall exile. And so king  
Edmund adioined Forthumberland, without ad-  
mitting any other immediat gouernor, vnto his  
owne estate.

Whereouer, he waisted and spoiled whole Cumber-  
land, because he could not reduce the people of that  
countrie vnto due obedience, and conformable sub-  
iection. The two sonnes of Dunmalle king of that  
princerie he apprehended, and caused their eyes to  
be put out. Hereupon consideration either of  
such aid as he had receiued of the Scots at that  
time, or some other friendlie respect, he assigned the  
said countrie of Cumberland vnto Malcolme king  
of Scots, to hold the same by fealtie of him and his  
successors. The Scottish chronicles, peruertering the  
time and order of the acts and doings of the English  
kings which reigned about this season, affirme, that  
by couenants of peace concluded betwixt Malcolme  
king of Scotland, and Adelfan king of England,  
it was agreed, that Cumberland should remaine to  
the Scots: as in their chronicles you may find at  
full expresse. And againe, that Indulfe, who succe-  
ded Malcolme in the kingdom of Scotland, aided  
king Edmund against Aulase, whom the same chro-  
nicles name Aualassus, but the time which they at-  
tribute vnto the reignes of their kings, will not  
allow the same to stand. For by account of their wi-  
ters, king Malcolme began not his reigne till after  
the deceasse of king Adelfan, who departed this  
life in the yeare 940. And Malcolme succeeded Con-  
stantine the third in the yeare 944, which was about  
the third yeare of king Edmunds reigne, and after  
Malcolme (that reigned 15 yeares) succeeded In-  
dulfe in the yeare 959. The like discordance prece-  
deth and followeth in their writers, as to the dili-  
gent reader, in conferring their chronicles with  
ours, manifestlie appeareth. We therefore (to satisfie  
the desirous to vnderstand and see the sinceritie of  
writers) haue for the more part in their chronicles  
left the same as we found it.

But now to the other doings of king Edmund:  
it is recorded, that he ordeined diuers good and whol-  
some lawes, berie profitable and necessarie for the  
commonwealth, which lawes with diuers other of  
like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by rust of  
time, the consumer of things worthy of long re-  
membrance (as saith Polydor:) but sithens his  
time they haue bene recovered for the more part,  
& by maister William Lambert turned into Latine,  
& were imprinted by Iohn Day, in the yeare 1568,  
as before I haue said. Finally, this prince king  
Edmund, after he had reigned five peeres and a

halfe, he came to his end by great misfortune. For  
(as some say) it chanced, that espieng there one of  
his seruants was in danger to be slaine amongst  
his enemies that were about him with drawen  
swords, as he stepped in to haue holpen his seruant,  
he was slaine at a place called Bulcher church, or (as  
other haue) Spichelsbourgh.

Other say, that keeping a great feast at the afore-  
said place on the day of saint Augustine the English  
apostle (which is the 26 of Auaie, and as that yeare  
came about, it fell on the tuesday) as he was set at  
the table, he espied there a common robber was  
placed nere vnto him, whome sometime he had be-  
nished the land, and now being returned without li-  
cence, he presumed to come into the kings presence,  
wherewith the king was so moued with high dis-  
daine, that he suddenlie arose from the table, and  
drew vpon the theefe, and catching him by the beere  
of the head, threw him vnder his feet, wherewith  
the theefe, hauing fast hold on the king, brought him  
downe vpon him also, and with his knife stroke him  
into the bellie, in such wise, that the kings bowels  
fell out of his chest, and there presentlie died. The  
theefe was between in peces by the kings seruants,  
but yet he liue and hurt diuers before they could dis-  
patch him. This chance was lamentable, namelie  
to the English people, which by the ouertimelic death  
of their king, in whome appeared manie euident  
tokens of great excellencie, lost the hope which they  
had conceiued of great wealth to increase by his  
prudent and most princelie gouernement. His bo-  
die was buried at Glaffenburie where Dunstane  
was then abbat.

There be that write, that the death of king Ed-  
mund was signified aforehand to Dunstane, who a-  
bout the same time attending vpon the same king,  
as he remoured from one place to an other, chanced  
to accompanie himselfe with a noble man, one duke  
Elstane, and as they rode togither, behold suddenlie  
Dunstane saw in the waie before him, where the  
kings musicians rode, the diuell running and lea-  
ping amongst the same musicians after a reioysing  
maner, whome after he had beheld a good while, he  
said to the duke, Is it possible that you may see that  
which I see? The duke answered that he saw nothing  
otherwise than he ought to see. Then said Dunstane,  
Blesse your eyes with the signe of the crosse, and trie  
whether you can see that I see. And when he had done  
as Dunstane appointed him, he saw also the fiend in  
likenesse of a little short euill fauoured Aethiopian  
dancing and leaping, whereby they gathered that  
some euill hap was towards some of the companie:  
but when they had crosst and blessed them, the foule  
spirit vanished out of their sight.

Now after they had talked of this vision, and made  
an end of their talke touching the same, the duke re-  
quired of Dunstane to interpret a dreame which he  
had of late in sleepe, and that was this: He thought  
that he saw in a vision the king with all his nobles sit  
in his dining chamber at meate, and as they were  
there making merrie togither, the king chanced  
to fall into a dead sleepe, and all the noble men, and  
those of his counsell that were about him were chaun-  
ged into robucks and goats. Dunstane quicklie de-  
clared that this dreame signified the kings death, and  
the changing of the nobles into dum and insensi-  
ble beasts betokened that the princes & gouernors  
of the realme should decline from the waie of truth,  
and wander as foolish beasts without a guide to rule  
them. Also the night after this talke when the king  
was set at supper, Dunstane saw the same spirit, or  
some other, walke by and doweine amongst them that  
waited at the table, and within three daies after, the  
king was slaine, as before ye haue heard.

Dunstane  
saith St. Dun-  
strey, Malm.  
saith, Well.  
946

Capgrauc.  
A baine tale.

Crossing betwixt  
geth sight of  
the diuels, and  
crossing betwixt  
ueth them as  
way.

Dunstane an  
interpreter of  
dreames.

Dunstane saith  
the diuell of a  
ten, but now  
he was be-  
come a waiter  
at the table  
when Dun-  
stane sat with  
the king.

Edred succedeth his brother Edmund in the realme of England, the Northumbers rebell against him, they and the Scots sweare to be his true subiects, they breake their oth and ioine with Aulase the Dane, who returneth into Northumberland, and is made king thereof, the people expell him and erect Hericius in his roome, king Edred taketh reuenge on the Northumbers for their disloialtie, the reuerward of his armie is assailed by an host of his enemies issuing out of Yorke, the Northumbers submit themselves, and put away Hericius their king, Wollstane archbishop of Yorke punished for his disloialtie, whereto Edred applied himselfe after the appeasing of ciuill tumults, his death and buriall, a speciall signe of Edreds loue to Dunstane abbat of Glasterburie, his practise of couenage touching king Edreds treasure.

### The xxij. Chapter.

Edred.

**D**ied the brother of Edmund, and sonne to Edward the elder and to Edgine his last wife, began his reigne ouer the realme of England in the yere of our Lord 946, or (as other say) 997, which was in the twelue yere of the emperour who the first, and in the 21 yere of the reigne of Lewis k. of France, & about the third or fourth yere of Walcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was crowned and annoiuted the 16 day of August by Wdo the archbishop of Canturburie at Kingstone vpon Thames. In the first yere of his reigne, the Northumbers rebelled against him, wherupon he raised an armie, invaded their countrie, and subdued them by force. This done, he went forward into Scotland: but the Scots without shewing anie resistance submitted themselves vnto him, and so both Scots and Northumbers received an oth to be true vnto him, which they obserued but a small while, for he was no sooner returned into the south parts, but that Aulase which had bene chased out of the countrie by king Edmund, as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberland with a great nauie of ships, and was ioyfullie receiued of the inhabitants, and restored againe to the kingdome, which he held by the space of foure yeres, and then by the accustomed disloialtie of the Northumbers he was by them expelled, and then they set vp one Hirke or Hericius the sonne of one Harrold to reigne ouer them, who held not the estate anie long time. For in the third yere of his reigne, Edred in the reuenge of such disloiall dealings in the Northumbers, destroyed the countrie with fire & sword, slaing the most part of the inhabitants. He burnt the abbey of Rippon, which was kept against him.

Hen. Hunt.  
The Northumbers rebell and are subdued.

Aulase returned into Northumberland.

Hirke or Hericius.  
Wil. Malm.  
The disloialtie of the Northumbers punished.

Ran. Higd.  
Simon Dun.

Easterford.

The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned.  
Math. West.

close prison, because of often complaints exhibited against him, as he which had commanded manie townesmen of Thetford to be put to death, in reuenge of the abbat Aldelme by them vniuillie slaine and murdered.

After this, when Edred had appeased all ciuill tumults and dissensions within his land, he applied himselfe to the aduancing of religion, wholie following the mind of Dunstane, by whose exhortation he suffered patientlie manie toiments of the bodie, and exercised himselfe in prayer and other deuout studie. This Edred in his latter daies being greatlie addicted to deuotion & religious priests, at the request of his mother Edgine, restored the abbey of Abington which was built first by king Inas, but in these daies soze decayed and fallen into ruine. Finally, after he had reigned nine yeres and a halfe, he departed this life to the great grieuance of men, and reioysing of angels (as it is written) and was buried at Winchester in the cathedrall church there. Where is to be noted, that the foresaid Edred, when he came first to the crowne, vpon a singular and most especiall fauour which he bare towards Dunstane the abbat of Glasterburie, committed vnto him the chiefest part of all his treasure, as charters of lands with other monuments, and such ancient princelie tokens as belonged to the former kings, with other such as he got of his owne, willing him to lay the same in safe keeping within his monasterie of Glasterburie.

Afterward, when king Edred perceived himselfe to be in danger of death by force of that sicknesse, which in deed made an end of his life, he sent into all parties to such as had anie of his treasure in keeping, to bring the same vnto him with all speed, that he might dispose thereof before his departure out of this life, as he should see cause. Dunstane toke such things as he had vnder his hands, & hastened forward to deliuer the same vnto the king, and to visit him in that time of his sicknesse according to his dutie: but as he was vpon the waie, a voice spake to him from heauen, saying, Behold king Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voice, the horse whercon Dunstane rode fell downe and died, being not able to abide the presence of the angell that thus spake to Dunstane. And when he came to the court, he vnderstood that the king died the same houre in which it was told him by the angell, as before ye haue heard.

Edwin succedeth Edred in the kingdom of England, his beastlie and incestuous carnalitie with a kinswoman of his on the verie day of his coronation, he is reprobued of Dunstane and giueth ouer the gentlewomans companie, Dunstane is banished for rebuking king Edwin for his vnclefull lust and lewd life, the diuell reioiced at his exile, wherewith mischief the king did for displeasure sake against the said Dunstane in exile, the middle part of England rebelled against king Edwin, and erecteth his brother Edgar in roiall roome ouer him, he taketh thought and dieth: Edgar succedeth him, being a fauourer of monks, his prouision for defense of his realme, his policie and discretion in government, what kings he bound by oth to be true vnto him, eight princes row his barge in signe of submission, the vicious inconueniences that grew among the Englishmen vpon his fauouring of the Danes, a restraint of excessive quaffing; Dunstane is made bishop of Worcester and Ehelwold bishop of Winchester; iustice in Edgars times euellie executed, theft punished with death, a tribute of woollskins paid him out of Wales, and the benefice of that tribute.

### The xxiiij. Chapter.

**A**fter the deceasse of Edred, his nephew Edwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund was made king of England, and began his reigne

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reigne ouer the same in the yere of our Lord 955, & in the 20 yere of the emperour Otto the first, in the 28 and last yere of the reigne of Lewis king of France, and about the twelfe yere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was consecrated at Kingston vpon Thames by Wdo the archbishop of Canturburie. On the verie day of his coronation, as the lords were set in counsell about weightie matters touching the gouernment of the realme, he rose from the place, gat him into a chamber with one of his nere kinswomen, and there had to do with hir, without anie respect or regard had to his roiall estate and princelie dignitie. Dunstane lathelie before named abbat of Glasseburie, did not onlie without feare of displeasure reprove the k. for such shamefull abusing of his bodie, but also caused the archbishop of Canturburie to constraene him to forsake that woman whom vnlawfullie he kept.

Will. Malmed. Polydor.

John Cap. gauce.

Dunstane banished the realme.

Dunstane saith not the duell.

Dunstane departed into exile.

Will. Malmed. Dunne displaceth monks and putteth secular priests in their rooms.

Rebellion raised against king Edmund Simon Dun.

Edwin departed this life.

Edgar.

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Polydor.

Edgar a fauourer of monks.

There be that write, that there were two women, both mother and daughter, whom king Edward kept as concubines: for the mother being of noble parentage, sought to satisfie the kings lust, in hope that either he would take hir or hir daughter vnto wife. And therefore perceiuing that Dunstane was sore against such wanton pastime as the king vsed in their companie, the so wrought, that Dunstane was through hir earnest trauell banished the land. This is also reported, that when he should depart the realme, the diuell was heard in the west end of the church, taking by a great laughter after his roying maner, as though he should shew himselfe glad and iollull at Dunstanes going into exile. But Dunstane perceiuing his behaviour, spake to him, and said: Well thou aduersarie, do not so greatly reioice at the matter, for thou dost not know so much reioice at my departure, but by Gods grace thou shalt be as sorrowfull for my returne.

Thus was Dunstane banished by king Edwine, so that he was compelled to passe ouer into Flander, where he remained for a time within a monastrie at Cant, finding much friendship at the hands of the gouernour of that countrie. Also the more to weake his wrath, the king spoiled manie religious houses of their goods, and drove out the monks, placing secular priests in their rooms, as namelie at Palmesburie, where yet the house was not empai- red, but rather enriched in lands and ornaments by the kings liberalitie, and the industrious meanes of the same priests, which toke by the bones of saint Alde- line, and put the same into a shrine. At length the inhabitants of the middle part of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled against him, and elected his brother Edgar to haue the gouernement ouer them, wherewith king Edwine toke such griefe, for that he saw no meane at hand how to remedy the matter, that shortly after, when he had reigned somewhat more than foure yeres, he died, and his bodie was buried at Winchester in the new abbey.

Edgar the second sonne of Edmund late king of England, after the decaie of his elder brother the foresaid Edwine, began his reigne ouer this realme of England in the yere of our Lord God 959, in the 22 yere of the emperour Otto the first, in the fourth yere of the reigne of Lotharius king of France, 510 almost ended after the coming of the Saxons, 124 after the arriual of the Danes, and in the last yere of Malcolme king of Scotland. He was crowned & consecrated at Bath, or (as some say) at Kingston vpon Thames by Wdo the archbishop of Canturburie, being as then not past 16 yeres of age, when he was thus admitted king. He was no lesse indued with commendable gifts of mind, than with strength and force of bodie. He was a great fauourer of monks, and speciallie had

Dunstane in high estimation. About all things in this world he regarded peace, and studied dailie how to preserue the same, to the commoditie & aduancement of his subiects.

When he had established things in good quiet, and set an order in matters as seemed to him best for the peaceable gouernement of his people, he prepared a great naue of ships, and diuiding them in three parts, he appointed euerie part to a quarter of the realme, to waite about the coast, that no forren enemy should approach the land, but that they might be encountered and put backe, before they could take land. And euerie yere after Easter, he vsed to giue order, that his ships should assemble together in their due places: and then would he with the east naue saile to the west parts of his realme, and sending those ships backe, he would with the west naue saile into the north parts; and with the north naue come backe againe into the east. This custome he vsed, that he might scoure the seas of all pirats & thieues. In the winter season and spring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his realme, searching out both the iudges and great lords demerced themselves in the administration of iustice, sharpelie punishing those that were found guiltie of extortion, or had done otherwise in anie point than dutie required. In all things he vsed such politike discretion, that neither was he put in danger by treason of his subiects, nor molested by forren enemies.

He caused diuerse kings to bind themselves by oath to be true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Induf king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, Maccutus an archpriest, or (as we may call him) a maister rouer, and also all the kings of the Welshmen, as Duffnall, Griffith, Huball, Jacob, and Iudithill, all which came to his court, and by their solemne othes receiued, sware to be at his commandement. And for the more manifest testimonie thereof, he hauing them with him at Chester, caused them to enter into a barge vpon the water of Dee, and placing himselfe in the forepart of the barge, at the helme, he caused those eight high priestes to row the barge vp and downe the water, shewing thereby his princelie prerogative and roiall magnificence, in that he might vse the seruice of so manie kings that were his subiects. And thereupon he said (as hath bin reported) that then might his successors account themselves kings of England, when they inioied such prerogative of high and supreme honours.

The same of this noble prince was spred ouer all, as well on this side the sea as beyond, inso much that great resort of strangers chanced in his daies, which came euer into this land to serue him, and to see the state of his court, as Saxons and other, yea and also Danes, which became verie familiar with him. He fauoured in deed the Danes (as hath bene said) more than stood with the commoditie of his subiects, for scarce was anie street in England, but Danes had their dwelling in the same among the Englishmen, whereby came great harme: for whereas the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by continuall conuersation with them learned the same vice. King Edgar to reforme in part such excessive quaffing as then began to grow in vse, caused by the procurement of Dunstane, nailes to be set in cups of a certeine measure, marked for the purpose, that none should drinke more than was assigned by such measured cups. Englishmen also learned of the Saxons, Flemings, and other strangers, their peculiar kind of vices, as of the Saxons a disordered fiercellesse of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tenderesse of bodie: where before they reioiced in their owne simplicitie, and esteemed not the lewd and vnprofitable manners of strangers.

The diligent prouision of k. Edgar for defense of the realme.

Will. Malmed.

Maccutus. Kings of Welshmen.

King Edgar roweth on the water of Dee.

Ran. Higd. King Edgar fauoured Danes.

English learned to quaffe of the Danes.

Will. Malmed.

Englishmen learne other vices of strangers.

D. ij.

Dunstane



Ethelwold  
ade bishop of  
Winchester.

Oswald.  
Floziacum.

Whom's must  
needs write  
much in praise  
of Edgar who  
had men of  
their cote in  
such estimatiō

A tribute  
instructed of  
with him.

Dunstane was made bishop of Worcester, and had also the administration of the see of London committed unto him. He was in such fauor with the king, that he ruled most things at his pleasure. Ethelwold, which being first a monk of Glasseburie, and after abbat of Abington, was likewise made bishop of Winchester, and might doe verie much with the king. Also Oswald, which had bene a monk in the abbey of Flore in France, and after was made bishop of Worcester, and from thence remoued to the see of Dorke, was highlie in fauor with this king, so that by these three prelates he was most counselled. Justice in his daies was stricly obserued, for although he were courteous and gentle towards his friends, yet was he sharpe and hard to offenders, so that no person of what estate or degree sooner he was escaped without punishment, if he did transgresse the lawes and ordinances of the realme. There was no priuie theefe nor common robber that durst lay hands vpon other mens goods, but he might looke to make amends with losse of his life, if he were knowne to be guiltie. For how might men that did offend, thinke to escape his hands, which deuised waies how to rid the countrie of all wild rauening beastes, that liued vpon sucking the blood of others? For as it is said, he appointed Iudweall or Ludweall king of Wales to present him with three hundred wolues yerelie in name of a tribute, but after thre yeres space, there was not a wolfe to be found, and so that tribute ceased in the fourth yere after it began to be paid.

The death of Alfred king Edgars wife (or concubine) causeth him to fall into a fowle offense, an example teaching men to take heed how they put others in trust to woo for them; earle Ethelwold coseneth the king of his wife, the danger of beholding a womans beautie with lustfull eyes; king Edgar killeth earle Ethelwold to marrie faire Alfred his wife; the bloudie and vnaturall speech of Ethelwolds base sonne; examples of king Edgars great incontinencie and lewd life; Dunstane putteth the king to penance for his vnchastitie, the Welshmen rebell against him and are corrected, king Edgars vision before his death, of what religious buildings he was founder, his example a spur to others to doe the like, monks esteemed and secular priests little regarded, king Edgars deformed reformation, his vices, stature, and bodily qualities, he offereth to fight hand to hand with Kinadius king of Scots vpon occasion of words euill taken, Kinadius submitteth himselfe and is pardoned; his wiues and children, the good state of the realme in king Edgars time, the amplexes of his dominions.

### The xxiiij. Chapter.

Osborne and  
Capraue hold  
that she was  
not his wife  
but a nun.  
Wil. Malm.

Wozger.

In this meane time, Alfred the wife of king Edgar (as some say) or rather (as others write) his concubine died, of whome he had begot a sonne named Edward. The death of this woman caused the king to commit an heinous offense. For albeit at the same time the same went, that Hogerius duke of Cornewall, or rather Deuonshire, had a daughter named Alfred, a damo-  
60 self of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in mariage, appointed one of his noble men called earle Ethelwold, to go with all speed into Cornewall or Deuonshire, to see if the young ladies beautie answered the report that went of hir, and so to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe: yet Ethelwold being a yong lustie gentleman, took his iournie into Cornewall, and coming to the duke, was well receiued, and had a sight of his daughter, with whose beautie he was straight ransied so far

in loue, that not regarding the kings pleasure, who had sent him thither, he began to purchase the good will of both father and daughter for himselfe, and did so much that he obtained the same in deed. Herevpon returning to the king, he informed him that the damo-  
10 sell was not of such beautie and comelie personage, as might be thought worthy to match in mariage with his maiestie.

Shortlie after perceiuing the kings mind by his wrongfull misreport to be turned, and nothing bent that way, he began to sue to him that he might with his fauour marrie the same damo-  
15 sell: which the king granted, as one that cared not for hir, because of the credit which he gave to Ethelwolds words. And so by this meanes Ethelwold obtained Alfred in mariage, which was to his owne destruction, as the case fell out. For when the fame of hir passing beautie did spread ouer all the realme, now that she was married and came more abroad in sight of the people, the king  
20 chanced to heare thereof, and desirous to see hir, deuised vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the house of Ethelwold, and so did: where he had no sooner set his eye vpon hir, but he was so farre wrapped in the chaine of burning concupiscence, that to obtaine his purpose, he shortlie after contriued Ethelwolds death, and married his wife.

Some say, that the woman kindled the brand of purpose: for when it was knowne, that the king would see hir, Ethelwold willed hir in no wise to trim vp hir selfe, but rather to disfigure hir in fowle  
30 garments, and some euill fauored attire, that hir naturall beautie should not appeare: but the perceiuing how the matter went, of spite set out hir selfe to the uttermost, so that the king vpon the first sight of hir, became so farre inamored of hir beautie, that taking hir husband forth with him on hunting into a forest or wood then called Trellewood, & after Horewood, not knowing that he meant him anie hurt, till at length he had got him within the thicke of the wood, where he suddenly stroke him through with his dart.  
40 Now as his bastard son came to the place, the king asked him how he liked the maner of hunting, where to he answered; Verie well if it like your grace, for that that liketh you, ought not to displease me. With which answer the king was so pacified, that he inuoyed by pretending his fauor towards the sonne, to extenuat the tyrannicall murder of the father. Then did the king marrie the countesse Alfred, and of hir begat two sonnes, Edmund which died yong, and Ethelred or Egrelred.

60 Besides this cruell act wrought by king Edgar, for the satisfieng of his fleshlie lust, he also plaied another part greatlie to the daime of his honor, moued also by wanton loue, with a yong damo-  
70 sell named Wilfrid, for after that she had (to auoid the danger of him) either professed hir selfe a nun, or else for colour (as the most part of writers agree) got hir selfe into a nunnrie, and clad hir in a nuns weed, he took hir forth of hir cloister, and lay by hir sundrie times, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who coming to conuenient age, was made a nun. A third  
80 example of his incontinencie is written by authors, and that is this. It chanced on a time that he lodged one night at Andeuer, and hauing a mind to a lords daughter there, he commanded that she should be brought to his bed. But the mother of the gentlewoman would not that hir daughter should be deflowered: and therefore in the darke of the night brought one of hir mai-  
90 seruants, and laid hir in the kings bed, she being both faire, proper, and pleasant.

In the morning when the day began to appeare, she made haile to arise: and being asked of the king why she so hasted, that I may go to my daies worke if it please your grace (quoth she.) Herewith the be-  
ing

King Edgar  
willed her  
with the  
of his will

King Edgar  
forbiddeth  
the destruction  
of Ethel-  
wold.

King Edgar  
a marriage.

His friends  
and life  
continues.

ing staied by the king, as it were against his will, the fell downe on his knees, & required of him that the night be made free, in guerdon of his nights worke. For (saith he) it is not for your honor, that the woman which hath tasted the pleasure of the kings bodie should anie more suffer seruitude vnder the rule and appointment of a sharpe & rough mistresse.

The king then being moued in his spirits, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, as he that take gre't indignation at the doings of the dutchesse, and pitied the case of the poore wench. But yet in fine, turning earnest to a iest he pardoned all the parties, and aduanced the wench to high honor, farre aboue those that had rule of hir afore, so that the ruled them (willed they killed they) for he vled hir as his paramour, till he married the foresaid Alfrede.

For these youthfull parts, & namelie for the rauling of Alfride (which though she were no nun, yet the offense seemed verie heinous, for that he should not once touch anie woman shadowed vnder that habit, he greaue displeased Dunstane, so that by him he was put to his seven yeres penance, and kept from the crowne till the 12 yere of his reigne or more. For some write that the 30 yere of his age, which should be about the 13 or 14 yere of his reigne by that account, sith he entred into the rule of the kingdome about the 16 yere of his age. In deed one author writeth, that he was consecrated at Bath on a Whituesday, the 13 yere of his reigne, and that by Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie, and Oswold archbishop of Dore.

But some which suppose that he was consecrated king immediatlie vpon the death of Eadric, as some write that he was crowned and anointed king by the archbishop Eadric, Dunstane as then remaining in exile, from whence he was immediatlie reuoked by Edgar, and first made bishop of Worcester (as hath bene said) and after the decease of Eadric was aduanced to be archbishop of Canturburie. But by some writers it appeareth, that Dunstane was reuoked out of exile immediatlie vpon partition of the realme betwixt Edwin and Edgar, which chanced in the yere 957, by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, & others (as before ye haue heard) and that in the yere following the archbishop Eadric died, after whose succedeed Alfrid bishop of Winchester, who also died the same yere that king Edward decessed, as he went to fetch his pall from Rome, and then Wightheime bishop of Dorechester was elected archbishop. But because he was not able to discharge so great an office, by King Edgars commandement he was forced to giue place to Dunstane.

Toward the latter end of king Edgars daies, the Welshmen moued some rebellion against him. Whereupon he assembled an armie, and entering the countie of Glamorgan, did much hurt in the same, chastising the inhabitants verie sharpelie for their rebellious attempts. Amongst other spoiles taken in those parties at that time by the men of war, the bell of saint Illutus was taken away, and hanged about a horses necke, and (as hath bene reported) in the after none, it chanced that king Edgar laid him downe to rest, whereupon in sleepe there appeared one vnto him, and smote him on the breast with a speare. By reason of which vision he caused all things that had bene taken away to be restored againe. But within nine daies after the king died. Whether anie such thing chanced, or that he had anie such vision it forceth not. But truth it is, that in the 37 yere of his age, after he had reigned 16 yeres and two moneths he departed this life, the 8 day of Iulie, and was buried at Glasseburie.

This Edgar is highlie renowned of writers for such princelie qualities as appeared in him, but chief-

lie for that he was so beneficiall to the church, namelie to monks, the aduancement of whome he greatly sought, both in building abbeies new from the ground, in repairing those that were decayed: also by enriching them with great reuenues, and in conuerting collegiat churches into monasteries, removing secular priests, and bringing in monks in their places. There passed no one yere of his reigne, where in he founded not one abbeie or other. The abbeie of Glasseburie which his father had begun he finished. The abbeie of Abington also he accomplished and set in good order. The abbeies of Peterborough & Thorney he established. The nunnie of Wilton he founded and richlie endowed, where his daughter Editha was professed, and at length became abbess there. To be brieue, he builded (as the chronicles record) to the number of 40 abbeies and monasteries, in some of which he placed monks, and in some nuns. By his example in those daies, other nobles, as also prelates, & some of the laitie, did begin the foundation of sundrie abbeies and monasteries: as Adewold bishop of Winchester builded the abbeie of Ely, and (as some say) Peterborough & Thorney, though they were established by the king (as before is mentia- ned.) Also earle Ailewin, at the exhortation of the same bishop Adewold, builded the abbeie of Ramsey, though some attribute the doing thereof vnto Oswold the archbishop of Dore, and some to king Edward the elder.

To conclude, the religious orders of monks and nuns in these daies flourishd, and the state of secular priests was smallie regarded, inso much that they were constrained to auoid out of diuerse colleges, and to leaue the same vnto monks, as at Worcester and Winchester, where in the new monasterie, because the kings liued not in such sort as was then thought requisite, the prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But then the vicars were thought to vse themselves no better, but rather worse than the other before them, they were likewile put out, and monks placed in their rooms by authority of pope John the 12. This reformation, or rather deformation was vled by king Edgar in many other places of the realme.

He was (as appeareth by diuers writers) namelie in his beginning, cruell against his owne people, and wanton in lusting after young women (as you haue heard before.) Of stature & proportion of bodie he was but small and low, but yet nature had inclosed within so little a personage such strength, that he durst encounter and combat with him that was thought most strong, onelie doubting this, least he which should haue to doe with him should stand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feast (where oftentimes men vse their tongues more liberallie than needeth) Kenneth the king of Scots cast out certaine words in this maner: It may (saith he) seeme a maruell that so manie countreies and prouinces should be subiect to such a little filie bodie as Edgar is. These words being bozne awaie by a iester or minstrell, and afterwards vttered to Edgar with great reproch, he wiselie dissembled the matter for a time; although he kept the remembrance thereof inclosed within his breast: and vpon occasion, at length feigned to go on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing caused one of his seruants to conuey two swords into a place within the forrest by him appointed in secret wise, of purpose he withdrew from the residue of his companie, and there accompanied onelie with the Scottish king, came to the place where the swords were laid; and there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scottish king, willing him now to assaie his strength, that they might shew by

wherefore Edgar is praised of some writers.

Fabian.  
Ran. Hig.  
Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt.

Matt. West.  
Monks esteemed secular priests little regarded.

Ran. Hig.  
lib. 6. cap. 9.

Wil. Malm.  
Ran. Hig.  
Tho. Ehot.

Edgar small of stature but strong and hardie.

Kenneth king of Scots.

Edgar small

of stature but

strong and

hardie.

The nobles courage of king Edgar.

prose whether of them ought to be subiect to the other; Start not, but trie it with me (saith he:) for it is a shame for a king to be full of bags at bankets, and not to be ready to fight when triall should be made abroad. The Scottish king here with being astonished and maruellouslie abashed, fell downe at his feet, and with much humilitie confessed his fault, & desired pardon for the same, which upon such his humble submission king Edward easilie granted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida or Elfrida, surnamed the white, the daughter of a mighty duke named Joiner, by whome he had issue a sonne named Edward that succeeded him. His second wife was called Alfreda the daughter of Edgar duke of Deuon or Cornewall (as some saie) by whome he had issue Edmund that died before his father, and Egelfred which afterwards was king. Also he had issue a base daughter named Editha, begotten of his concubine Willfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The state of the realme in king Edgars daies was in god point, for both the earth gaue hir increase verie plentifullie, the elements shewed themselves verie sauourable, according to the course of times: peace was mainteined, and no inuasion by forraigne enemies attempted. For Edgar had not onelie all the whole Ile of Britaine in subiection, but also was ruler & soveraigne lord ouer all the kings of the out Isles that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine even vnto the realme of Norwaye. He brought also a great part of Ireland vnder his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike recordes it doth and may appeare.

Wil. Malm.

Ireland subiect to king Edgar.

Contention amongst the peeres and states about succession to the crowne, the monkes remoued and the canons and secular priests restored by Alfer duke of Mercia and his adherents, a blasing starre with the euents ensuing the same, the rood of Winchester speaketh, a prettie shift of monkes to defeat the priests of their possessions, the controuersie betweene the monkes and the priests ended by a miracle of archbishop Dunstane, great hope that Edward would tread his fathers steps, the reuerent loue he bare his stepmother queene Alfred and hir sonne Egelfred, hir diuelish purpose to murder Edward hir stepsonne accomplished, his obscure funerall in respect of pompe, but famous by meanes of miracles wrought by and about his sepulture, queene Alfred repenting hir of the said premeditated murder, dooth penance, and imploie hir substance in good workes as satisfactorie for hir finnes, king Edwards bodie remoued, and solemnely buried by Alfer duke of Mercia, who was eaten vp with lice for being against the said Edwards advancement to the crowne, queene Alfreds offense by no meanes excusable.

### The xxv. Chapter.

Edward.

Some write that the father king Edgar appointed Edward to succeed him. Simon Dun. John Capg.



After the deceasse of king Edgar, there was some strife and contention amongst the lords & peeres of the realme about the succession of the crowne: for Alfred the mother of Egelfredus or Ethelfredus, and diuers other of hir opinion, would gladly haue advanced the same Egelfredus to the rule: but the archbishop Dunstan taking in his hands the baner of the crucifix, presented his elder brother Edward vnto the lords as they were assembled together, and there pronounced him king, notwithstanding that both queene Alfred and hir friends, namelie Alfer the duke of Mercia were for against him, especiallie for that he was begot in vnlawfull bed of Elfrida the nun, for which

offense he did turn peeres penance, and not so; leng with Willfrid (as maister Fox it in hith.) Dunstane iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was moze fit for their behoofe to continue the world in the former course as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelfred (whose mother and such as toke part with hir vnder hir sonnes authoritie were like lie inough to turne all byside downe) vsed the matter so, that with helpe of Oswald the archbishop of Poike, and other bishops, abbats, and certeine of the nobilitie, as the earle of Essex and such like, he preuailed in his purpose, so that (as before is said) the said Edward, being the second of that name which gouerned this land before the conquest, was admitted king, and began his reigne ouer England in the yeare of our Lord 975, in the third yeare of the emperour Atho the second, in the 20 yeare of the reigne of Lothar king of France, and about the fourth yeare of Cunelerne king of Scotland. He was consecrated by archb. Dunstane at Kingston vpon Thames, to the great griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friends. About the beginning of his reigne a blasing starre was sene, signifying (as was thought) the miserable haps that followed. And first there ensued barrennesse of ground, and thereby famine amongst the people, and mortaine of cattell.

Also duke Alfer or Elfer of Mercia, and other noble men destroyed the abbies which king Edgar and bishop Adelwold had builded within the limits of Mercia. The priests or canons, which had bene expelled in Edgars time out of the prebends and benefices, began to complaine of the wrongs that were done to them, in that they had bene put out of possession from their liuings, alleging it to be a great offense and miserable case, that a stranger should come and remoue an old inhabitant, for such manner of doing could not please God, not yet be allowed of ante god man, which ought of reason to doubt least the same should hap to him which he might see to haue bene an other mans vndowing. About this matter was hard hold, for manie of the temporall lords, and namelie the same Alfer, iudged that the priests had wrong. In so much that they remoued the monkes out of their places, and brought into the monasteries secular priests with their wiues. But Edewin duke of the Eastangles, & Alfred his brother, with Wighthnoth or Wighthode earle of Essex, withstood this doing, & gathering an armie, with great balliance mainteined the monkes in their houses, within the countrie of Eastangles. Hereupon were counsels holden, as at Winchester, at Kirchtling in Eastangle, and at Calne.

At Winchester, when the matter was brought to that passe that the priests were like to haue had their purpose, an image of the rood that stood there in the refectorie where they sat in counsell, uttered certeine words in this wise; God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe. As though (saith Polydor Virgil) the monkes had moze right, which had bene other men of their possessions, than the priests which required restitution of their owne. But (saith he) because the image of Christ hanging on the crosse was thought to speake these words, such credit was giuen thereto, as if it had bene an oracle, that the priests had their sute dashed, and all the trouble was ceased. So the monkes held those possessions, howeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as saith the same Polydor) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then diuers that thought this to be rather an oracle of Iehus than of God, that is to say, not published by Gods power, but by the fraud and craftie deceit of men.

Archb. Dunstane  
other in the  
archb. Dunstane  
the crosse  
was sene  
the crosse  
and the  
the crosse  
Simon Dun.

975

W. Malm.

Alfer or Elfer  
duke of  
Mercia.

John Capg.  
Wil. Malm.  
Ran. Hig.  
Mat. West.  
Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

Polydor.

A prettie shift  
of the monkes  
to disappoint  
the priests.  
Polydor.

Ethe

W. Malm.

Dunstan by  
working mi-  
racles had his  
will, when ar-  
guments fail-  
ed.

W. Malm.

The wicked  
purpose of  
quene Alfrede.

The charitable  
murder of St.  
Edward.

South. West.  
Fabian.  
Sim. Dun.  
W. Malm.

The matter therefore was not so quieted, but that upon new trouble an other counsell was had at a manour house belonging to the king, called Calne, where they that were appointed to haue the hearing of the matter, sat in an upper loft. The king by reason of his young yeres was spared, so that he came not there. Here as they were busied in arguing the matter, either part laing for himselfe what could be said, Dunstane was sore reuiled, and had sundrie reproches laid against him: but suddenlie euen in the verie heat of their communication, the iousts of the loft failed, and downe came all the companie, so that manie were slaine and hurt, but Dunstane alone standing upon one of the iousts that fell not, escaped safe and sound. And so this miracle with the other made an end of the controuersie betwene the priests and monks, all the English people following the mind of the archbishop Dunstane, who by meanes thereof had his will.

In this meane while, king Edward ruling himselfe by good counsell of such as were thought discreet and sage persons, gaue great hope to the world that he would walke in his fathers vertuous steps, as already he well began, and bearing alwaie a reuerence to his mother in law, and a brotherlie loue to his sonne Egelred, vsed himselfe as became him towards them both. Afterward by chance as he was hunting in a forrest nere the castell of Corfe, where his mother in law and his brother the said Egelred then sojourned, when all his companie were spred abroad in following the game, so that he was left alone, he took the waie streight vnto his mother in lawes house, to visit hir and his brother. The quene hearing that he was come, was verie glad thereof, so that she had occasion offered to worke that which she had of long time before imagined, that was, to see the king his sonne in law, that his owne sonne might inioy the garland. Wherefore she required him to alight, which he in no wise would yeld vnto, but said that he had stolne from his companie, and was onelie come to see hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore would returne to the forrest againe to see some more sport.

The quene perceiuing that he would not alight, caused drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appointment, one of his seruants stroke him into the bodie with a knife, whereupon feeling himselfe wounded, he set spurres to the horse thinking to gallop awaie, and so to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horse, so as one of his feet was fastened in the stirrup, by reason whereof his horse drezv him forth through woods and launds, & the blood which gushed out of the wound shewed token of his death to such as followed him, and the waie to the place where the horse had left him. That place was called Corfhes gate or Corfhes gate. His bodie being found was buried without anie solenne funeralls at Warham.

For they which enuied that he should inioy the crowne, enuied also the buriall of his bodie within the church: but the memorie of his name could not so secretlie be buried with the bodie, as they imagined. For sundrie miracles shewed at the place where his bodie was interred, made the same famous (as diuerse haue reported) for there was sight restored to the blind, health to the sicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are easilier to be told than belieued.

W. Malm.

Quene Alfrede also would haue ridden to the place where he laie, moued with repentance (as hath bene said) but the horse whereupon she rode would not come nere the graue, for anie thing that could be done to him. Neither by changing the said horse could the matter be holpen: for euen the same thing hapened to the other horses. Whereupon the woman perceiued hir great offense towards God for murdering the innocent, and did so repent hir afterward for the same, that besides the chastising of hir bodie in fasting, and other kind of penance, she imploied all hir substance and patrimonie on the poore, and in building and repairing of churches and monasteries. She founded two houses of nuns (as is said) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambresburie, and finally professed herselfe a nun in one of them, that is to say, at Warwell, which house she builded (as some affirm) in remembrance of hir first husband that was slaine there by king Egar for hir sake (as before is mentioned).

Building of  
abbies in  
those daies  
was thought  
to be a full sa-  
tisfaction for  
all manner of  
sinnes.

The bodie of this Edward the second, and surnamed the martyr, after that it had remained thre yeres at Warham where it was first buried, was remoued vnto Shaftesburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alfrede or Elicer, duke of Mercia, who also did soze repent himselfe, in that he had bene against the aduancement of the said king Edward (as ye haue heard.) But yet did not he escape worthis punishment: for within one yere after, he was eaten to death with lice (if the storie be true.) King Edward came to his death after he had reigned thre yeres, or (as other write) thre yeres and eight moneths. Whatsoeuer hath bene reported by writers of the murder committed on the person of this king Edward, sure it is that if he were base begotten (as by writers of no meane credit it should appere he was in deed) great occasion vndoubtedlie was giuen vnto quene Alfrede to seeke reuenge for the wrongfull keeping backe of his son Egelred from his rightfull succession to the crowne: but whether that Edward was legitimate or not, she might yet haue deuised some other lawfull meane to haue come by hir purpose, and not so to haue procured the murder of the young prince in such vnlawfull manner. For hir doing therein can neither be worthislie allowed, nor thoughtlie excused, although those that occasioned the mischiefe by aduancing hir stepsonne to an other mans right, deserued most blame in this matter.

W. Malm.

Polydor.  
Will. Malm.

Thus farre the sixt booke, comprising the first arriual of the Danes in this land, which was in king Britricus his reigne, pag. 135, at which time the most miserable state of England tooke beginning.

THE





# THE SEVENTH BOKE

## of the Historie of England.

Egelred succeedeth Edward  
*the martyr in the kingdome of Eng-*  
*land, the decaie of the realme in his*  
*reigne, Dunstane refusing to consecrate*  
*him is therevnto inforced, Dunstans prophe-*  
*sies of the English people and Egelred their king,*  
 his sloth and idlenes accompanied with other vi-  
 ces, the Danes arrive on the coasts of Kent and make spoile of  
 manie places; warre betwixt the king and the bishop of Ro-  
 chester, archbishop Dunstans bitter denunciation against the  
 king because he would not be pacified with the bishop of Ro-  
 chester without monie; Dunstans parentage, his strange  
 trance, and what a wonderfull thing he did during the time it  
 lasted, his education and bringing vp, with what good quali-  
 ties he was indued, an incredible tale of his harpe, how he  
 was reuoked from louing and lusting after women  
 whereto he was addicted, his terrible dreame of a  
 rough beare, what preferments he obtained  
 by his skill in the expounding  
 of dreames.

### The first Chapter.

Egelred.



**I**n the former  
 boke was dis-  
 coursed the trou-  
 bled state of this  
 land by the ma-  
 nifold and muti-  
 nous inuasions  
 of the Danes;  
 who though they  
 sought to in-  
 grosse the rule of  
 euerie part and  
 parcell therof in  
 to their hands;  
 yet being resisted by the valiantnesse of the gover-  
 nors supported with the aid of their people, they were  
 disappointed of their expectation, and receiued manie  
 a dishonorable or rather reprochfull repulse at their  
 aduersaries hands. Much mischief doubtlesse they  
 did, and more had done, if they had not bene met  
 withall in like measure of extremitie as they offered,  
 to the offense and ouerthrow of great multitudes.  
 Their first entrance into this land is controuersed a-  
 mong writers, some saieing that it was in the daies  
 of king Briticus, other some affirming that it was  
 in the time of king Egbert, &c: about which point  
 (altho it is a matter of no great moment) we count it  
 labour lost to vse manie words: onelie this by the  
 waie is noteworthie, that the Danes had an imper-  
 fect or rather a lame and limping rule in this land, so  
 long as the gouernours were watchfull, diligent, poli-  
 tike at home, and warlike abroad. But when these

kind of kings discontinued, and that the raiues of  
 the regiment fell into the hands of a peizant not a  
 puissant prince, a man euill qualified, dissolute, slacke  
 and licentious, not regarding the dignitie of his  
 owne person, nor fauoring the good estate of the peo-  
 ple; the Danes who before were coursed from coast  
 to coast, and pursued from place to place, as more  
 willing to leaue the land, than desirous to tarric in  
 the same; tooke occasion of stomach and courage to  
 reenter this Ile, & waring more bold and confident,  
 more desperate and venturous, spared no force, o-  
 mitted no opportunitie, let slip no advantage that  
 they might possiblie take, to put in practise and fullie  
 to accomplish their long conceiued purpose.

Soe bicause the Danes in the former kings  
 daies were reencountred (and that remedie) so  
 often as they did encounter, and seeking the totall re-  
 giment, were dispossessed of their partile principall-  
 tie, which by warlike violence they obtained; and for  
 that the Saxons were interested in the land, and  
 these but violent incrochers, unable to keepe that  
 which they came to by constraint; we haue thought  
 it conuenient to comp,ise the troubled estate of that  
 time in the first boke; the rather for the necessarie  
 consequence of matters then in motion: and here  
 deeme it not amisse, at so great and shamefull losse,  
 nesse (speciallie in a prince) ministring hart and con-  
 rage to the enimie, to begin the seventh boke. Where-  
 in is expessed the chiefeest time of their flourishing e-  
 state in this land; if in tumults, vproyes, battels, and  
 bloudshed, such a kind of estate may possiblie be  
 found. For here the Danes lord it, here they take  
 vpon them like souereignes, & here (if at anie time  
 they had absolute authoritie) they did what they  
 might in the highest degre: as shall be declared in  
 the vnfortunate affaires of vnglorious Egelred or  
 Ethelred, the sonne of king Edgar, and of his last  
 wife quene Alfrede, who was ordained king in place  
 of his brother Edward, after the same Edward was  
 dispatched out of the waie, and began his reigne o-  
 uer this realme of England, in the yere of our Lord  
 979, which was in the seventh yere of the emperor  
 who the second, in the 24 of Lothaire K. of France,  
 and about the second or third yere of Kenneth the  
 third of that name king of Scotland.

This Egelred or Ethelred was the 30 in num-  
 ber from Cerdicus the first king of the Westsax-  
 ons: through his negligent government, the state of  
 the commonwealth fell into such decaye (as writers  
 doe report) that vnder him it may be said, how the  
 kingdome was come to the bittermost point or peri-  
 od of old and feeble age, which is the next degre to the  
 graue. For whereas, whilst the realme was diuided  
 at the first by the Saxons into sundrie dominions, it  
 grew at length (as it were increasing from pouerish  
 yeres) to one absolute monarchie, which passed on  
 der

979.  
 Simon Dun



der the late remembred princes, Egbert, Adelfane, Edgar, and others, so that in their daies it might be said, how it was growne to mans state, but now vnder this Egrelred, through famine, pestilence, and warres, the state thereof was so shaken, turned vnder side downe, and weakened on eche part, that rightlie might the season be likened vnto the old broken piers of mans life, which through febleness is not able to helpe it selfe. Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie was thought to haue foresene this thing, and therefore refused to annoint Egrelred king, which by the murder of his brother should attaine to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled vnto it, and so he consecrated him at Kingston vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the 24 day of Aprill, assisted by Oswald archbishop of Dorke, and ten other bishops.

But (as hath bene reported) Dunstane then said that the English people should suffer condigne punishment generallie, with losse of ancient liberties, which before that time they had inioied. Dunstane also long before prophesied of the slouthfulness that should remaine in this Egrelred. For at that time he ministred the sacrament of baptisme to him, shortly after he came into this world, he defiled the font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath bene said:) whereupon Dunstane being troubled in mind; By the Lord (saith he) and his blessed mother, this child shall proue to be a slouthfull person. It hath bene written also, that when he was but ten yerres of age, and heard that his brother Edward was slaine, he so offended his mother with weeping, because she could not kill him, that hauing no rod at hand, she tooke tapers of waxe: that stood before hir, and beat him so sore with them, that she had almost killed him, whereby he could neuer after abide to haue anie such candels lighted before him.

This Egrelred (as writers say) was nothing giuen to warlike enterpises, but was slouthfull, a louer of idleness, and delighting in riotous lusts, which being knowne to all men, caused him to be euill spoken of amongst his owne people, and nothing feared amongst strangers. Whereupon the Danes that exercised roving on the seas, began to conceiue a boldnesse of courage to disquiet and molest the sea-coasts of the realme, in so much that in the second yere of this Egrelreds reigne, they came with seuen ships on the English coasts of Kent, and spoiled the Isle of Thanet, the towne of Southampton, and in the yere following they destroyed S. Petros abbey in Cornwall, Dorsetland in Devonshire, and diuers other places by the sea side, speciallie in Devonshire & Cornwall. Also a great part of Geshire was destroyed by pirates of Norway.

The same yere by casualltie of fire, a great part of the citie of London was burnt. In the yere of our Lord 983, After duke of Mercia departed this life, who was cosen to king Edgar, & his sonne Alstrik took vpon him the rule of that dukedome, and within thre yeres after was banished the land. About the eight yere of his reigne, Egrelred married one Elginda or Ethelgina, daughter of earle Egbert. In the ninth yere of his reigne, vpon occasion of strife betwene him and the bishop of Rochester, he made warre against the same bishop, wasted his lordships, and besieged the citie of Rochester, till Dunstan procured the bishops peace with payment of an hundred pounds in gold. And because the king would not agree with the bishop without monie at the onelie request of Dunstane, the said Dunstane did send him word, that thens he made more account of gold than of God, more of monie than of S. Andrew, patron of the church of Rochester, and more of covetousnesse than of him being the archbishop, the mischiefs which

the Lord had threatned would shortly fall and come to passe, but the same should not chauce while he was alieue, who died in the yere following, on the 25 of Maie, being saturday.

Of this Dunstane manie things are recorded by writers, that he should be of such holiness and vertue, that God wrought manie miracles by him, both while he liued here on earth, and also after his deceasse. He was borne in Westsaxon, his father was named Heorstan, and his mother Cinifride, who in his youth set him to schole, where he so profited, that he excelled all his equals in age. Afterward he fell sicke of an ague, which bered him so sore that it dreaue him into a frensie: and therefore his parents appointed him to the cure and charge of a certaine woman, where his disease grew so on him, that he fell in a trance, as though he had bene dead, and after that he suddenlie aroose, & by chance caught a staffe in his hand, and ran vp and downe through hills and dales, and laid about him as though he had bene afraid of mad dogs. The next night (as it is said) he gat him to the top of the church (by the helpe of certaine ladders that stood there for workemen to mend the rofe) and there ran vp and downe verie dangerously, but in the end came safely downe, and laid him to sleepe betwene two men that watched the church that night, & when he awaked, he marvelled how he came there. Finally, recouering his disease, his parents made him a priest, and placed him in the abbey of Glasseburie, where he gaue himselfe to the reading of scriptures and knowledge of vertue. But as well his kinsmen as certaine other did raise a report of him, that he gaue not himselfe so much to the reading of scriptures, as to charming, conjuring and sorcerie, which he vtterlie denied: howbeit learned he was in deed, & could do manie pretty things both in handie worke and other deuises: he had good skill in medicine and delighted much therein. At length he grew in such fauour, that he was aduanced into the seruice of king Adelfane.

Upon a time, as he came to a gentlewomans house with his harpe, and hong the same on the wall, while he shapd a priests stole, the harpe suddenlie began to plaie a psalme, which dreaue the whole household in such feare, that they ran out and said, he was too cunning, and knew more than was expedient: whereupon he was accused of necromantie, and so banished out of the court. After this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfeagus then bishop of Winchester and his cosen, perswaded him to become a monk, he refused it, for he rather wished to haue married a yong damosell, whose pleasant companie he daily inioied. But being some after stricken with such a swelling disease in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into such state, as though he had bene infected with a foule leprosie, he bethought him selfe, and vpon his recouerie sent to the bishop, who immediatlie shoo him a monk, in which life he liued in so great opinion of holiness, as he in time became abbat of Glasseburie: where on a time as he was in his prayers before the altar of S. George, he fell asleepe: and imagining in his dreame, that an vglye rough beare came towards him with open mouth, and set his foreset vpon his shoulders ready to deuoure him, he suddenlie wakening for feare, caught his walking staffe which he commonlie went with, and laid about him, that all the church rang thereof, to the great wonder of such as stood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the nose with a paire of pinsores, for tempting him with women, while he was making a chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elfreda bare him to his dieng day, with a great manie of other such like matters, I leaue as frivoulous,

Vita Dunstani.

John Capgr.  
Osborne.  
Ran. Higd.

Will. Malmes.

Polydor.

Ran. Higd.  
980

Sim. Dun.

Ran. Higd.

982

983

After the  
duke of Mercia  
departed this  
life.  
Alstrik or  
Elstrik duke of  
Mercia,  
Froban.

9  
Dun.

Will. Malm.  
Mat. West.

Polychron.

ious, and wholie impertinent to our purpose: onelie this I read, that through declaring of his dreames and visions, he obtained in the time of king Edgar, first the bishopricke of Worcester, after of London, & last of all the archbishopricke of Canturburie. But leauing Dunstane and the fond deuilles depending vpon the commemoration of his life, we will now returne to the doings of Egelfred, and speake of such things in the next chapter as chanced in his time.

The Danes inuade England on each side, they are vanquished by the English, Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine; the Danes in a battell fought at Maldon kill Brightmod earle of Essex and the most of his armie, ten thousand pounds paid to them by composition that they should not trouble the English subiects, they cease their crueltie for a time, but within a while after fall to their bloudie bias, the English people despair to resist them; Egelfred addresseth a nauie against the Danes vnder the erles Alfricke and Turolf, Alfricke traitorously taketh part with the Danes, his ship and souldiers are taken, his sonne Algar is punished for his fathers offense, the Danes make great wast in many parts of this Iland, they besiege London and are repelled with dishonor, they driue king Egelfred to buy peace of them for 16000 pounds; Aulase king of Norway is honorable interceded of Egelfred, to whome he promisseth at his baptism neuer to make warre against England, the great zeale of people in setting forward the building of Durham towne and the minster.

## The second Chapter.

Wil. Malm.  
Matt. Westm.  
The Danes  
inuade this  
land.



Alias Wece-  
derport.  
H. Hunt.  
Simon Dun.  
Danes van-  
quished.

Simon Dun.

Goda earle of  
Deuonshire  
slaine.

Matt. West.

991

Ten thousand  
pounds paid  
to the Danes,  
Danegilt.

Hostlie after the decease of Dunstane, the Danes inuaded this realme on each side, wastling and spoiling the countrie in most miserable wise. They arriued in so manie places at once, that the Englishmen could not well deuise whither to go to encounter first with them. Some of them spoiled a place or towne called Wilch, port, and from thence passing further into the countrie, were met with by the Englishmen, who giuing them battell, lost their capteine Goda: but yet they got the victorie, and beat the Danes out of the field, and so that part of the Danish armie was brought to confusion. Simon Dunel. saith, that the Englishmen in deed wain the field here, but not without great losse. For besides Goda (who by report of the same author was Earle of Deuonshire) there died another valiant man of warre named Strenwold. In the yere 991, Brightmod earle of Essex, at Maldon gaue battell to an armie of Danes (which vnder their leaders Justine and Guthmond had spoiled Cipswich) and was there ouercome and slaine with the most part of his people, and so the Danes obtained in that place the victorie.

In the same yere, and in the 13 yere of king Egelfreds reigne, when the land was on each side sore afflicted, wastled and haried by the Danes, which couered the same as they had bene grasshop- pers: by the aduise of the archbishop of Canturburie Siricius (which was the second of that se after Dunstane) a composition was taken with the Danes, so that for the sum of ten thousand pounds to be paid to them by the king, they should couenant not to trouble his subiects any further. This monie was called Danegilt or Dane monie, and was leuied of the people. Although other take that to be Danegilt, which was giuen vnto such Danes as king Egelfred afterwards retained in his seruice, to defend the land from other Danes and enemies that

sought to inuade his dominions. But by what name so euer this monie (which the Danes now receiued) was called, true it is that hereupon they ceased from their most cruell inuasions for a time. But shortly after they had refreshed themselves, and recovered new strength, they began to play their old parts againe, doing the like mischefe by their sem- blable inuasions, as they had vsed before. By reason hereof such feare came vpon the English people, that they despaired to be able to resist the enimies.

The king yet caused a nauie to be set forth at London, whereof he appointed earle Alfricke (whome before he had banished) to be high admerall, ioining with him earle Turolf. This nauie did set forward from London toward the enemies, who hauing warning giuen them from Alfricke, escaped away without hurt. Shortly after a greater nauie of the Danes came, and encountered with the kings fleet, so that a great number of the Londoners were slaine, and all the kings ships taken: for Alfricke like a traitor, turned to the Danes side. ¶ Matt. West. maketh o- ther report of this matter, declaring that Alfricke in deed being one of the chiefe captieins of the fleet, ad- uertised them by forewarning of the danger that was toward them, and that when they should come to ioining, the same Alfricke like a traitor: fled to the Danes, and after vpon necessitie being put to flight escaped away with them: but the other captieins of the kings fleet, as Theodred, Elstan, and Cefwen, pursued the Danes, took one of their ships, and slue all those that were found therein. The Londoners also (as the same Matt. West. saith) met with the nauie of the Danish rousers as they fled away, and slue a great number, and also took the ship of the traitor: Alfricke with his souldiers & armor, but he himselfe escaped, though with much paine, hauing placed the like traitorous part once before, and yet was recon- ciled to the kings favor againe. Vpon this mischefe wrought by the father, the king now took his sonne Algar, and caused his eyes to be put out.

About the same time was Hambrough destroyed by the Danes, which arriued after in Humber, and wastled the countrie of Lindsey and Pockeshire, on either side that riuer. And when the Englishmen were assembled to giue them battell, before they ioined, the captieins of the English armie, Aena, Godwin, and Fredegist, that were Danes by their fathers side, began to flee away, and escaped, so giuing the occasion of the overthrow that lighted on their people. But by some writers it should appeare, that after the Danes had destroyed all the north parts, as they spread abroad without order and good arraie, the people of the countrie fell vpon them, and slue some of them, and chased the residue. Other of the Danes with a nauie of 94 ships entered the Thames, and besieged London about our ladie daie in September. They gaue a verie sore assault to the citie, and assailed to set it on fire: but the citizens so valiantlie defended themselves, that the Danes were beaten backe and repelled, greatlie to their losse, so that they were constrained to depart thence with dishonor. When they fell to and wastled the countries of Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, and ceased not till they had inforced the king to compound with them for 16 thousand pounds, which he was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Whereupon, whereas they wintered that yere at Southampton, the king procured Aulase king of the Norwegians to come vnto Anduer (where at that time he lay) vpon pledges receiued of the king for his safe returne. Ethelgus bishop of Winchester, and duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelfred to bring Aulase vnto him in most honorable manner. The same time was Aulase baptised, king Egelfred

W. Malm.  
991

H. Hunt.  
Danes in  
soph.

Alfricke a traitor  
to his  
country.  
Matt. West.

H. Hunt.  
The son  
punished for his  
fathers offence.

991

Simon Dun.  
Polydor.  
Matt. West.

994  
H. Hunt.  
W. Malm.  
The king  
compounded  
with the  
Danes for  
monie.

Matt. West.  
Simon Dun.  
Aulase king  
of Norway  
baptised.

John Ieland.  
Sum in Dan.

995

The church  
at Durham  
built.

Eric the Dane

Durham town  
and minster  
built.

red receiving him at the fontstone, and so he promi-  
sed none: after to make anie war within this land.  
And receiving great gifts of the king, he returned  
into his countrie, and kept his promise faithfullie:  
but the evils toke not so an end, for other of the  
Danes spang up, as they had bene the heads of the  
serpent Hydra, some of them euer being readie to  
trouble the quiet state of the English nation.

About this season, that is to say, in the yere of our  
Lord 995, bishop Aldaine which was fled from Che-  
ster in the street (other wise called Cuneester) with  
the bodie of saint Cuthbert for feare of the inuasion  
of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the same bodie  
now vnto Durham, and there began the foundation  
of a church, so that the site of that bishopricke was from  
thenceforth there established, and the woods were  
there cut downe, which before that time couered and  
ouergrew that place, whereupon it began first to be  
inhabited. Earle Ethelred, who gouerned that coun-  
trie, greatlie furthered the bishop in this worke, so  
that all the people inhabiting betwene the riuers of  
Coquid and Aheis, came together to rid the woods,  
and to helpe forwarde the building of the church and  
towne there.

The Danes inuading the west parts of  
this land make great haucke by fire and  
sword, they arrive at Rochester, and conquer  
the Kentishmen in field, king Egelred ouercom-  
meth the Danes that inhabited Cumberland and  
waisteth the countrie, the Summerseshire men are sold: the  
miserable state of the realme in those daies; the English blood  
mixed with the Danes and Brittaines, and what inconueni-  
ences grew thereupon, the disordered gouernement of king Egel-  
red, sicknesses vexing the people, treason in the nobles, the  
tribute paid to the Danes vnumercifullie in hand; the realme  
brought to beggerie; king Egelred by politike persuation and  
counsell marrieth Emma the duke of Normandies daugh-  
ter, vpon what occasion the Normans pretended a title to the  
croune of England, they conquer the whole land, what order  
king Egelred tooke to kill all the Danes within his king-  
dome, and what rule they bare in this realme yer  
they were murdered, the thraldome of the Eng-  
lish people vnder them, whereof the  
word Lordane sprang.

### The third Chapter.

997

The Danes  
made the  
west parts of  
this land,

Canoeboke

998

999  
The Danes  
arrive in the  
Chamers.

1000

**I**n the nineteenth yere of  
king Egelreds reigne, the  
Danes sailed about Corne-  
wall, and comming into the  
Seuerne sea, they robbed &  
toke prizes in the coasts of  
Deuonshire & Southwales,  
and landing at Wicheport,  
they burned vp the countrie, and came about vnto  
Pentwithstreet on the south coast, and so arriving in  
the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lidsford, and  
there wasted all afore them with force of fire. They  
burned, amongst other places, the monastirie of  
saint Dunle at Easingstocke. After this they came  
into Dorsetshire, and passed through the countrie  
with flame and fire, not finding anie that offered to  
resist them. The same yere also they sojourned in the  
Ile of Wight, and liued vpon spoiles & prizes which  
they toke in Hampshire and Suffer. At length they  
came into the Chames, and so by the riuier of Spe-  
wey arrived at Rochester. The Kentishmen assem-  
bled together and fought with the Danes, but they  
were overcome, and so left the field to the Danes. Af-  
ter this, the same Danes sailed into Normandie,  
and king Egelred went into Cumberland, where the  
Danes inhabited in great numbers, whome he over-  
came with soe warre, and wasted almost all Cum-

berland, taking great spoiles in the same. About the  
same time, or shortly after, the Danes with their na-  
uie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Ex-  
mouth, and there assaulted the castell. but they were  
repelled by them that kept it. After this they spread  
abroad ouer all the countrie, exercising their accusto-  
med trade of destroying all before them with fire  
and sword. The men of Summerseshire fought  
with them at Penetho, but the Danes got the vpper  
hand.

1001  
Exmouth.

Penetho.

Thus the state of the realme in those daies was  
verie miserable, for there wanted worthe chieftains  
to rule the people, and to chastise them when they did  
amisse. There was no trust in the noble men, for e-  
uerie one impugned others doing, and yet would  
not deuse which way to deale with better likelihood.  
When they assembled in counsell, and should haue  
occupied their heads in deuising remedies for the  
mischiefe of the common wealth, they turned their  
purpose vnto altercation, about such strifes, conten-  
tions and quarels as each one had against other, and  
suffered the generall case to lie still in the dust. And  
if at anie time there was anie good conclusion agree-  
ed vpon, for the withstanding of the enimie, & re-  
lease of the common wealth, anon should the enimie  
be aduertised thereof by such as were of alliance or  
consanguinitie to them. For (as Caxton, Polychr.  
and others say) the English blood was so mixed with  
that of the Danes and Britains, who were like eni-  
mies to the Englishmen, that there was almost few  
of the nobilitie and commons, which had not on the  
one side a parent of some of them.

Disagreement  
South counsell-  
ers what  
fruit it bring-  
eth.

Whereby it came to passe, that neither the secret  
purposes of the king could be concealed till they  
might take due effect; neither their assemblies proue  
quiet without quarelling and taking of parts. Spar-  
rie also being sent forth with their powers one way  
(whilst the king went to make resistance another)  
did reuolt to his enemies, and turned their swords  
against him (as you haue heard of Elfricke and his  
complices, and shall read of manie others) so that  
it was no maruell that Egelred sped no better, and  
yet was he as valiant as anie of his predecessors,  
although the monks fauour him not in their wri-  
tings, because he demanded aid of them toward his  
warres, and was nothing sauorable to their lewd  
hypocritie. But what is a king if his subiects be not  
loiall? What is a realme, if the common wealth be  
divided? By peace & concord, of small beginnings  
great and famous kingdomes haue oft times proce-  
ded; whereas by discord the greatest kingdomes haue  
oftner bene brought to ruine. And so it proued here,  
for whilst priuat quarels are pursued, the generall  
affaires are vtterlie neglected: and whilst ech na-  
tion seeketh to preferre his owne alliance, the land  
it selfe is like to become a desert.

But to proceed with our monasticall writers:  
certes they lay all the fault in the king, saying that  
he was a man giuen to no good exercise, he deligh-  
ted in fleshlie lustes and riotous banquettings, and  
still sought waies how to gather of his subiects what  
might be got, as well by vnlawfull meanes as o-  
therwise. For he would for seined or for verie small  
& light causes disherit his natiue subiects, and cause  
them to redeme their owne possessions for great  
summes of monie. Besides these oppressions, di-  
uers kinds of sicknesses vbered the people also, as the  
blodie sir, and hot burning agues which then ra-  
ged through the land, so that manie died thereof.  
By such manner of meanes therefore, what through  
the misgouernance of the king, the treason and di-  
loialtie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and  
due correction amongst the people, and by such other  
scourges and mishaps as afflicted the English na-  
tion

The misgo-  
uernment of  
the king.

Sicknesses  
bering the  
people.

Treason in  
the nobilitie.

The inhab-  
iting of the  
tribute paid to  
the Danes.

The death of  
queene El-  
gina.  
Emma.

Hen. Hunt.  
1002

Emma  
daughter of W.  
duke of Nor-  
m indie married  
to A. Edgar.

tion in that season, the land was brought into great  
ruine, so that, where by strength the enimie could not  
be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appease  
them with monie. By reason hereof from time of  
the first agrement with the Danes for 10 thousand  
pounds tribute, it was inhauced to 16000 pounds,  
(as you haue heard) & after that to 20000 pounds,  
then to 24000 pounds, & so to 30000 pounds, & lastlie  
to 40000 pounds, till at length the reime was emp-  
tied in maner of all that monie and coine that could  
be found in it. In this meane time died Elgina o:  
Ethelgina the queene. Shortly after it was deuised  
that the king should be a suter unto Richard duke of  
Normandie, for his sister Emma, a labie of such  
excellent beautie, that she was named the floure of  
Normandie. This sute was begun and toke such  
good successe, that the king obtained his purpose.  
And so in the yeare of our Lord 1002, which was a-  
bout the 24 yeare of king Egelsreds reigne, he  
married the said Emma with great solemnitie.

This marriage was thought to be right necessarie,  
honorable, and profitable for the realme of England,  
because of the great puissance of the Norman prin-  
ces in those daies: but as things after ward came to  
passe, it turned to the subuersion of the whole En-  
glish state: for by such affinitie and dealing as hap-  
ned hereby betwixt the Normans and Englishmen,  
occasion in the end was ministered to the same Nor-  
mans to pretend a title to the crowne of England,  
in prosecuting of which title, they obtained and made  
the whole conquest of the land, as after shall appeare.  
Egelsreds being greatlie aduanced (as he thought) by  
reason of his marriage, deuised upon presumption  
thereof, to cause all the Danes within the land to be  
murthered in one day. Hereupon he sent priuie  
commissioners to all cities, burrowes and townes  
within his dominions, commanding the rulers and  
officers in the same, to kill all such Danes as re-  
mained within their libertie, at a certaine day pre-  
fixed, being saint Wices day, in the yeare 1012,  
and in the 24 yeare of king Egelsreds reigne. Here-  
upon (as sundrie wryters agree) in one day & houre  
this murther began, and was according to the com-  
mission and iniunction executed. But where it first  
began, the same is uncerteine: some say at Wello-  
win in Herefordshire, some at a place in Staffor-  
shire called Hotonhill, & others in other places, but  
whereouer it began, the doers repented it after.

But now per we proceede anie further, we will  
shew what rule the Danes kept here in this realme  
before they were thus murthered, as in some booke  
we find recorded. Whereas it is shewed that the  
Danes compelled the husbandmen to til the ground  
& do all maner of labour and toile to be done about  
husbandrie: the Danes liued vpon the fruit and  
gaines that came thereof, and kept the husbands-  
mens wiues, their daughters, maids and seruants,  
using and abusing them at their pleasures. And when  
the husbandmen came home, then could they scarce  
haue such sustentance of meats and drinkes as fell for  
seruants to haue: so that the Danes had all at their  
commandements, eating and drinking of the best,  
where the sille man that was the owner, could hard-  
lie come to his fill of the worst. Besides this, the com-  
mon people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for  
fear and dread they called them in euerie such house  
where anie of them sojourned, Lord Dane. And if  
an Englishman and a Dane chanced to meet at a-  
nie brydge or streight passage, the Englishman must  
stae till the Lord Dane were passed. But in pro-  
cesse of time, after the Danes were voided the land,  
this word Lord Dane was in derision and despiight  
of the Danes turned by Englishmen into a name  
of reproch, as Lordane, which till these our daies is

not forgotten. For when the people in manie parts  
of this realme will note and signifie anie great idle  
lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his li-  
uing, they will call him Lordane. Thus did the  
Danes vse the Englishmen in most vile manner,  
and kept them in such seruile thraldome as cannot  
be sufficientlie vttered.

A fresh power of Danes inuade Eng-  
land to reuenge the slaughter of their coun-  
triment that inhabited this Ile, the west parts  
betraded into their hands by the conspiracie of a  
Norman that was in gouernement, earle Edrike rei-  
ned himselfe sicke when king Egelsreds sent vnto him to leue a  
power against the Danes, and betraeth his people to the  
enimies; Sweine king of Denmarke arriueh on the coast of  
Northfolke, and maketh pitifull spoile by fire and sword; the  
truce taken betwene him and Wikillus is violated, and what  
reucengement followeth; king Sweine forced by famine re-  
turneth into his owne countrie, he arriueh againe at Sand-  
wich, why king Egelsreds was vnable to preuaile against him,  
the Danes ouerrun all places where they come and make  
cruell waste, king Egelsreds paieh him great summes of monie  
for peace; the mikchietes that light vpon a land by placing a  
traitorous stranger in gouernement, how manie acres a hide  
of land conteineth, Egelsreds order taken for ships and ar-  
mour, why his great fleet did him little pleasure; a fresh host  
of Danes vnder three capteines arriue at Sandwich, the  
citizens of Canturburie for monie purchase safetie,  
the faithlesse dealing of Edrike against king E-  
gelsreds for the enimies aduantage, what  
places the Danes ouerran  
and wasted.

### The fourth Chapter.

Don knowledge giuen in-  
to Denmarke of the cruell  
murder of the Danes here in  
England, truth it is, that the  
people of the countrie were  
greatlie kindled in malice,  
and set in such a furious rage  
against the Englishmen,  
that with all speed they made forth a nauie full  
fraught with men of warre, the which in the yeare  
following came swarming about the coasts of Eng-  
land, and landing in the west countrie, toke the citie  
of Greester, and gat there a rich spoile. One Hugh  
a Norman bozne, whome queene Emma had plac-  
ed in those parties as gouernour of shirfe there,  
conspired with the Danes, so that all the countrie  
was ouerrun and wasted.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus lan-  
ded, and spoiled the west parts of the realme, he sent  
vnto Edricus to assemble a power to withstand the  
enimies. Hereupon the people of Hampshire and  
Wiltshire rose and got together: but when the ar-  
mies should foine, earle Edricus surnamed de Stre-  
ona feigned himselfe sicke, and so betraied his peo-  
ple, of whome he had the conduct: for they percei-  
uing the want in their leader, were discouraged, and  
so fled. The Danes folloved them vnto Wiltton,  
which towne they rifled and ouercame. From thence  
they went to Salisburie, and so taking their plea-  
sure there, returned to their ships, because (as some  
wryte) they were aduertised that the king was com-  
ming towards them with an huge armie. In the  
yeare next ensuing, that is to saie 1004, which was  
about the 24 yeare of A. Egelsreds reigne, Sweine  
or Swanus, king of Denmarke, with a mightie  
nauie of ships came on the coast of Northfolke, and  
there landing with his people, made toward Nor-  
wich, and comming thither toke that citie, and spot-  
led it. Then went he vnto Wethford, and when he  
had taken and rifled that towne, he burnt it, not  
withstanding a truce taken by Wikillus or Willel-  
betrell

1012  
The 13 of  
September.  
The murder  
of the Danes.

Hotonhill, or  
Houndhill, a  
place within  
Herechington  
parish beside  
the forest of  
Hadowood,  
somewhat  
more than  
two miles  
from Worcester-  
ster.

The miser-  
able state of  
this realme  
vnder the  
thraldome of  
the Danes.

Hector Boet.

Lordane  
whereof the  
word came.

Hen. Hunt.  
Simon Dia.  
The Danes  
returne to  
inade Eng-  
land.  
Egelsreds  
kern.

1001  
Hugh a Nor-  
man conspi-  
red with the  
Danes.

The com-  
mit first dis-  
cuss of Duke  
of Norwicke.

Wiltton  
laid.

Simon Dia.  
1004  
Swanus  
king of Denmarke.

Northfolke  
taken by the  
Danes.  
Wethford  
burnt.

betrell

Willehelme of  
Wiltshire  
gouverneur of  
Dorset.

Hen. Hunt.

1005  
Swaine re-  
turned into  
Denmarke.  
Simon Dun.  
1006  
Hen. Hunt.  
Swaine re-  
turned into  
England.

The Danes  
winter in the  
Ile of Wight.  
Thepinnade  
Dunwich,  
Dorsetshire,  
etc.

Winchester.

1007  
3000 pound  
saith Si. Dun.

Edrike de  
Streona  
made Duke of  
Dorset.

Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt.  
Simon Dun.

ketell gouernour of those parties with the same king Swaine after the taking of Dorset. In reuenge therefore of such breach of truce, the same Willelmus, or Willeketell, with such power as he could raise, assaulted the host of Danes as they returned to their ships, and slue a great number of them, but was not able to mainteine the fight, for his enemies outnumbered him in number of men. And so he was constrained in the end to giue backe: and the enemies kept on their waies to their ships.

In the yeare following king Swaine returned into Denmarke with all his fleet, partly constrained so to do (as some write) by reason of the great famine & want of necessarie sustenance, which in that yeare sore oppressed this land. In the yeare of our Lord 1006, king Swaine returned againe into England with a mightie & huge nauie, arriuing at Sandwich, and spoiled all the countrie nere vnto the sea side. King Egelsred raised all his power against him, and all the harvest time laie abroad in the field to resist the Danes, which according to their wonted manner spared not to exercise their vnnumerous crueltie, in waisting and spoiling the land with fire and sword, pillering and taking of prizes in euerie part where they came. Neither could king Egelsred remedie the matter, because the enemies still conuened themselves with their ships into some contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, so that his trauell was in vaine.

About the beginning of winter they remained in the Ile of Wight, & in the time of Christmase they landed in Hampshire, and passing through that countrie into Barcheshire, they came to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Coleseie, and then approaching to Ellington, came to Achikelmesslawe, and in euerie place wheresoeuer they came, they made cleane woike. For that which they could not carie with them, they consumed with fire, burning by their innes and sleaing their hoasles. In returning backe, the people of the west countrie gaue them battell, but preuailed not, so that they did but enrich their enemies with the spoile of their bodies. They came by the gates of Winchester as it were in manner of triumph, with vittels and spoiles which they had fetched fiftie miles from the sea side. In the meane time king Egelsred lay about Shyretsburie sore troubled with the newes hereof, and in the yeare next ensuing, by the aduise of his counsell he gaue to king Swaine for the redeming of peace 30000 pounds.

In the same yeare A. Egelsred created the traitor Edrike earle of Mercia, who although he had married Edgna the kings daughter, was yet noted to be one of those which disclosed the secrets of the realme, and the determinations of the counsell vnto the enemies. But he was such a craftie dissembler, so greatly prouided of sleight to dissemble and cloake his fallshood, that the king being too much abused by him, had him in singular fauour, whereas he vpon a malicious purpose studied daillie how to bring the realme into utter destruction, aduertising the enemies from time to time how the state of things stood, whereby they came to knowlege when they should giue place, and when they might safelie come forward. Whereouer, being sent vnto them oftentimes as a commissioner to treat of peace, he perswaded them to warre. But such was the pleasure of God, to haue him and such other of like sort aduanced to honor in this season, when by his diuine prouidence he meant to punish the people of this realme for their wickednesse and sinnes, whereby they had iustlie prouoked his wrath and high displeasure.

In the 30 yeare of king Egelsreds reigne, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1008, he took order

that of euerie thise hundred and ten hides of land within this realme, there should one ship be builded, and of euerie eight hides a complet armor furnished. In the yeare following, the kings whole fleet was brought together at Sandwich, and such soldiers came thither as were appointed to go to sea, in the same fleet. There had not bene sene the like number of ships so trimlie rigged and furnished in all points, in anie kings daies before. But no great profitable pace of seruice was wrought by them: for the king had about that time banished a noble young man of Sussex called Wilnot, who getting together twentie sailes, laie upon the coasts taking prizes where he could get them. Withtake the brother of earle Godrike, being desirous to win honor, took forth foure score of the said ships, and promised to bring in the enemy dead or aliue. But as he was sailing forward on the seas, a sore tempest with an outrageous wind rose with such violence, that his ships were cast vpon the shore: and Wilnot committing vpon them, set them on fire, and so burned them euerie one. The residue of the ships, when newes came to them of this mishap, returned backe to London: and then was the armie disperfed, and so all the cost and trauell of the Englishmen proued in vaine.

After this, in the harvest time a new armie of Danes, vnder the conduct of three capteines, Turkill, Hermining, and Aulase landed at Sandwich, and from thence passed forth to Canturburie, and had taken the citie but that the citizens gaue them a 1000 pounds to depart from thence, and to leaue the countrie in peace. Then went the Danes to the Ile of Wight, and afterwards landed and spoiled the countrie of Sussex and Hampshire. King Egelsred assembled the whole power of all his subiects, and comming to giue them battell, had made an end of their cruell harieing the countrie with the slaughter of them all, if earle Godrike with forged tales (devised onelie to put him in feare) had not dissuaded him from giuing battell. The Danes by that meanes returning in safetie, immediatlie after the feast of saint Martine, returned into Kent, and lodged with their nauie in the winter following in the Thames, and oftentimes assaulting the citie of London, were still beaten backe to their losse.

After the feast of Christmase they passed through the countrie and woods of Giltene vnto Dorset, which towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to waisting of the countrie on both sides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was assembled at London to giue them battell; that part of their host which kept on the northside of the riuer, passed the same riuer at Stanes, and so ioining with their fellows marched forth through Southerie, and comming backe to their ships in Kent, fell in hand to repaire & amende their ships that were in anie wise decayed. Then after Easter, the Danes sailing about the coast, arriued at Giptwich in Suffolke, on the Ascension day of our Lord: and inuading the countrie, gaue battell at a place called Wigmore or Wignere, vnto Willelmus Willeketell leader of the English host in those parties, on the first of Maie. The men of Dorsetholke and Suffolke fled at the first onset giuen: but the Cambridgeshire men stuck to it valiantlie, winning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindfulness amongst them of running awaie, so that a great number of the nobilitie and other were beaaten downe and slaine, till at length one Turketell Spireneheuue, that had a Dane to his father, first began to take his flight, and deserued thereby an everlasting reproch.

The Danes obtaining the vpper hand, for the space

In hundred  
acres is an  
hide of land.  
1008  
provision for  
ships and ar-  
mour.

Matt. West.

Danes land  
at Sandwich.  
1009  
3000 pound  
saith Si. Dun.

Sussex and  
Hampshire  
spoiled.

The Danes  
returne into  
Kent.

1010  
Dorset burnt.

Stanes.

Giptwich in  
Suffolke.  
Simon Dun.

Caput formice.



Chertford.  
Cambridge.  
Hen. Hunt.

The Danes  
arrive in the  
Thames.  
1011

Porthampton  
burnt by  
Danes.

Holomanie  
looses the  
Danes was  
led.

space of three moneths together went by and downe the countries, & wasted those parties of the realme; that is to say, Northfolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire where the fens are, gaining exceeding riches by the spoile of the great and localitie abbeies and churches which had their situation within the compasse of the same fens. They also destroyed Chertford, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence passed through the pleasant mountaine-countrie of Belsham, cruellie murdering the people without respect of age, degree or sex. After this also they entered into Essex, and so came backe to their ships; which were then arrived in the Thames. But they rested not any long time in quiet, as people that minded nothing but the destruction of this realme. So as soon after, when they had somewhat refreshed them, they set forward againe into the countrie, passing through Buckinghamshire, & so into Bedfordshire. And about saint Andrewes tide they turned towards Portsmouth, & comming thither set fire on that towne. Then turning through the west countrie, with fire & sword they wasted and destroyed a great part thereof, & namelie Wiltshire, with other parties. And finally about the feast of Christmas they came againe to their ships. Thus had the Danes wasted the most part of 16 or 17 shires within this realme, as Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Dorsetshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, with a part of Huntingdonshire, and also a great portion of Portsmouth. This was done in the countries that lie on the northside of the river of Thames. On the southside of the same river, they spoiled and wasted Kent, Southerie, Sussex, Warkshire, Hampshire, and (as is before said) a great part of Wiltshire.

King Egelred offereth the Danes great summes of moneie to desist from destroying his countrie, their unspeakable crueltie, bloudy strifes, and insatiable spoiling of Canturburie betrayed by a churchman; their merciles murdering of Elphegus archbishop of Canturburie, Turkillus the Dane chief lord of Norfolk and Suffolke, a peace concluded betweene the Danes and the English upon hard conditions; Gunthildis a beauefull Danish ladie and hir husband slaine, hir courage to the death.

### The fifth Chapter.

The king sendeth to the Danes.  
Simon Dun.

1011

Canturburie  
loose by  
Danes.

**T**he king and the peeres of the realme, understanding of the Danes dealing in such merciles maner (as is above mentioned) but not knowing how to redresse the matter, sent ambassadores unto the Danes, offering them great summes of moneie to leaue off such cruell wasting and spoiling of the land. The Danes were contented to receive the moneie, but yet could not abstaine from their cruell doings, neither was their greedie thirst of bloud and spoile satisfied with the wasting and destroying of so manie countries and places as they had passed through. Whereupon, in the peere of our Lord 1011, about the feast of S. Matthew in September, they laid siege to the citie of Canturburie, which of the citizens was valiantlie defended by the space of twentie daies. In the end of which terme it was taken by the enemies, through the treason of a deacon named Almaricus, whome the archbishop Elphegus had before that time preserved from death.

The Danes exercised passing great crueltie in the winning of that citie (as by sundrie authors it doth winne, and maie appeere.) For they slue of men, women, and children, above the number of eight thousand. They took the archbishop Elphegus with an other bishop named Godwine, also abbat Lefwin and Alseward the kings bailie there. They spared no degree, in so much that they slue and took 900 priests, and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleasure of the citie, they set it on fire, and so returned to their ships. There be some which write that they tithed the people after an inverted order, slaying all by nines through the whole multitude, and reserved the tenth: so that of all the monks there were but foure saved, and of the laie people 4800, whereby it followeth that there died 43200 persons. Whereby is gathered that the citie of Canturburie, and the countrie thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for succor) was at that time verie well inhabited, so as there haue not wanted (saith maister Lambert) which affirme that it had then more people than London it selfe.

But now to our purpose. In the peere next following, upon the saturday in Easter weeke, after that the bishop Elphegus had bene kept prisoner within the space of six or seven moneths, they cruellie in a rage led him forth into the fields, and dashed out his braines with stones, because he would not receive his libertie with three thousand pounds, which they demanded to haue bene leuied of his farmers and tenants. This cruell murder was committed at Grenewich foure miles distant from London, the 19 of Aprill, where he lay a certaine time vnburied, but at length through miracles shewed (as they say, for miracles are all brought now by dead men, and not by the living) the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, and there was it buried in the church of S. Paul, where it rested for the space of ten yeeres, till king Canute or Knought had the gouernment of this land, by whose appointment it was removed to Canturburie.

Turkillus the leader of those Danes by whome the archbishop Elphegus was thus murdered, held Northfolke and Suffolke under his subiection, & so continued in those parties as chiefe lord and gouernor. But the residue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Englishmen for a tribute to be paid to them of eight thousand pounds, spent abroad in the countrie, sojourning in cities, townes and villages, where they might find most convenient harbour. Moreover, fortie of their ships, or rather (as some write) 45 were retained to serue the king, promising to defend the realme; with condition, that the souldiers and mariners should haue provision of meate and drinke, with apparell found them at the kings charges. As one author hath gathered, Swaine king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being confirmed with solemn othes and sufficient hostages, he departed into Denmarke.

The same author bringeth the generall slaughter of Danes upon S. Pices day, to haue chanced in the peere after the conclusion of this agreement, that is to say, in the peere 1012, at what time Gunthildis the sister of king Swaine was slaine, with hir husband & hir sonne, by the commandement of the false traitor Eadrike. But because all other authors agree that the same murder of Danes was executed about ten yeeres before this supposed time: we haue made rehearse all thereof in that place. Howbeit, for the death of Gunthildis, it maie be, that she became hostage either in the peere 1007, at what time king Egelred paid thirtie thousand pounds unto king Swaine to haue peace (as before you haue heard) or else

Salomon  
1010.

The arch-  
bishop El-  
phegus mur-  
dered.

Antonia  
Vincentia.

Willam  
ex. 1010.

1011

1011

Hen. Hunt.

The arch-  
bishop El-  
phegus mur-  
dered.

1011

Agirena.

Elphegus  
murdered in Lon-  
don.

1011

Canute  
1011.

Willam  
1011.

1011

1011

1011

1011

1011

1011

1011

1011

1011

1011

1011

the might he be delivered in hostage, in the yere  
1011, when the last agreement was made with the  
Danes (as above is mentioned.) But when at  
what time securer the became hostage, this we find of  
him, that he came hither into England with his hus-  
band Hastingus, a mightie earle, and received hap-  
pily here. Whereupon the earnestlie travelled in  
treatie of a peace betwixt his brother and king E-  
gelred: which being brought to passe chiefie by his  
sute, she was contented to become an hostage for  
sute, she was contented to become an hostage for  
performance thereof (as before is recited.) And af-  
ter by the commandement of earle Godric she was  
put to death, pronouncing that the shedding of his  
blood would cause all England one day sore to rue.  
She was a verie beautifull ladie, and toke his death  
without all feare, not once changing countenance,  
though she saw his husband and his onclie sonne (a  
young gentleman of much towardnesse) first mur-  
thered before his face.

Turkillus the Danish capteine telleth  
king Swaine the faults of the king, nobles,  
& commons of this realme, he inuadeth Eng-  
land, the Northumbers and others submit them-  
selves to him, Danes received into seruice vnder E-  
gelred, London assailed by Swaine, the citizens behaue them-  
selves stoutlie, and giue the Danish host a shamefull repulse,  
Ethelmere earle of Devonshire and his people submit them-  
selves to Swaine, he returneth into Denmarke, cometh back  
again into England with a fresh power, is incountred withall  
of the Englishmen, whose king Egelred is discomfited, his o-  
ration to his souldiers touching the present reliefe of their dis-  
tressed land, their resolution and full purpose in this their  
perplexitie, king Egelred is minded to giue place to Swaine,  
he sendeth his wife and children ouer into Norman-  
die, the Londoners yeeld vp their state to Swaine,  
Egelred saileth ouer into Normandie,  
leaving his land to the  
enemie.

### The sixth Chapter.

**N**ow had Turkillus in the  
meane time aduertised king  
Swaine in what state things  
stood here within the realme:  
how king Egelred was neg-  
ligent, onlie attending to the  
lusts & pleasures of the flesh:  
how the noble men were un-  
faithfull, and the commons weake and feeble through  
want of god and trustie leaders. Wherefore, some  
write, that Turkillus as well as other of the Danes  
which remained here in England, was in league  
with king Egelred, in somuch that he was with him  
in London, to helpe and defend the citie against  
Swaine when he came to assalt it (as after shall ap-  
peare.) Which if it be true, a doubt may rise whether  
Swaine received anye aduertisement from Turkil-  
lus to moue him the rather to inuade the realme:  
but such aduertisements might come from him be-  
fore that he was accorded with Egelred.

Swaine therefore as a valiant prince, desirous  
both to reuenge his sisters death, and win honor, pre-  
pared an huge armie, and a great number of ships,  
with the which he made towards England, and first  
comming to Sandwich, taried there a small while,  
and taking estones the sea, compassed about the  
coasts of the Eastangles, and arriuing in the mouth  
of Humber, sailed by the water, and entering into  
the riuer of Trent, he landed at Gainsborough, pur-  
posing to inuade the Northumbers. But as men  
brought into great feare, for that they had bene sub-  
iect to the Danes in times past, and thinking there-  
fore not to revolt to the enimie, but rather to their old  
acquaintance, if they should submit themselves to

the Danes, straightwaies offered to become subiect  
vnto Swaine, together with their unke named  
Wighthred. Also the people of Lindsey, and all those  
of the northside of Wailingstreet yielded them-  
selves vnto him, and deliuered pledges. Then he ap-  
pointed his sonne Cnutus to haue the keeping of  
those pledges, and to remaine vpon the safegard of  
his ships, whiles he himselfe passed forward into the  
countrie. Then marched he forward to subdue them  
of south Mercia: and so came to Oxford: to Wain-  
chester, making the countries subiect to him throug-  
out whereuer he came.

With this prosperous successe Swaine being  
greatlie incouraged, prepared to go vnto London,  
where king Egelred as then remained, hauing with  
him Turkillus the Dane, which was retained in  
wages with other of the Danes (as by report of  
some authours it may appeare) and were now ready  
to defend the citie against their countreymen in sup-  
port of king Egelred, together with the citizens.  
Swaine, because he would not step so farre out of the  
way as to go to the next bridge, lost a great number  
of his men as he passed through the Thames. At his  
comming to London, he began to assault the citie  
verie fiercelie, in hope either to put his enimie in  
such feare that he should despaire of all reliefe and  
comfort, or at the least trie what he was able to do.  
The Londoners on the other part, although they  
were brought in some feare by this sudden attempt  
of the enimies, yet considering with themselves, that  
the hazard of all the whole state of the realme was  
annexed to theirs, with their citie was the chiefe and  
metropolitane of all the kingdome, they valiantlie  
stood in defense of themselves, and of their king that  
was present there with them, beating backe the eni-  
mies, chasing them from the walles, and otherwise  
doing their best to keepe them off. At length, al-  
though the Danes did most valiantlie assault the ci-  
tie, yet the Englishmen to defend their prince from  
all iniurie of enimies, did not shrink, but boldlie  
sallied forth at the gates in heapes together, and in-  
countered with their aduersaries, and began to fight  
with them verie fiercelie.

Swaine whilist he went about to keepe his men  
in order, as one most desirous to retaine the victorie  
now almost gotten, was compassed so about with  
the Londoners on each side, that after he had lost a  
great number of his men, he was constrained for  
his safegard to breake out through the midst of his  
enimies weapons, and was glad that he might so  
escape: and so with the residue of his armie ceased  
not to iourne day and night till he came to Bath,  
where Ethelmere an earle of great power in those  
west parts of the realme submitted himselfe with all  
his people vnto him, who shortly after neuerthelessse  
(as some write) was compelled through want of  
bittels to release the tribute latelie covenanted to be  
paid vnto him for a certaine summe of monie, which  
when he had receiued, he returned into Denmarke,  
meaning shortly to returne againe with a greater  
power.

King Egelred supposed that by the payment of  
that monie he should haue bene rid out of all trou-  
bles, of warre with the Danes. But the nobles of  
the realme thought otherwise, and therefore willed  
him to prepare an armie with all speed that might be  
made. Swaine taried not long (to proue the doubt  
of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge)  
but that with swift speed he returned againe into  
England, and immediatlie vpon his arriuall was  
an armie of Englishmen assembled and led against  
him into the field. Whereupon they ioined in battell,  
which was sore foughten for a time, till at length by  
reason of diuerse Englishmen that turned to the  
enimies

The North-  
umbers  
pay to  
Swaine.  
The people of  
Lindsey pay to  
himselfe to  
him.  
Simon Dun.

South Mer-  
cia.

Sim. Duncl.

Swaine as-  
saileth  
London.

Polydor.

Wil. Malm.  
Eric of De-  
vonshire as  
saith Mar-  
West.  
Polydor.

Swaine re-  
turneth into  
Denmarke.

Swaine re-  
turneth into  
England to  
make warre.

King Egel-  
red discom-  
fited in battell.

Turkillus  
advertiseth the  
state of the  
realme to Swaine.

Simon Dun.

Swaine pre-  
pareth an ar-  
mie to inuade  
England.

He landeth at  
Sandwich.

Gainsborough

enimies side, the discomfite fell with such slaughter upon the English host, that king Egelred well perceived the state of his regall gouernement to be brought into vtter danger. Whereupon after the losse of this field, he assembled the rest of his people that were escaped, and spake vnto them after this manner.

The oration of king Egelred to the remanent of his souldiers.



Should for euer be put to silence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherlie mind, in giuing good aduise & counsel for the well ordering and due administration of things in the common wealth, or if their lacked courage or might in our souldiers and men of warre to defend our countrie. Trulie to die in defense of the countrie where we are bozne, I confesse it a wortheie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the midst of the enimies in defense of my kingdome. But here I see our countrie and the whole English nation to be at a point to fall into vtter ruine. We are overcome of the Danes, not with weapon or force of armes; but with treason wrought by our owne people: we did at the first prepare a nauie against the enimies, the which that false traitour Elfrike betrayed into their hands. Againe, oftentimes haue we giuen battell with euill successe, and onelie through the fault of our owne people that haue borne false and disloiall: whereby we haue bin constrained to agree with the enimies vpon dishonorable conditions, euen as necessitie required, which to overcome, resteth onelie in God. Such kind of agreement hath bene made in deed to our destruction, sith the enimies haue not sticked to breake it (they being such a wicked kind of people as neither regard God nor man) contrarie to right and reason, and beside all our hope & expectation. So that the matter is come now to this passe, that we haue not cause onlie to feare the losse of our gouernement, but least the name of the whole English nation be destroyed for euer. Therefore sithens the enimies are at hand, and as it were ouer our heads, you to whom my commandement hath euer bene had in good regard, prouide, take counsell, and see to succor the state of your countrie now readie to decay and to fall into irreuerable ruine.

Whereupon they fell in consultation, euery one acknowledging and bringing forth his opinion as seemed to him best: but it appeared they had the wolfe by the eare, for they wist not which way to turne them. If they should giue battell, it was to be doubted least through treason among themselves, the armie should be betrayed into the enimies hands, the which would not faile to execute all kind of crueltie in the slaughter of the whole nation. And if they stood not valiantlie to shew themselves readie to defend their countrie, there was no shift but yeld themselves. Which though it were a thing reprochfull and dishonorable, yet should it be lesse euill, as they toke the matter, for thereby might manie be preserved from death, and

in time to come, be able to reconer the libertie of their countrie, when occasion should be offered. This point was allowed of them all, and so in the end they rested vpon that resolution.

King Egelred therefore determined to commit himselfe into the hands of his brother in law Richard duke of Normandie, whose sister (as ye haue heard) he had married. But because he would not do this vnadvisedlie, first he sent ouer his wife quene Emma, with his sonnes which he had begotten of her, Alfred and Edward, that by their intertainment he might vnderstand how he should be welcome. Duke Richard receiued his sister and his nephews verie iollie, and promised to aid his brother king Egelred in defense of his kingdome. But in this meane while had Swaine conquered the more part of all England, and brought (by little and little) that which remained vnder his subiection. The people through feare submitting themselves on each hand, king Egelred in this meane time (for the Londoners had submitted themselves to Swaine) was first withdrawne vnto Grænewich, and there remained for a time with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gouernement of earle Turkill, and from thence sailed into the Ile of Wight, and there remained a great part of the winter, and finally after Christmas himselfe sailed into Normandie, and was of his brother in law iollie receiued & greatly comforted in that his time of necessitie.

Swaine king of Denmarke is reputed king of this land, he oppresseth the English people cruellie, and spoileth religious houses, the strange and miraculous slaughter of Swaine vaunting of his victories; the Danish chronicles write partiallie of him and his end, Cnut succedeth his father Swaine in regiment, the Englishmen send king Egelred word of Swaines death, Edward king Egelreds eldest sonne cometh ouer into England to know the state of the countrie and people of certieintie; Egelred with his power returneth into England; what meanes Cnut made to establish himselfe king of this land, and to be well thought of among the English people, Egelred burneth vp Gainesbrough, and killeth the inhabitants thereof for their disloialtie; Cnutes flight to Sandwich, his cruel decree against the English pledges, he returneth into Denmarke, why Turkillus the Danish capitaine with his power compounded with the Englishmen to tarme in this land, his faithlesse seruice to Egelred, his drift to make the whole realme subiect to the Danish thraldome.

The seuenth Chapter.



Swaine hauing now got the whole rule of the land, was reputed full king, and so commanded that his armie should be prouided of wages and vittels to be taken vp & leuied through the realme. In like maner Turkill commanded that to his armie lodged at Grænewich, wages and vittels sufficient should be deliuered, for the finding, relieving, succouring, and sustaining thereof. Swaine vsed the victorie verie cruellie against the Englishmen, oppressing them on each hand; to the intent that them being brought low he might gouerne in more suertie. The yere in which he obtained the rule thus of this realme, and that king Egelred was constrained to flee into Normandie, was in the 35 yere of the same Egelred his reigne, and after the birth of our Lord 1014. Swaine being once established in the gouernment, did not onelie vse much crueltie in oppressing the lattie, but also stretched forth his hand to the church, and to the ministers

missers in the same, fleeing them and spoiling both churches and ministers, without any remorse of conscience, inasmuch that hauing a quarell against the inhabitants within the precinct of S. Edmunds land in Suffolke, he did not onelie harrie the countrie, but also rised and spoiled the abbeie of Burie, where the bodie of saint Edmund rested.

Whereupon shortly after, as he was at Cainelesbrough or Chetford (as some say) and there in his solitarie talked with his Nobles of his good successe in conquering of this land, he was suddenlye striken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculously, for no man wist how or by whome: and within three daies after, to wit, on the third of Februarie, he ended his life with grievous paine and torment in yelling and roling, by reason of his extreame anguish beyond all measure. There hath sprung a pleasant tale among the posteritie of that age, how he should be wounded with the same knife which king Edmund in his life time used to weare. Thus haue some of our writers reported, but the Danish chronicles report a farre more happie end which should chance to this Swaine, than is before mentioned out of our writers: for the said chronicles report, that after he had subdued England, he tooke order with king Eggeled, whome they name anisse Adelsane, that he should not ordeine any other successor, but onlie the said Swaine. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where using himselfe like a right godlie prince, at length he there ended his life, being a verie old man.

Notwithstanding all this, when or howsoever he died, immediatlie after his decesse the Danes elected his sonne Cnute or Knought to succeed in his dominions. But the Englishmen of nothing more desirous than to shake off the yoke of Danish thraldome besides their necks shoulders, straightwaies upon knowledge had of Swaines death, with all speed advertised king Eggeled thereof, and that they were ready to receive and assist him if he would make hast to come over to deliver his countrie out of the hands of strangers. These newes were right ioyfull unto Eggeled, who burning in desire to be reuenged on them that had expelled him out of his kingdom, made no longer tariance to set that enterprise forward. But yet doubting the inconstancie of the people, he sent his elder son (named Edmund) to trie the minds of them, and to vnderstand whether they were constant or wavering in that which they had promised.

The young gentleman hasting ouer into England, and with diligent inquirie perceiuing how they were bent, returned with like speed as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in safetie if he would make hast. King Eggeled then conceiued an assured hope to recouer his kingdom, aided with his brother in lawes power, and trusting upon the assistance of the Englishmen, returned into England in the time of Lent. His returne was ioyfull and most acceptable to the English people, as to those that abhorred the rule of the Danes, which was most sharpe and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountyfullnesse and courteous dealings to haue retained them vnder his obedience.

And of an intent to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for the administration in the common wealth, he sought first to appease his wrath, and also to make amends to saint Edmund for his fathers offense committed (as was thought) against him: inasmuch that after he had obtained the kingdom, he caused a great ditch to be cast round about the land of saint Edmund, and granted manie freedoms to the inhabitants, acquitting them of certaine taxes and payments, unto the which other of their

neighbours were contributarie. He also builded a church on the place where saint Edmund was buried, and ordeined an house of monks there, or rather remoued the canons or secular priests that were there afore, and put monks in their rooms. He offered by also his crowne vnto the same S. Edmund, and redeemed it againe with a great summe of monie, which manner of doing grew into an vse vnto other kings that followed him. He adorned the church there with manie richiewels, and indowed the monasterie with great possessions.

But these things were not done now at the first, but after that he was established in the kingdom. For in the meane time, after that king Eggeled was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then sojourning at Cainelesbrough, remained there till the feast of Easter, and made agreement with them of Lindsey, so that finding him honest, they should altogether go forth to spoile their neighbors. King Eggeled advertised thereof, sped him thither with a mightie host, and with great crueltie burned by the countrie, and slew the more part of the inhabitants, because they had taken part with his enemies. Cnute as then was not of power able to resist Eggeled, and therefore taking his ships which lay in Humber, fled from thence, and sailed about the coast, till he came to Sanduich, and there soze greued in his mind to remember what mischance was fallen and chanced to his friends and subiects of Lindsey, onelie for his cause, he commanded that such pledges as had bene deliuered to his father by certaine noble men of this realme, for assurance of their fidelities, should haue their noses slit, and their eares stuffed, or (as some write) their hands and noses cut off.

When this cruell act according to his commandement was done, taking the sea, he sailed into Denmarke: but yet toke not all the Danes with him which his father brought thither. For earle Turkill perceiuing the wealthinesse of the land, compounded with the Englishmen, and chose rather to remaine in a region replenished with all riches, than to returne home into his owne countrie that wanted such commodities as were here to be had. And yet (as some thought) he did not forsake his soueraigne lord Cnute for any euill meaning towards him, but rather to aid him (when time serued) to recouer the possession of England againe, as it afterwards well appeared. For notwithstanding that he was now retained by S. Eggeled with fortie ships, and the flower of all the Danes that were men of warre, so that Cnute returned but with 60 ships into his countrie: yet shortly after, earle Turkill with 9 of those ships sailed into Denmarke, submitted himselfe vnto Cnute, counselled him to returne into England, and promised him the assistance of the residue of those Danish ships which yet remained in England, being to the number of thirtie, with all the souldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, he did so much by his earnest persuasions, that Cnute (through aid of his brother Harrold king of Denmarke) got together a naute of two hundred ships, so royally decked, furnished, and appointed, both for braue shew and necessarie furniture of all manner of weapons, armes, and munition, as it is strange to consider that which is written by them that liued in those daies, and toke in hand to register the doings of that time. He toke it to let this pompe of Cnutes state passe, which (no doubt) was right roiall, consider a little and looke backe to Turkill, though a sworne seruant to king Eggeled, how he did direct all his drift to the aduancement of Cnute, and his owne commoditie, cloking his purposed treacherie with pretended amitie, as shall appeare hereafter by his deadlie hostilitie.

Polydor. Fabian.

Cnute desired to forsake the land. He was driven thither by force of contrarie winds as should appeare by Marth. West. The cruell decree of Cnute against the English pledges, Will. Malmes.

This Turkill was retained in seruice with Eggeled, as I thinke.

Encomium. Emma.

A great waste by an inundation or in-breaking of the sea, a tribute of 30000 pounds to the Danes, king Egelred holdeth a counsell at Oxford, where he causeth two noble men of the Danes to be murdered by treason, Edmund the kings eldest sonne marieth one of their wives, and seizeth vpon his predecessors lands; Cnute the Danish king returneth into England, the Danish and English armies encounter, both suiteine losse; Cnute maketh waste of certeine shires, Edmund preuenteth Edriks purposed treason, Edrike de Streona lieth to the Danes, the Westernemen yeeld to Cnute; Mercia refuseth to be subiect vnto him, Warwikehire wasted by the Danes; Egelred assemblith an armie against them in vaine; Edmund & Vitred with ioined forces lay waste such countries and people as became subiect to Cnute; his policie to preuent their purpose, through what countries he passed, Vitred submitteth himselfe to Cnute, and deliuereth pledges, he is put to death and his lands alienated, Cnute purfeth Edmund to London, and prepareth to besiege the cite, the death and buriall of Egelred, his wives, what issue he had by them, his infortunatenesse, and to what afflictions and vices he was inclined, his too late and bootlesse seeking to releue his decayed kingdome.

### The eight Chapter.

1015  
Matt. V. Vest.

Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.  
Matth. West.  
A counsell at  
Oxford.  
Sigeferd and  
Hozead mur-  
dered.

Edmund the  
kings eldest  
sonne marieth  
the widow  
of Sigeferd.

Cnute returneth  
into  
England.

**B**UT now to returne to our purpose, and to shew what chanced in England after the departure of Cnute. In the same yeare to the foresaid accustomed mischiefs an vn-  
wonted misadventure happened: for the sea rose with such high spring-tides, that overflowing the countries next adjoining, diuers villages with the inhabitants were drowned and destroyed. Also to increase the peoples miserie, king Egelred commanded, that 30000 pounds should be lent to paie the tribute due to the Danes which lay at Graneuith. This yeare also king Egelred held a counsell at Oxford, at the which a great number of noble men were present, both Danes and Englishmen, and there did the king cause Sigeferd and Hozead two noble personages of the Danes to be murdered within his owne chamber, by the traitorous practise of Eadric de Streona, which accused them of some conspiracie. But the quarrell was onelie as men supposed, for that the king had a desire to their goods and possessions.

Their seruants took in hand to haue reuenged the death of their masters, but were beaten backe, whereupon they fled into the steeple of saint Frithwids church, and kept the same, till fire was set vpon the place, and so they were burned to death. The wife of Sigeferd was taken, & sent to Spalmeburie, being a woman of high fame and great worthinesse, whereupon the kings eldest sonne named Edmund, took occasion vpon pretense of other businessse to go thither, and there to see hir, with whome he fell so far in loue, that he took and married hir. That done, he required to haue hir husbands lands and possessions, which were an earles living, and lay in Northumberland. And when the king refused to graunt his request, he went thither, and seized the same possessions and lands into his hands, without hauing anie commission so to do, finding the farmers and tenants there readie to receiue him for their lord.

Whilist these things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his provision of ships and men, with all necessarie furniture (as before ye haue heard) for his returne into England, set forward with full purpose, either to recouer the realme out of Egelreds hands, or to die in the quarrell. Whereupon he landed at Sandwich, and first earle Turkill obtained licence

to go against the Englishmen that were assembled to resist the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scozassan, he gaue them the ouerthrow, got a great bootie, and returned therewith to the ships. After this, Eadric gouernor of Northwaite made a rode likewise into an other part of the countrie, & with a rich spoile, and manie prisoners, returned vnto the nauie. After this iourneie adiuined thus by Eadric, Cnute commanded that they should not waste the countrie anie more, but gaue order to prepare all things readie to besiege London: but before he attempted that enterpryse, as others write, he marched south into Kent, or rather sailing round about that countrie, took his iourneie westward, & came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, wasted Dorsetshire, Summerfetshire, & Wilthshire.

King Egelred in this meane time lay sicke at Colham; and his sonne Edmund had got together a mightie host, howbeit yer he came to some battell with his enemies, he was aduertised, that earle Eadric went about to betraye him, and therefore he withdrew with the armie into a place of securitie. But Eadric to make his traitorous purpose manifest to the whole world, fled to the enemies with fornicie of the kings ships, fraught with Danish souldiers. Whereupon, all the west countrie submitted it selfe vnto Cnute, who receiued pledges of the chiefe lords and nobles, and then set forward to subdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrie would not yeeld, but determined to defend the quarrell: and title of king Egelred, so long as they might haue anie capteine that would stand with them, and helpe to order them. In the yeare 1016, in Christmas, Cnute and earle Eadric passed the Thames at Rithelade, & entring into Mercia, cruelly began with fire and sword to waste and destroy the countrie, and namelie Warwikehire.

In the meane time was king Egelred recovered of his sicknesse, and sent summons forth to raise all his power, appointing euerie man to resort vnto him, that he might encounter the enemies and giue them battell. But yet when his people were assembled, he was warned to take heed vnto himselfe, and in anie wise to beware how he gaue battell, for his owne subiects were purposed to betraye him. Whereupon the armie brake vp, & king Egelred withdrew to London, there to abide his enemies within the walles, with whom in the field he doubted to trie the battell. His sonne Edmund got him to Vitred, an earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and perswading him to ioin his forces with his, forth they went to waste those countries that were become subiect to Cnute, as Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Shropshire, not sparing to exercise great crueltie vpon the inhabitants, as a punishment for their revolting, that others might take example thereby.

But Cnute perceiuing whereabout they went, politikelie deuised to frustrate their purpose, and with doing of like hurt in all places where he came, passed through Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and so through the fens came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnshire, and from thence into Nottinghamshire, & so into Northamptonshire, not sparing to do what mischiefe might be deuised in all places where he came. Vitred aduertised hereof, was constrained to depart home to saue his owne countrie from present destruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberland, & perceiuing himselfe not able to resist the puissant force of his enemies, was constrained to deliuer pledges, and submit himselfe vnto Cnute. But yet was he not hereby warranted from danger, for shortly after he was taken, and put to death, and then were

Fromundham.

Wil. Malm.  
Hun. Hunt.  
Matth. West.  
Sim. Dun.

King Egelred sicke.  
Matth. West.

Eadric de Streona fleeth to the Danes.  
Simon Dun.  
The west countrie.

The people of Mercia would not yeeld.  
Matth. West.  
Hun. Hunt.

1016  
Warwikehire wasted by the Danes.

King Egelred recovered of his sicknesse.  
The assembly of an armie in London.

Wil. Malm.  
Edmund king Egelreds sonne.

Cnute with his countie passed thither.

Earle Vitred deliuered pledges to Cnute.



King Eg-  
bert

King Eg-  
bert

King Eg-  
bert

King Eg-  
bert

King Eg-  
bert

King Eg-  
bert

his lands given unto one Frithke or Frithus, whose  
afterward Cnute did banish out of the realme, be-  
cause that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie  
to him in all points as Cnute himselfe had. After  
that Cnute had subdued the Northumbres, he pur-  
sued Edmund, till he heard that he had taken Lon-  
don for his refuge, and staid there with his father.  
Then did Cnute take his ships, and came about to  
the coasts of Kent, preparing to besiege the citie of  
London.

In the meane time, king Egelfred sore worne with  
long sickness, departed this life on the 23 of Aprill,  
being saint Georges day, or (as others say) on saint  
Gregories day, being the 12 of March, but I take  
this to be an error growen, by mistaking the feast-  
day of saint Gregorie for saint George. He reigned  
the space of 37 yeares, or little lesse. His bodie  
was buried in the church of saint Pauls, in the north  
fle besides the quere, as by a memorialis there on the  
wall it maie appeare. He had two wiues (as before  
is mentioined) By Elgiva his first wife he had issue  
three sonnes, Edmund, Edwine, and Adelfane; be-  
sides one daughter named Egliva. By his second  
wife Emma, daughter to Richard the first of that  
name, duke of Normandie, and sister to Richard  
the second, he had two sonnes, Alfrid and Edward.

This Egelfred (as you have heard) had euill suc-  
cesse in his warres against the Danes, and besides  
the calamitie that fell thereby to his people, manie  
other miseries oppressed his land in his daies, not  
so much through his lacke of courage and slothfull  
negligence, as by reason of his presumptuous pride,  
whereby he alienated the hearts of his people from  
him. His affections he could not rule, but was led  
by them without order of reason, for he did not onlie  
disperit diuers of his owne English subjects with-  
out apparant cause of offense by plaine forged cau-  
sations; and also caused all the Danes to be im-  
mured through his realme in one day, by some light  
suspicion of their euill meanings: but also gaue him-  
selfe to lecherous lusts, in abusing his bodie with  
naughtie trumpeets, forsaking the bed of his owne  
lawfull wife, to the great infamie & shame of that  
high degree of maiestie, which by his kinglie office  
he bare and sustained. To conclude, he was from  
his tender youth more apt to idle rest, than to the ex-  
ercise of warres; more giuen to pleasures of the bo-  
die, than to any vertues of the mind: although that  
toward his latter end, being growen into age, and  
taught by long experience of worldly affaires, and  
proofe of passed miseries, he sought (though in vaine)  
to haue recovered the decayed state of his common  
wealth and countrie.

In this Egelfreds time, and (as it is recorded by  
a British chronographer) in the yere of our Lord  
984, one Cadwalhon, the second sonne of Ieuaf  
toke in hand the gouernance of Northwales, and  
first made warre with Iouanall his cosen, the  
sonne of Apyric, and right heire to the land, and slue  
him, but Edwall the yongest brother escaped awaie  
pauile. The yere following, Agederith the sonne of  
Owen king or prince of Southwales, with all his  
powre entered into Northwales, and in fight slue  
Cadwalhon the sonne of Ieuaf, and Apyric his bro-  
ther, and conquered the land to himselfe. Wherein a  
man maie see how God punished the wrong, which  
Iago and Ieuaf the sonnes of Edwall Hoell did to  
their eldest brother Apyric, who was first disperited,  
and afterward his eyes put out, and one of his sonnes  
slaine. For first Ieuaf was imprisoned by Iago; then  
Iago with his sonne Constantine, by Howell the son  
of Ieuaf: and afterward the said Howell, with his  
brethren Cadwalhon and Apyric, were slaine and  
spoiled of all their lands.

Edmund Ironside succedeth his father  
in the kingdome, the spiritualtie fauouring  
Cnute would haue him to be king, the London-  
ers are his backe friends, they receiue Edmund  
their king honorable and iustitie, Cnute is procla-  
med king at Southampton, manie of the states cleaue vnto him,  
he besiegeth London by water and land, the citizens giue him  
the foile, he incounreth with king Edmund and is discom-  
fited, two battels fought betwene the Danes and English with  
equall fortune and like success, the traitorous stratagem of E-  
drike the Dane, king Edmund aduisedlie defeateth Edrikes tre-  
cherie, 20000 of both armies slaine, Cnute marching towards  
London is pursued of Edmund, the Danes are repelled, in-  
countred, and vanquished; queene Emma provideth for the  
safetie of hir sonnes; the Danes seeke a pacification with  
Edmund, thereby more easilie to betraye him; Cnute with his  
armie lieth neere Rochester, king Edmund pursueth them,  
both armies haue a long and a fore conflict, the Danes discom-  
fited, and manie of them slaine; Cnute with his power assem-  
ble at Essex and there make walle, king Edmund pursueth  
them, Edrike traitorously reuolteth from the English to suc-  
cure the Danes, king Edmund is forced to get him out of the  
field, the Englishmen put to their hard shifts and slaine by  
heapes; what noble personages were killed in this  
battell, of two dead bodies lately found in  
the place where this hot and heauie  
skirmish was fought.

### The ninth Chapter.



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After that king Egelfred  
was dead, his eldest sonne  
Edmund surnamed Iron-  
side was proclaimed king by  
the Londoners and others,  
hauing the assistance of some  
lords of the realme, although  
the more part, and spectallie  
those of the spiritualtie fauoured Cnute, because they  
had aforetime sworne fealtie to his father. Some  
write, that Cnute had planted his siege both by wa-  
ter and land verie strenglie about the citie of Lon-  
don, before Egelfred departed this life, and immediat-  
lie vpon his deceasse was receiued into the citie; but  
the armie that was within the citie, not consenting  
vnto the surrender made by the citizens, departed the  
night before the day on the which Cnute by appoint-  
ment should enter, and in companie of Edmund Iron-  
side (whome they had chosen to be their king and  
gouernour) they prepared to increase their numbers  
with new supplies, meaning to trie the for-  
tune of battell against the Danish power. Cnute  
perceiuing the most part of all the realme to be thus  
against him, and hauing no great confidence in the  
loyaltie of the Londoners, toke order to leaue mo-  
nie for the payement of his men of warre and mari-  
ners that belonged to his nauie, left the citie, and im-  
barking himselfe, sailed to the yle of Shepie, and  
there remained all the winter. In which meane  
while, Edmund Ironside came to London, where he  
was iustitie receiued of the citizens, and continu-  
ing there till the spring of the yere, made himselfe  
strang against the enemies.

This Edmund for his noble courage, strength of  
bodie, and notable patience to indure and suffer all  
such hardnesse and paines as is requisite in a man of  
warre, was surnamed Ironside, & began his reigne  
in the yere of our Lord 1016, in the fiftenth yere  
of the emperor Henrie the second surnamed Clau-  
dius, in the twentieth yere of the reigne of Robert  
king of France, & about the first yere of Malcolme  
the second king of the Scots. After that king Ed-  
mund had receiued the crowne in the citie of Lon-  
don by the hands of the archbishop of Doke, he as-  
sembled together such a powre as he could make,  
and with the same marched south towards the west  
parts, and made the countrie subiect to him. In the  
meane time was Cnute proclaimed and ordeined  
king

Edmund  
Ironside.

The kingdom  
grew where  
the spiritual-  
tie fauoured.

The author of  
the booke inti-  
tuled *Encomi-  
um Emmae* saith  
that it was re-  
ported that  
Edmund offer-  
red the com-  
batt vnto  
Cnute at this  
his going  
from the citie,  
but Cnute re-  
fused it.

1016

Ran. Higd.

king at Southampton by the bishops and abbats, and diuerse lords also of the temporallie there togither assembled, vnto whome he swore to be their good and faithfull souereigne, and that he would see iustice trulie and vprightlie ministred.

Hen. Hunt.  
Simon Dun.

After he had ended his businesse at Southampton, he drew with his people towards London, and comming thither, besieged the citie both by water and land, causing a great trench to be cast about it, so that no man might either get in or come forth.

London besieged.

10 The great assailes he caused to be giuen vnto the citie, but the Londoners and others within so valiantlie defended the wals and gates, that the enemies got small aduantage, and at length were constrained to depart with losse. Cnute then perceiuing that he might not haue his purpose there, withdrew westward, and besides Gillingham in Dorsetshire, in-

Cnute at Gillingham in Dorsetshire put to flight.

countred with li. Edmund in the Rogation weeke, and after some sharpe battell was put to the worse, and constrained to forsake the field by the high prowesse & manhood of the said Edmund. King Cnute the same night, after the armies were seuered, departed towards Winchester, so to get himselfe out of danger.

Polydor.

Shorlie after, king Edmund hearing that an other armie of the Danes had besieged Salisburie, marched thither to succour them with in, and immediatlie Cnute followed him, so that at a place in Wiltshire called Scoastan, on the foure and twentieth of June, they incountred togither, and fought a verie cruell battell, which at length the night parted with equall fortune. And likewise on the next day they buckled togither againe, and fought with like successe as they had done the day before, for towards euening they gaue ouer well wearied, and not knowing to whome the victorie ought to be ascribed.

Salisbury besieged.

Simon Dun,  
Matt. West.  
Wil. Malm.  
A battell with equall fortune.

An other battell with like successe.

Edrike de Sireona his treason.  
Simon Dun.

Writers haue reported, that this second day, when duke Edrike perceiued the Englishmen to be at point to haue got the vpper hand, he withdrew aside, and hauing by chance slaine a common souldier called Olmeare, which in visage much resembled king Edmund, whose head he cut off, held it vp, & shewing his bloodie with the slaughter, cried to the

“Englishmen; flie ye wretches, flie and get a waie, for your king is dead, behold here his head which I hold in my hands. Herewith had the Englishmen fled immediatlie, if king Edmund aduised of this stratagem, had not quicklie got him to an high ground where his men might see him aliae and lufie. Herewith also the traitor Edrike escaped hardlie the danger of death, the Englishmen shot so egerlie at him. At length, as is said, the night parting them in tumber, they withdrew the one armie from the other, as it had bene by consent. The third day they remained in armes, but yet abstaining from battell, sate still, in taking meate and drinke to relieue their wearied bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcases that had bene slaine in the former fight, the number of which on either partie reckoned, rose to the point of twentie thousand and a-  
60 boue.

Twentie thousand dead bodies.

The armies dislodged.

The Danes overcome at Brentford.  
Wil. Malm.  
Hen. Hunt.  
Fabian.  
Caxton.  
Polydor.

In the night following, Cnute remoued his campe in secret wise, and marched towards London, which citie in a manner remained besieged by the name of the Danes. King Edmund in the morning when the light had discouered the departure of his enemies, followed them by the tract, and comming to London with small adoe remoued the siege, and entered the citie like a conqueror. Shorlie after he fought with the Danes at Brentford, and gaue them a great overthrow. In this meane while quene Emma the widow of king Egred, doubting the fortune of the warre, sent her two sonnes Alfred and Edward ouer into Normandie vnto her brother

duke Richard, or rather fled thither himselfe with them (as some write.)

Moreouer, earle Edrike, perceiuing the great manhood of king Edmund, began to feare, least in the end he should subdue and vanquish the Danes, wherefore he sought means to conclude a peace, and take such order with him as might stand with both their contentations, which per long he brought about. This was done (as you shall heare) by the consent of Cnute (as some write) to the intent that Edrike being put in trust with king Edmund, might the more easilie deuise waies how to betraye him. But Cnute disappointed of his purpose at London, and fetching a great botie and preie out of the countries next adioining, repared to his ships, to see what order was amongst them, which a little before were withdrawen into the riuer that passeth by Rochester called Medwaie. Here Cnute remained certene daies, both to assemble a greater power, and also to hearken and learne what his enemies ment to do, the which he easilie vnderstood.

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King Edmund, who hated nothing worse than to linger his businesse, assembled his people, and marching forward toward his enemies, approached nere vnto them, & pitcht downe his tents not farre from his enemies campe, exhorting his people to remember their passed victories, and to do their good willes, at length by one battell so to overthrow them, that they might make an end of the warre, and dispatch them cleerlie out of the reake. With these and the like wordes he did so encourage his souldiers, that they disdainng thus to haue the enemies daile prouoke them, and to put them to trouble, with eger minds and fierce courages offered battell to the Danes, which Cnute had prepared to receiue when soeuer the Englishmen approached: and herewith bringing his men into arate, he came forth to meet his enemies. Then was the battell begun with great earnestnesse on both sides, & continued foure houres, till at length the Danes began somewhat to shrink, which when Cnute perceiued, he commanded his horsemen to come forward into the forefront of his dawnted host.

But whilest one part of the Danes gaue backe with feare, and the other came stolie forward, the arraie of the whole armie was broken, & then with out respect of shame they fled amaine, so that there died that day of Cnutes side foure thousand and five hundred men; and of king Edmunds side not past six hundred, and those were souldiers. This battell was fought as should appere by diuerse writers, at Weymouth or Wteford. It was thought, that if king Edmund had pursued the victorie and followed in chase of his enemies in such wise as he safely might haue done, he had made that day an end of the warres: but he was counselled by Edrike (as some write) in no condition to follow them, but to staie and giue time to his people to refresh their incarie bodies. Then Cnute with his armie passed ouer the Thames into Essex, and there assembled all his power togither, and began to spoile and waste the countrie on each hand. King Edmund aduertised thereof, hasted forth to succour his people, and at Ashdone in Essex three miles from Saffron Walden, gaue battell to Cnute, where after some and cruell fight continued with great slaughter on both sides a long time, duke Edrike fled to the comfort of the Danes, and to the discomfort of the Englishmen.

Hereupon king Edmund was constrained in the end to depart out of the field, having first done all that could be wished in a wompish chieftaine, both by wordes to encourage his men, & by deeds to shew them good example; so that at one time the Danes were at point to haue giuen backe, but that Cnute abused

The river of Medwaie.

King Edmunds businesse.

The battell begun.

The Danes put to flight.

The number of Danes slaine.

Polydor.  
Fabian.  
Ran. Higd.  
Matt. West.Hen. Hunt.  
Will. Malm.  
Edrike's counsel.

advised thereof, rushed into the left wing where most danger was, and so relieved his people there, that finally the Englishmen, both wearied with long fight, and also discouraged with the running away of some of their companies, were constrained to give over, and by flight to seek their safeguard, so that king Edmund might not by any means bring them againe into order. Hereupon all the waies and passages being forelaid and stopped by the enemies, the Englishmen wanting both carriage to make longer resistance, and perceiving no hope to rest in fleeing, were beaten downe and slaine in heapes, so that few escaped from that dreadfull and bloudie battell.

Forble men  
slaine at the  
battell of Ash-  
borne.  
Simon Dun.  
W. Malm.

King Ed-  
mund with-  
draweth into  
Gloucestershire

There died on king Edmunds side, duke Edmund, duke Alfrike, and duke Godwine, with earle Alfeg, and earle of Castangle, and duke Aileward, that was sonne to Ardelwine late duke of Castangle, and to be briefe, all the flower of the English nobilitie. There were also slaine at this battell manie renowned persons of the spiritualtie, as the bishop of Lincoln, and the abbat of Ramsey, with others: king Edmund escaping away, got him into Gloucestershire, and there began to raise a new armie. In the place where this field was fought, are yet seven or eight hills, wherein the carcases of them that were slaine at the same field were buried: and one being digged downe of late, there were found two bodies in a coffin of stone, of which the one late with his head towards the others feet, and manie chains of iron, (like to the water-chains of the bits of horses) were found in the same hill. But now to the matter.

London & other great cities & townes submit themselves to Cnute, he hasteth after Edmund with his power, both their armies being ready to encounter by occasion are staied, the oration of a capteine in the hearing of both hosts; the title and right of the realme of England is put to the trial of combat betweene Cnute and Edmund, Cnute is overmatched, his words to king Edmund, both kings are pacified and their armies accorded, the realme divided betwixt Cnute and Edmund, king Edmund traitorously slaine, the dissonant report of writers touching the manners of his death and both the kings dealing about the partition of the realme, Cnute causeth Edrike to be slaine for procuring king Edmunds death, wherein the reward of treason is noted; how long king Edmund reigned, and where he was buried, the eclipsed state of England after his death, and in whole time it recovered some part of its brightness.

### The tenth Chapter.

**I**n the meane while that Edmund was busie to leaue a new armie in Gloucester, and other parties of Mercia, Cnute having got so great a victorie (as before is mentioned) receiued into his obedience, not onelie the citie of London, but also manie other cities and townes of great name, and shortly after hasteth forward to pursue his enimie king Edmund, who was ready with a mightie host to trie the uttermost chance of battell if they should estoones ioine. Hereupon, both the armies being ready to give the onset, the one in sight of the other at a place called Dearehurst, nere to the river of Seuerne, by the drift of duke Godfrice, who then at length began to shew some token of good meaning, the two kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as some haue written, without any more ado. Others write, that when both the armies were at point to haue ioined, one of the capteins but whether he were a Dane

Polydor.  
Math. West.

Simon Dun.

or an Englishman, it is not certainly told) stood by in such a place, as he might be heard of both the princes, & boldly bitered his mind in forme following.

Math. West.  
saith this  
was Cnute.

The oration of a capteine in the audience of the English and Danish armie.

**W**haue, most worthie capteins, fought long inough one against another, there hath bene but too much bloud shed betweene both the nations, and the baliance of the souldiers on both sides is sufficientlie sene by triall, & either of your manhoods likewise, and yet can you beare neither good nor euill fortune. If one of you win the battell, he pursueth him that is overcome; and if he chance to be banquished, he resteth not till he haue recovered new strength to fight estoones with him that is victor. What should you meane by this your inuincible courage? At what marke sheweth your greedie desire to beare rule, and your excessive thirst to attaine honour? If you fight for a kingdome, diuide it betweene you two, which sometime was sufficient for seven kings: but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowne, and for the same are driuen to try the hazard whether ye shall command or obeie, deuise the waie whereby ye may without so great slaughter, and without such pitifull bloodshed of both your guiltlesse peoples, trie whether of you is most worthie to be preferred.

Thus made he an end, and the two princes allowed well of his last motion, and so order was taken, that they should fight together in a singular combat within a litle Island inclosed with the river of Seuerne called Oldney, with condition, that whether of them chanced to be victor, should be king, and the other to resigne his title for ever into his hands. The two princes entering into the place, appointed in faire armour, began the battell in sight of both their armies ranged in goodlie order on either side the river, with doubtfull minds, and nothing iollfull, as they that wauered betwixt hope and feare. The two champions manfully assailed either other, without sparing. First, they went to it on horsebacke, and after on foot. Cnute was a man of a meane stature, but yet strong and hardie, so that receiuing a great blow by the hand of his aduersarie, which caused him somewhat to stagger; yet recovered himselfe, and boldly stept forward to be reuenged. But perceiving he could not find aduantage, and that he was rather to weake, and therefore ouermatched, he spake to Edmund with a lowd voice on this wise: What necessity (saith he) ought thus to moue vs, most valiant prince, that for the obtaining of a kingdome, we should thus put our liues in danger. Better were it that laing armour and malice aside, we should condescend to some reasonable agreement. Let vs be come sworn brethren, and part the kingdome betwixt vs: and let vs deale so friendlie, that thou maist vse my things as thine owne, and I thine as though they were mine. King Edmund with those words of his aduersarie was so pacified, that immediately he cast away his sword, and comming to Cnute, ioined hands with him. Both the armies by their example did the like, which looked for the saue fortune to fall on their countries, which should happen to

The two  
kings appoint  
to try the mat-  
ter by a com-  
bat.  
Oldney.

Math. Westm.  
Cnute of  
sohat stature  
he was.

Cnute over-  
matched.  
Cnutes  
words to  
Edmund.

H. Hunt.

They take by  
the matter be-  
twixt them  
sluies.

Wil. Malon.

to their princes by the successe of that one battell. After this, there was an agreement deuised betwixt them, so that a partition of the realme was made, and that part that lieth fore against France, was assigned to Edmund, and the other fell to Cnute. There be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmund for the auoiding of more bloudshed, that the two princes should trie the matter thus together in a singular combat. But Cnute refused the combat, because (as he alledged) the match was not equall. For although he was able to match Edmund in boldness of stomach, yet was he farre too weak to deale with a man of such strength as Edmund was knowne to be. But sith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good direct meanes, he thought it most conuenient that the kingdome should be diuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of both the armies, so that king Edmund was of force constrained to be contented therewith.

Thus our common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I should not be thought presumptuous, in taking vpon me to reprimand, or rather but to mistrust that which hath bene receiued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credit vnto that which the author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmae*, doth report in this behalfe. Which is that through perswasion of Edrike de Strecona, king Edmund immediatlie after the battell fought at Ashdone, sent ambassadours vnto Cnute to offer vnto him peace with halfe the realme of England, that is to say, the north parts, with cendition that king Edmund might quietlie vnuoy the south parts, and therevpon haue pledges deliuered interchangable on either side.

Cnute hauing heard the effect of this message, staid to make answer till he heard what his counsell would aduise him to do in this behalfe: and vpon good deliberation taken in the matter, considering that he had lost no small number of people in the former battell, and that being farre out of his countrey, he could not well haue any new supplie, where the Englishmen although they had likewise lost verie manie of their men of warre, yet being in their owne countrey, it should be an easie matter for them to restore their decayd number, it was thought expedient by the whole consent of all the Danish captains, that the offer of king Edmund should be accepted.

Wherevpon Cnute calling the ambassadours before him againe, declared vnto them, that he was contented to conclude a peace vpon such conditions as they had offered: but yet with this addition, that their king whatsoeuer he should be, should paie Cnutes souldiers their wages, with monie to be leuied of that part of the kingdome which the English king should possesse. For thus saith he I haue undertaken to see them paid, and otherwise I will not grant to any peace. The league and agreement therefore being concluded in this sort, pledges were deliuered and receiued on both parties, and the armies discharged. But God saith in the author being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe cannot long stand, shortly after toke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pite of the English kingdome, lest if both the kings should haue continued in life together, they should haue liued in great danger, and the realme in trouble. And this agreeth also Simon Dunel, who saith, that king Edmund died of naturall sickness, by course of kind at London, about the feast of saint Andzelo next insuing the late mentioned agreement.

This is alleged touching the partition of the kingdome.

Wherein the common report of writers touching the death of Edmund varieth from this, who do affirm, that after Cnute and Edmund were made

friends, the serpent of enuie and false conspiracie burnt so in the hearts of some traitorous persons, that within a while after king Edmund was slaine at Oxford, as he sat on a puaie to doe the necessaries of nature. The common report hath gone, that earle Edrike was the precursor of this villanous act, and that (as some write) his sonne did it. But the author that wrote *Encomium Emmae*, writing of the death of Edmund, hath these words (immediatlie after he had first declared in what sort the two princes were agreed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But God (saith he) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe can not long stand, shortly after toke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pite vpon the English kingdome, lest if both the kings should haue continued in life together, they should both haue liued in great danger, and the realme in trouble. And this agreeth also Simon Dunel, who saith, that king Edmund died of naturall sickness, by course of kind at London, about the feast of saint Andzelo next insuing the late mentioned agreement.

And this should seeme true: for whereas these authors which report, that earle Edrike was the precursor of his death, do also write, that when he knew the act to be done, he hastied vnto Cnute, and declared vnto him what he had brought to passe for his aduancement to the gouernment of the whole realme. Wherevpon Cnute, abhorring such a detestable fact, said vnto him: Wherefore thou hast for my sake, made away the worthiest bodie of the world, I shall raise thy head about all the lords of England, and so caused him to be put to death. Thus haue some bookes, whosoeuer this report agreeth not with other writers, which declare how Cnute aduanced Edrike in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honors, and made him gouernor of Mercia, and used his counsell in manie things after the death of king Edmund, as in banishing Edwin, the brother of king Edmund, with his sonnes also, Edmund and Edward.

But for that there is such discordance and variable report amongst writers touching the death of king Edmund, and some fables inuented thereof, as the manner is: we will let the residue of their reports passe; sith certeine it is, that to his end he came after he had reigned about the space of one yere, and so much more as is betwixt the moneth of June and the latter end of November. His bodie was buried at Glasseburie, nere his vncle Edgar. Whith this Edmund, surnamed Ironside, fell the glorious martir of the English kingdome, the which after ward as it had bene an aged bodie being sore decayd and weakened by the Danes, that now got possession of the whole, yet somewhat recovered after the space of 25 yers vnder king Edward, surnamed the Confessor; and shortly therevpon as it had bene salne vnto a resuscitation, came to ertreame ruine by the invasion and conquest of the Normans: as after by Gods good helpe and fauorable assistance it shall appeare. So that it would make a diligent and merking reader both muse and mone, to see how variable the state of this kingdome hath bene, & thereby to fall into a consideration of the frailtie and vncertainie of this mortal life, which is no more free from securitie, than a ship on the sea in tempestuous weather. For as the casualties wherewith our life is compassed and beset with round about, are manifold: so also are they miserable, so also are they sudden, so also are they unavoidable. And true it is, that the life of man is in the hands of God, and the state of kingdoms doth also belong vnto him, either to continue or discontinue. But to the purpose of the matter.

Cnute

Canute undertaketh the totall regiment of this land, he assembled a counsell at London; the nobles doo him homage, he diuideth the realme into foure parts to be gouerned by his assignes; Edwin and Edward the sonnes of Edmund are banished, their good fortune by honorable marriages, King Canute marrieth queene Emma the widow of Egelles, the wife and possike conditions whereupon this marriage was concluded, the English blood restored to the crowne and the Danes excluded, queene Emma praised for hir high wisdom in choosing an enioy to hir husband; Canute dismissed the Danish armie into Denmarke; Edrike de Streona bewrailed his former trecherie, and procureth his owne death through rashnesse and folleie, the discordant report of writers touching the manner & cause of his death, what noble men were executed with him, and banished out of England, Canute a monarch.

The xj. Chapter.

Canute, Knought or Canute.



1017

Canute, or Canute, whome the English chronicles doe name Knought, after the death of king Edmund, took upon him the whole rule ouer all the realme of England, in the yere of our Lord 1017, in the seuententh yere of the emperor Henrie the second, surnamed Claudio, in the twentieth yere of the reigne of Robert king of France, and about the 7 yere of Malcolme king of Scotland. Canute shortly after the death of king Edmund, assembled a counsell at London, in the which he caused all the nobles of the realme to doo him homage, in receiuing an oth of loiall obedience. He diuided the realme into foure parts, assigning Northumberland vnto the rule of Icke or Ickius, Mercia vnto Edrike, and Eastangle vnto Turkill, and reseruing the west part to his owne gouernance. He banished (as before is said) Edwin, the brother of king Edmund; but such as were suspected to be culpable of Edmunds death, he caused to be put to execution: whereby it should appeare, that Edrike was not then in any wise detested or once thought to be guiltie.

Wil. Malm.

Rya. Hig.

King of Swedes.

Wil. Malm.

Rya. Hig.

He said Edwin afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the kings fauor (as some write) but shortly after traitorously slaine by his owne seruants. He was called the king of Swedes. Others write, that he came secretly into the realme after he had bene banished, and keeping himselfe close out of sight, at length ended his life, and was buried at Lanchester. Moreover, Edwin and Edward the sonnes of king Edmund were banished the land, and sent first vnto Sweno king of Norweie to haue him made away: but Sweno vpon remoyse of conscience sent them into Hungarie, where they found great fauor at the hands of king Salomon, insomuch that Edwin married the daughter of the same Salomon, but had no issue by hir. Edward was advanced to marie with Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henrie, and by hir had issue two sonnes, Edmund and Edgar surnamed Edeling, and as many daughters, Margaret and Christine, of the which in place conuenient more shall be said.

When king Canute had established things, as he thought stood most for his saertie, he called to his remembrance, that he had no issue but two bastard sonnes Harold and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Alwine. Wherefore he sent ouer to Richard duke of Normandie, requiring to haue queene Emma, the widow of king Egelsred in marriage, and so obtained hir, not a little to the wonder of manie, which thought a great oversight both in the woman

and in his brother, that would satisfie the request of Canute herein, considering he had bene such a mortall enemy to his former husband. But duke Richard did not onelie consent, that his said sister should be married vnto Canute, but also he himselfe took to wife the ladie Hestrita, sister to the said Canute.

Polydor.

¶ Here ye haue to vnderstand, that this marriage was not made without great consideration & large covenants granted on the part of king Canute: for before he could obtaine queene Emma to his wife, it was fallie condescended & agreed, that after Canutes decease, the crowne of England should remaine to the issue bozne of this marriage betwixt hir & Canute, which covenant although it was not performed immediately after the decease of king Canute, yet in the end it took place, so as the right seemed to be deferred, and not to be taken away nor abolished: for immediately vpon Harolds death that had usurped, Hardienute succeeded as right heire to the crowne, by force of the agreement made at the time of the marriage solemnized betwixt his father and mother, and being once established in the kingdome, he ordered his brother Edward to succeed him, where by the Danes were bitterlie excluded from all right that they had to pretend vnto the crowne of this land, and the English blood restored thereto, chieflie by that gracious conclusion of this marriage betwixt king Canute and queene Emma. For the which small praise was thought to be due vnto the said queene, sith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir match so beneficiall to hir selfe and hir line, the crowne was thus recovered out of the hands of the Danes, and restored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatise which some haue intituled *Encomium Emmae*, and was written in those daies, it doth and may appeare. Which booke although there be but few copies thereof abroad, giueth vndoubtedlie great light to the historie of that time.

The covenants made at the marriage betwixt Canute and Emma.

The english blood restored.

The praise of queene Emma for hir wisdom.

Encomium Emmae.

But now to our purpose. Canute the same yere in which he was thus married, through perswasion of his wife queene Emma, sent aboie the Danish nauie and armie home into Denmarke, giuing to them fourescore and two thousand pounds of siluer, which was leuied throughout this land for their wages. In the yere 1018, Edrike de Streona earle of Mercia was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called before the king into his priue chamber, and there in reasoning the matter about some quarrell that was picked to him, he began verie presumptuously to vpbraid the king of such pleasures as he had before time done vnto him; I did (said he) for the loue which I bare towards you, forsake my soueraigne lord king Edmund, and at length for your sake slue him. At which words Canute began to change countenance, as one maruellouslie abashed, and straightwaies gaue sentence against Edrike in this wise; Thou art worthy (saith he) of death, and die thou shalt, which art guiltie of treason both towards God and me, sith that thou hast slaine thine owne soueraigne lord, and my deere alicd brother. Thy blood therefore be vpon thine owne head, sith thy tong hath vttered thy treason. And immediately he caused his throat to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber window into the river of Thames. ¶ But others say, that hands were laid vpon him in the verie same chamber or closet where he murdered the king, & straightwaies to prevent all causes of tumults & hurieburles, he was put to death with terrible torments of fierbrands & links; which execution having passed vpon him, a second succeeded; for both his feet were bound together, and his bodie drawne through the streets of the citie, & in fine cast into a common ditch called *Thounds ditch*.

Math. West.

Wil. Malm. 1018

Edrike put to death.

Polydor. King Canute married to queene Emma the widow of Egelsred, in the anno. 1017.



ditch; for that the citizens thre to their dead dogs and sinking carrion with other filth into it, accounting him worthe of a worse rather than of a better buriall. In such hatred was treason had, being a vice which the verie infidels and grosse pagans abhorred, else would they not haue said, *Prodicionem amo, proditores odi*; Treason I loue, but a traitor I hate. This was the end of Eorike, surnamed de Stratten or Strecona, a man of great infamie for his craftie dissimulation, falshood and treason, vsed by him to the ouerthrow of the English estate, as partlie before is touch'd.

Simon Dun.

Encomium  
Eborice.

But there be that concerning the cause of this Eoriks death, seeme partlie to disagree from that which before is recited, declaring that Cnute standing in some doubt to be betrayed through the treason of Eorike, sought occasion how to rid him and others (whome he mistrusted) out of the way. And therefore on a day when Eorike craued some preferment at Cnuts hands, & said that he had deserved to be well thought of, sith by his flight from the battell at Ashendon, the victorie thereby inclined to Cnutes part: Cnute hearing him speake these words, made this answer: And canst thou (quoth he) be true to me, that through fraudulent meanes diddest deceiue thy soueraigne lord and maister? But I will reward thee according to thy deserts, so as from henceforth thou shalt not deceiue anie other, and so forthwith commanded Eorike one of his chiefe captiues to dispatch him, who incontinentlie cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Wherein Simon Dunelmensis saith, that A. Cnute vnderstanding in what sort both king Egelfred, and his sonne king Edmund Ironside had bene betrayed by the said Eorike, stood in great doubt to be likewise deceined by him, and therefore was glad to haue some pretended quarrell, to dispatch both him and others, whome he likewise mistrusted, as it well appeared. For at the same time there were put to death with Eorike earle Forzman the sonne of earle Leofwin, and brother to earle Leofrike: also Adelward the sonne of earle Agelmar and Wightrike the sonne of Alsegus gouernor of Devonshire, without all guilt or cause (as some write.) And in place of Forzman, his brother Leofrike was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great fauour. This Leofrike is commonlie also by writers named earle of Chester. After this, Cnute likewise banished Eric and Turkill, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) gouernor of Northumberland, and the other of Northfolke and Suffolke or Eastangle.

Hen. Hunt.  
Lords put to  
death.

A tape raised.

Then rested the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, whereupon he studied to preserue the people in peace, and ordeined lawes, according to the which both Danes and Englishmen should be gouerned in equall state and degree. Diuers great lords whome he found vnfaithfull or rather suspected, he put to death (as before ye haue heard) beside such as he banished out of the realme. He raised a tax or tribute of the people, amounting to the summe of fourescore & two thousand pounds, besides 11000 pounds, which the Londoners paid towards the maintenance of the Danish armie. But whereas these things chaunced not all at one time, but in sundrie seasons, we will retorne somewhat backe to declare what other exploits were achieued in the meane time by Cnute, not onelie in England, but also in Denmarke, and elsewhere: admonishing the reader in the proceesse of the discourse following, that much excellent matter is comprehended, whereout (if the same be studiously read and diligentlie considered) no small profit is to be reaped; both for the augmentation of his owne knowledge and others that be studious.

Cnute saileth into Denmarke to subdue the Vandals, earle Goodwins good service with the English against the said Vandals, and what benefit accrewed vnto the Englishmen by the said good service, he returneth into England after the discomfiture of the enimie, he saileth over againe into Denmarke and incountreth with the Sweideners, the occasion of this warre or incounter taken by Olauus, his hard hap, vnluckie fortune, and wofull death wrought by the hands of his owne vnnaturall subiects; Cnuts confidence in the Englishmen, his deuout voyage to Rome, his returne into England, his subduing of the Scots, his death and interment.

## The twelfth Chapter.

**I**N the third yeare of his 1019  
reigne Cnute sailed with an  
armie of Englishmen and  
Danes into Denmarke, to  
subdue the Vandals there,  
which then sore annoyed and  
warred against his subiects  
of Denmarke. Earle God-  
wine, which had the soueraigne conduct of the Eng-  
lishmen, the night before the day appointed for the  
battell got him forth of the campe with his people,  
and suddenlie assailing the Vandals in their lod-  
gings, easilie distressed them, sleaing a great num-  
ber of them, and chasing the residue. In the morning  
earlie, when as Cnute heard that the Englishmen  
were gone forth of their lodgings, he supposed that  
they were either fled awaie, or else turned to take  
part with the enimies. But as he approached to the  
enimies campe, he vnderstood how the matter went;  
for he found nothing there but blood, dead bodies,  
and the spoile. For which good service, Cnute had the  
Englishmen in more estimation euer after, and  
highlie rewarded their leader the same earle God-  
wine. When Cnute had ordered all things in Den-  
marke, as was thought behoofesfull, he returned a-  
gain into England: and within a few daies after,  
he was aduertised that the Sweideners made warre  
against his subiects of Denmarke, vnder the leding  
of two great princes, Olfe and Olase. Wherefore  
to defend his dominions in those parts, he passed a-  
gain with an armie into Denmarke, incountred  
with his enimies, and receiued a sore ouerthrow,  
losing a great number both of Danes and English-  
men. But gathering together a new force of men,  
he set againe vpon his enimies, and ouercame them,  
constraining the two foresaid princes to agree vpon  
reasonable conditions of peace. Matth. West. re-  
counteth, that at this time earle Godwine and the  
Englishmen wrought the enterprize aboue mentio-  
ned, of assailing the enimies campe in the night  
season, after Cnute had first lost in the day before a  
small number of his people: and that then the fore-  
said princes or kings, as he nameth them Olfus and  
Aulafus, which latter he calleth Egilase, were con-  
strained to agree vpon a peace. The Danish chro-  
nicles alledge, that the occasion of this warre rose  
hereof. This Olauus aided Cnute (as the same wri-  
ters report) against king Edmund and the English-  
men. But when the peace should be made betwix  
Cnute and Edmund, there was no consideration  
had of Olauus: whereas through him the Danes  
chiefly obtained the victorie. Whereupon Olauus  
was sore offended in his mind against Cnute, and  
now vpon occasion sought to be reuenged. But what  
sooner the cause was of this warre betwix these  
two princes, the end was thus: that Olauus was  
expelled out of his kingdome, and constrained to  
flee.

King Cnute  
passeth into  
Denmarke.Earle God-  
wine his in-  
uice in Den-  
marke.Cnute had  
Englishmen  
in estimation  
for their good  
service.1018  
Cnute passeth  
againe into  
Denmarke.

Will. Mal.

Matth. West.

Alberus  
Crantz.

Armenio D.  
Hunt.

Edwin  
Hunt.

Armenio D.  
Hunt.  
Simon Dun.  
Anno 1031.

1032  
W. d. Malin.  
North West.

1033  
Scots sub-  
dun.  
Hunt.  
Anno 1035.  
W. d. Malin.  
The death of  
king Cnute.

Hunt.  
Alb. Crantz.

He to Gerthalaus a duke in the parties of East-land. and afterwards returning into Norwaie, was slaine by such of his subiects as took part with Cnute, in manner as in the historie of Norwaie, appeareth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writings of them which haue recozded the histories of those north regions.

But here is to be remembered, that the same and glorie of the English nation was greatly aduanced in these warres, as well against the Swedeners as the Norwegians, so that Cnute began to loue and trust the Englishmen much better than it was to be thought he would euer haue done. Shortly after that Cnute was returned into England, that is to say (as some haue) in the 15 yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to performe his vow which he had made to visit the places where the apostles Peter and Paule had their buriall, where he was hono- rable receiued of pope John the 20 that then held the see. When he had done his deuotion there, he retur- ned into England. In the yeare following, he made a iourne against the Scots, which as then had rebel- led; but by the princelie power of Cnute they were subdued and brought againe to obedience: so that not onlie king Malcolme, but also two other kings Spelbeath and Iobhmare became his subiects. Fi- nallie after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of 20 yeares currant, after the death of Ethelred, he died at Shaftsburie, as the English writers affirme, on the 12 of Nouember, and was buried at Winchester. But the Danish chronicles record that he died in Normandie, and was buried at Rome (as in the same chronicles ye may reade more at large.)

The trespassance of Cnute, the am- plenesse of his dominions, the good and cha- ritable fruits of his voiage to Rome redound- ing to the common benefit of all travellers from England thither, with what great personages he had conference, and the honour that was doone him there, his in- tollerable pride in commanding the waters of the founts not to rise, he humbleth himselfe and confesseth Christ Iesus to be king of kings, he refuseth to weare the crowne during his life, he reprooueth a gentleman flatterer, his issue legiti- mate and illegitimate, his inclination in his latter yeares, what religious places he erected, repaired, and enriched; what notable men he fauoured and reuerenced, his lawes; and that in causes as well ecclesiasticall as tempo- rall he had cheefe and sole gouernement in this land, whereby the popes usurped title of vniuersall supremacie is impeached.

### The xiiij. Chapter.

The large do-  
minion of k.  
Cnute.  
Hunt.  
Alb. Crantz.

**T**his Cnute was the mighty prince that euer reigned ouer the English people: for he had the soueraigne rule ouer all Denmark, England, Norwaie, Scotland, and part of Sweiden. Amongest other of his roiall acts, he caused such tolles and tallages as were demanded of way-goers at bridges and straets in the high way betwixt England and Rome to be diminished to the halfe, and againe got also a moderation to be had in the payment of the archbishops fees of his realme, which was leuiued of them in the court of Rome when they should receiue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himselfe being at Rome, directed to the bishops and other of the nobles of England. In the which it also appeareth, that besides the roiall intertainment, which he had at Rome of pope John, he had conference there with the emperor Conrad,

with Kase the king of Burgongne, and manie o- ther great princes and noble men, which were pre- sent there at that time: all which at his request, in fa- uour of those Englishmen that should trauell vnto Rome, granted (as we haue said) to diminish such duties as were gathered of passengers.

He receiued there manie great gifts of the empe- rour, and was highlie honozed of him, and likewise of the pope, and of all other the high princes at that time present at Rome: so that when he came home (as some write) he did grow greatlie into pride, insomuch that being nere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vpon the sea strand, nere to South- hampton, and perceiuing the water to rise by reason of the tide, he cast off his gowne, and wrapping it round together, threw it on the sands verie nere the increasing water, and sat him downe vpon it, spea- king these or the like words to the sea: Thou art (saith he) within the compasse of my dominion, and the ground whereon I sit is mine, and thou knowest that no wight dare disobey me commandments; I therefore do now command thee not to rise vpon my ground, nor to presume to wet anie part of thy soueraigne load and gouernour. But the sea keeping his course, rose still higher and higher, and ouerflow- ed not onlie the kings feet, but also flashed by vnto his legs and knees. Wherewith the king started sud- denlie by, and withdrew from it, saing withall to his nobles that were about him: Behold you noble men, you call me king, which can not so much as staie by my commandment this small portion of water. But know ye for certaine, that there is no king but the father onlie of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whome he reigneth, & at whose becke all things are gouerned. Let vs therefore honoz him, let vs confesse and professe him to be the ruler of heauen, earth, and sea, and besides him none other.

From thence he went to Winchester, and there with his owne hands set his crowne vpon the head of the image of the crucifix, which stood there in the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, and from thenceforth he would neuer weare that crowne nor anie other. Some write that he spake not the former words to the sea vpon anie presumptionnesse of mind, but onlie vpon occasion of the vaine title, which in his commendation one of his gentlemen gaue him by way of flatterie (as he rightlie toke it) for he called him the most mightiest king of all kings, which ruled most at large both men, sea, and land. Wherefore to reprove the fond flatterie of such baine persons, he deuised and practised the deed be- fore mentioned, thereby both to reprove such flat- terers, and also that men might be admonished to consider the omnipotencie of almightie God. He had issue by his wife quene Emma, a sonne named by the English chronicles Harthknought, but by the Danish writers Canute or Knute: also a daughter named Conilda, that was after married to Henrie the sonne of Conrad, which also was afterwards emperor, and named Henrie the third. By his concubine Alwine that was daughter to Alselme, whome some name earle of Hampton, he had two bastard sonnes, Harold and Sweno. He was much giuen in his latter daies to vertue, as he that confi- dered how perfect felicitie rested onlie in godlines and true deuotion to serue the heauenlie king and gouernour of all things.

He repaired in his time manie churches, abbeyes, and houses of religion, which by occasion of warres had bene sore defaced by him and his father, but speciallie he did great cost vpon the abbeie of saint Edmund, in the towne of Burie, as partlie before is mentioned. He also built two abbies from the foundation, as saint Benets in Norfolke, seten miles

Grants made to the benefit of Englishmen, at the instance of king Cnute.

Fabian.

Polydor.  
Math. West.

He caused his chair to be set there, as Math. West. saith.  
Hen. Hunt.

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which is sup-  
posed to be  
Harold's son  
Edmond it  
seems to be  
made from  
thence.

1020  
Simon Dun.

miles distant from Norwich, and another in Nor-  
twiche. He did also build a church at Ashdon in Essex,  
where he obtained the victorie of king Edmund, and  
was present at the hallowing or consecration thereof  
with a great multitude of the lords and nobles of the  
realme, both English and Danes. He also holpe with  
his owne hands to remove the bodie of the holie  
archbishop Elphegus, when the same was translated  
from London to Canturburie. The roiall and most  
rich jewels which he & his wife queene Emma gave  
unto the church of Winchester, might make the be-  
holders to wonder at such their exceeding and boun-  
tiful munificence.

Thus did Cnute strive to reforme all such things  
as he and his ancestors had done amisse, and to  
wipe away the spot of euill doing, as suerlie to the  
outward sight of the world he did in deed; he had the  
archbishop of Canturburie Aethelnotas in singular  
reputation, and used his counsell in matters of im-  
portance. He also highlie fauoured Leofricke earle  
of Chester, so that the same Leofricke bare great rule  
in ordering of things touching the state of the com-  
mon wealth vnder him as one of his chiefe counsell-  
ors. Diuerse lawes and statutes he made for the go-  
uernment of the common wealth, partlie agreeable  
with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kings  
that were his predecessors, and partlie tempered ac-  
cording to his owne liking, and as was thought to  
him most expedient: among the which there be di-  
uerse that concerne causes as well ecclesiasticall as  
temporall. Whereby (as maister Fox hath noted) it  
maie be gathered, that the government of spirituall  
matters did depend then not vpon the bishop  
of Rome, but rather appertained vnto the lawfull au-  
thoritie of the temporall prince, no lesse than matters  
and causes temporall. But of these lawes & statutes  
enacted by king Cnute, ye may read more as ye find  
them set forth in the before remembred booke of ma-  
ister William Lambert, which for briefenesse we here  
omit.

Leofricke earle  
of Chester,

King Cnutes  
lawes.

Variance amongst the peeres of the  
realme about the roiall succession, the king-  
dome is diuided betwixt Harold the bastard  
sonne and Hardicnute the lawfull begotten son  
of king Cnute late deceased, Harold hath the totall  
regiment, the authoritie of earle Goodwine gardian to the  
queenes sonnes, Harold is proclaimed king, why Elnothus did  
stoutlie refuse to consecrate him, why Harold was surnamed  
Harefoot, he is supposed to be a shoemakers sonne, and how it  
came to passe that he was counted king Cnutes bastard; Al-  
fred challenge the crowne from Harold, Goodwine (vnder  
colour of friendlie intertainment) procureth his retinue vnto  
vndergoing a tithing of the Normans by the poll, whether  
Alfred was interested in the crowne, the trecherous letter of  
Harold written in the name of queene Emma to hir two sons  
in Normandie, wherevpon Alfred commeth ouer into Eng-  
land, the vnfaithfull dealing of Goodwine with Alfred and his  
people, teaching that in trust is treason, a reservation of euerie  
tenth Norman, the remanent slaine, the lamentable end of Al-  
fred, and with what torments he was put to death; Harold  
banisheth queene Emma out of England, he dege-  
nerateth from his father, the short time  
of his reigne, his death and  
buriall.

### The xiiij. Chapter.

Harold.  
Math. West.  
Wil. Malm.



After that Cnute was de-  
parted this life, there arose  
much variance amongst the  
peeres and great lords of the  
realme about the succession.  
The Danes and Londoners  
(which through continuall fa-  
miliaritie with the Danes,  
were become like vnto them) elected Harold the baste

sonne of king Cnute, to succeed in his fathers roialme,  
hauing earle Leofricke, and diuerse other of the no-  
ble men of the north parts on their side. But other of  
the Englishmen, and namelie earle Godwine earle  
of Kent, with the chiefe lords of the west parts, co-  
ueted rather to haue one of king Egelseds sonnes,  
which were in Normandie, or else Hardicnute the  
sonne of king Cnute by his wife queene Emma,  
which remained in Denmarke, aduanced to the  
place. This controuersie held in such wise, that the  
realme was diuided (as some write) by lot betwixt  
the two brethren Harold and Hardicnute. The north  
part, as Mercia and Northumberland fell to Harold,  
and the south part vnto Hardicnute: but at length  
the whole remained vnto Harold, because his bro-  
ther Hardicnute refused to come out of Denmarke  
to take the government vpon him.

But yet the authoritie of earle Godwine, who had  
the queene and the treasure of the realme in his ke-  
ping, staied the matter a certeine time, (proffessing  
himselfe as it were gardian to the yong men, the  
sonnes of the queene, till at length he was constrain-  
ed to giue ouer his hold, and conformance himselfe to  
the stronger part and greater number.) And so at  
Worke, where the assemble was holden about the e-  
lection, Harold was proclaimed king, and consecra-  
ted according to the maner (as some write.) But it  
should appere by other, that Elnothus the archbi-  
shop of Canturburie, a man indued with all vertue  
and wisdom refused to crowne him: for when king  
Harold being elected of the nobles and peeres, requi-  
red the said archbishop that he might be of him conse-  
crated, and receiue at his hands the regall scepter  
with the crowne, which the archbishop had in his cu-  
stodie, and to whome it onelie did appertene to in-  
uest him therewith, the archbishop flatlie refused, and  
with an oth protested, that he would not consecrate  
anie other for king, so long as the queenes childen li-  
ued: for (saith he) Cnute committed them to my  
trust and assurance, and to them will I keepe my  
faith and loiall obedience. The scepter and crowne  
I here lay downe vpon the altar, and neither do I  
denie nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the  
apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of  
them presume to take the same away, and deliuer  
them to you, or consecrate you for king. As for your  
selfe, if you dare, you maie blurpe that which I haue  
committed vnto God and his table.

But whether afterwards the king by one meane  
or other, caused the archbishop to crowne him king,  
or that he was consecrated of some other, he was ad-  
mitted king of all the English people, beginning his  
reigne in the yere of our Lord a thousand thirtie and  
six, in the fourteenth yere of the emperour Conrad  
the second, in the first yere of Henrie the first, king  
of France, and about the seuen and twentieth yere of  
Malcolme the second, king of Scots. This Harold  
for his great swiftnesse, was surnamed Harefoot, of  
whome little is written touching his doings, sauing  
that he is noted to haue bene an oppressor of his peo-  
ple, and spotted with manie notable vices. It was  
spoken of diuerse in those daies, that this Harold  
was not the sonne of Cnute, but of a shoemaker,  
and that his supposed mother Elgiva, king Cnutes  
concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir,  
feined that she was with child: and about the time  
that she should be brought to bed (as she made hir ac-  
count) caused the said shoemakers son to be secretlie  
brought into hir chamber, and then vntrulie caused it  
to be reported that she was deliuered, and the child so  
reputed to be the kings sonne.

Immediatlie vpon aduertisement had of Cnutes  
death, Alfred the sonne of king Egelsed, with fiftie  
saile landed at Sandwich, meaning to challenge the  
crowne,

Carroll's  
1018

Simon Dun.

The reful-  
dome of  
the arch-  
bishop  
and Har-  
dicnute.

The author-  
tie of earle  
Godwine,  
H. Hunt.

The refusal  
of the arch-  
bishop Eln-  
othus to con-  
secrate king  
Harold.

1036

Harold wh-  
he is surn-  
amed Harefoot.

Harold still  
spoke of.

Ran. Hig.  
ex Malian.

Math. West.

crowne, and to obtaine it by lawfull claime with quietnesse, if he might; if not, then to vse force by aid of his friends, and to assaie that waie forth to win it, if he might not otherwise obtaine it. From Sandwich he came to Canturburie: and shortly after, earle Godwine seining to receiue him as a friend, came to meet him, and at Gilsford in the night season appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were asleepe, and so toke them together with Alfred, & slue the Normans by the poll, in such wise that nine were slaine; & the tenth reserved. But yet when those that were reserved, seined to him a greater number than he wished to escape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alfred had his eyes put out, and was conueied to the Isle of Elie, where shortly after he died.

can. 112.

See matter  
of sons and  
monuments,  
pag. 112.  
Simon Dun.

How Alfred should claime the crowne to himselfe I see not: for verelie I can not be persuaded that he was the elder brother, though diuers authors haue so witten, sith Gemeticensis, & the author of the booke called *Encomium Emmae*, plainlie affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might be, that Alfred being a man of a stouter stomack than his brother Edward, made this attempt, either for himselfe, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then absent, and gone into Hungarie, as some write: but other say, that as well Edward as Alfred came ouer at this time with a number of Norman knights, and men of warre imbarcked in a few ships, onelie to speake with their mother, who as then lay at Wilchester, whether to take aduise with hir how to recover their right here in this land, or to aduance their brother Hardicnut, or for some other purpose, our authors do not declare.

But the lords of the realme that bare their good wills vnto Harold, and (though contrarie to right) ment to mainteine him in the estate, seined to be much offended with the comming of these two brethren in such order: for earle Godwine persuaded them, that it was great danger to suffer so manie strangers to enter the realme, as they had brought with them. Wherevpon earle Godwine with the assent of the other lords, or rather by commandement of Harold, went forth, and at Gilsford met with Alfred that was comming towards king Harold to speake with him, accordingly as he was of Harold required to do. But now being taken, and his companie miserable murdered (as before ye haue heard) to the number of six hundred Normans, Alfred himselfe was sent into the Isle of Elie, there to remaine in the abbey in custodie of the monks, hauing his eyes put out as soon as he entered first into the same Ile. William Malmesburie saith, that Alfred came ouer, and was thus handled betwixt the time of Harolds death, & the comming in of Hardicnut. Others write, that this chanced in his brother Hardicnuts daies, which seemeth not to be true: for Hardicnut was knowne to loue his brethren by his mothers side too dearelie to haue suffered anie such iniurie to be wrought against either of them in his time.

Thus ye see how writers dissent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truth touching the time, I haue thought good to shew also what the author of the said booke intituled *Encomium Emmae* writeth hereof, which is as followeth. When Harold was once established king, he sought meanes how to rid queene Emma out of the way, and that secretlie, for that openlie as yet he durst not attempt anie thing against hir. She in silence kept hir selfe quiet, looking for the end of these things. But Harold remembriug himselfe, of a malicious purpose, by wicked aduise toke counsell how he might get into his hands and make away the sons of queene Emma, & so to be out

of danger of all annoiance that by them might be procured against him. Wherefore he caused a letter to be written in the name of their mother Emma, which he sent by certeine messengers suborned for the same purpose into Normandie, where Edward and Alfred as then remained. The tenour of which letter here insueth.

A counterfet  
letter.

The tenour of a letter forged and sent  
in queene Emmas name to hir  
two sonnes.



*Amatantum nomine regina filijs  
Edwardo & Alfredo materna im-  
perit salutamina. Dñi domini nostri  
regis obitum separatim plangimus  
(filijs charissimi) dñm, dietim ma-  
gis magisque regno hereditatis vestre priuamini;  
miror quid capietis consilij, dum sciatis intermis-  
sionis vestre dilatione inuasoris vestri imperij fie-  
ri quotidie soliditate. Is enim incessanter vicos &  
urbes circum, & sibi amicos principes muneribus,  
minis, & precibus facit: sed vnum è vobis super  
se mallent regnare quam istius (qui nunc vs im-  
perat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnus vestrum  
ad me velociter & priuatiè veniat, vt salubre à  
me consilium accipiat, & sciat quo pacto hoc nego-  
tium quod volo fieri debeat, per presentem quoque  
internuncium quid super his facturi estis reman-  
date. Valet cordis mei viscera.*

The same in English



Emma in name onelie queene to  
hir sons Edward and Alfred sen-  
deth motherlie greeting. Whilest  
we separatlie bewaile the death  
of our souereigne lord the king  
(most deare sonnes) and whilest you are euerie  
day more and more deprived from the king-  
dome of your inheritance, I maruell what you  
doo determine, sith you know by the delay of  
your ceassing to make some enterprise, the  
grounded force of the vsurper of your king-  
dom is daile made the stronger. For incessant-  
lie he goeth from towne to towne, from citie  
to citie, and maketh the lords his friends by re-  
wards, threats, and praiers, but they had rather  
haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to  
be kept vnder the rule of this man that now go-  
uerneth them. Wherefore my request is, that  
one of you doo come with speed, and that pri-  
uilie ouer to me, that he may vnderstand my  
wholesome aduise, and know in what sort this  
matter ought to be handled, which I would  
haue to go forward, and see that ye send mee  
word by this present messenger what you  
meane to doo herein. Fare ye well euen the  
bowels of my heart.

These letters were deliuered vnto such as were  
made priuie to the purposed treason, who being fullie  
instructed how to deale, went ouer into Normandie,  
and presenting the letters vnto the young gentle-  
men, vsed the matter so, that they thought verelie  
that this message had bene sent from their mother,  
and wrote againe by them that brought the letters,  
that one of them would not faile but come ouer vnto  
hir according to that she had requested, and with  
all appointed the day and time. The messengers re-  
turning to king Harold, informed him how they  
did.

had sped. The younger brother Alfreð, with his brothers consent, took with him a certaine number of gentlemen and men of warre, and first came into Flanders, where after he had remained a while with earle Baldwin, he increased his retinue with a few Bullogners, and passed over into England, but approaching to the shore, he was straightwaies descrid by his enemies, who hastied forth to set upon him; but perceiving their mist, he had the ships cast about, and make againe to the sea; then landing at an other place, he ment to go the next way to his mother.

Godwin was suspected to do this under a colour to betray him as by writers is learned.

But earle Godwine hearing of his arrivall, met him, received him into his assurance, and binding his credit with a copozall oth, became his man, and therewith leading him out of the high way that leadeh to London, he brought him to Gilsford, where he lodged all the strangers, by a score, a dozen, and halfe a score together in innes, so as but a few remained about the young gentleman Alfreð to attend upon him. There was plentie of meat and drinke prepared in euerie lodging, for the refreshing of all the companie. And Godwine taking his leaue for that night, departed to his lodging, promising the next morning to come againe to giue his dutifull attendance on Alfreð.

Not onlie Godwine but other such as king Harold appointed, took Alfreð with his followers

But behold, after they had filled themselves with meats and drinks, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the night came such as king Harold had appointed, and entring into euerie inn, first seized upon the armor and weapons that belonged to the strangers: which done, they took them, and chained them fast with fetters and manacles, so keeping them sure till the next morning. Which being come, they were brought forth with their hands bound behind their backs, and deliuered to most cruell tormentors, who were commanded to spare none but euerie tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and so they slue nine and left the tenth alieue. Of those that were left alieue, some they kept to serue as bondmen, other for couetousnesse of gaine they sold, and some they put in prison, of whom yet diuerse afterwards escaped. This with more hath the foresaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alfreð being conuicied into the sle of Elie, had not onlie his eyes put out in most cruell wise, but was also presentlie there murdered. But he speaketh not further of the manner how he was made away, sauing that he saith he forebears to make long recitall of this matter, because he will not renew the mothers græfe in hearing it, sith there can be no greater sorrow to the mother than to heare of her sonnes death.

I remember in Caxton we read, that his cruell tormentors should cause his bellie to be opened, & taking out one end of his bowels or guts, tied the same to a stake which they had set fast in the ground; then with needels of iron pricking his bodie, they caused him to run about the stake, till he had wound out all his intrailles, & so ended he his innocent life, to the great shame & obloquie of his cruel aduersaries. But whether he was thus tormented or not, or rather died (as I thinke) of the anguish by putting out his eyes, no doubt but his death was reuerged by Gods hand in those that procured it. But whether earle Godwine was cheefe cause thereof, in betraying him vnder a cloked colour of pretended friendship, I cannot say; but that he took him and slue his companie, as some haue written, I cannot thinke it to be true, both as well for that which ye haue heard recited out of the author that wrote *Encomium Emmae*, as also for that it should seeme he might neuer be so directlie charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuse. But now to other affaires of Harold.

Simon Dun. Emma banished.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alfreð, he spoiled his mother in law quene Emma of the most part of her riches, and therewith banished

him quite out of the realme: so that she sailed over to Flanders, where she was honourablie receiued of earle Baldwin, and hauing of him honourable provision assigned her, she continued there for the space of three yeeres, till that after the death of Harold, she was sent for by her sonne Hardiknought, that succeeded Harold in the kingdom. Moreover, Harold made small account of his subiects; degenerating from the noble vertues of his father, following him in few things (except in exacting of tributes and payments.) He caused indeed eight markes of siluer to be leued of euerie port or haven in England, to the reteining of 16 ships furnished with men of warre, which continued euer in a readinesse to defend the coasts from pirats. To conclude with this Harold, his speedie death prouided well for his fame, because (as it was thought) if his life had bene of long continuance, his infamie had bene the greater. But after he had reigned foure yeeres, or (as other gathered) three yeeres and three moneths, he departed out of this world at Driford, & was buried at Winchester (as some say.) Other say he died at Buresford in the moneth of Aprill, and was buried at Westminster, which should appeare to be true by that which after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughts cruell dealing, and great spite shewed toward his dead bodie, as after shall be specified.

Polydore. Harold begreuedeth his father, Hen. Hunt.

I haue in a tract called.

Will men longer they live, the more they grow into misery.

Will. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Will. Malm.

Hardicnute is sent for into England to be made king; alteration in the state of Norwaie and Denmarke by the death of king Canute, Hardicnute is crowned, he sendeth for his mother queene Emma, Normandie ruled by the French king, Hardicnute reuengeth his mothers exile upon the dead bodie of his stepbrother Harold, queene Emma and earle Godwine haue the gouernment of things in their hands, Hardicnute leueth a fore tribute vpon his subiects; contempt of officers & deniall of a prince his tribute sharpelie punished; prince Edward cometh into England; the bishop of Worcester accused and put from his see for being accessarie to the murdering of Alfreð, his restitution procured by contribution; Earle Godwine being accused for the same trespasse excuseth himselfe, and iustifieth his cause by swearing, but specially by presenting the king with an inestimable gift; the cause why Godwine purposed Alfreðs death; the English peoples care about the succession to the crowne, monke Brightwals dreame and vision touching that matter; Hardicnute poisoned at a bridall, his conditions, specialie his hospitalitie, of him the Englishmen learned to care and drinke immoderatlie, the necessitie of sobrietie, the end of the Danish regiment in this land, and when they began first to inuade the English coasts.

### The xv. Chapter.



After that Harold was dead, all the nobles of the realme, both Danes & Englishmen agreed to send for Hardiknought, the sonne of Canute by his wife queene Emma, and to make him king. Here is to be noted, that by the death of king Canute, the state of things was much altered in those countries of beyond the seas wherein he had the rule and dominion. For the Swedegians elected one Spagnus, the sonne of Olaus to be their king, and the Danes chose this Hardiknought, whome their writers name Canute the third, to be their gouernor. This Hardiknought or Canute being aduertised of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the lords of England had chosen him to their king, with all conuenient speed prepared a naue, and imbarcking a certaine number of men of warre, took the sea, and had the wind so fauorable for his purpose, that he arrived vpon the coast of Kent the first day after he set out of Denmarke,

Hardicnute, or Hardiknought.

Alteration in the state of things.

Simon Dun. Malm. Will. say, that he was an Englishman in Flanders, where with his mother when he sent for being com. thither to be king.



and so coming to London, was iustly receiued, and proclaimed king, and crowned of Athelnotus archbishop of Cantuarburie, in the yere of our Lord 1041, in the first yere of the emperor Henrie the third, in the 9 yere of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and in the first yere of Dagfinloch, also Pachabeda king of Scotland. Incontinentlie after his establishment in the rule of this realme, he sent into Flanders for his motherquene Emma, who during the time of his banishment, had remained there. For Normandie in that season was gouerned by the French king, by reason of the minority of duke William, surnamed the bastard.

Moreouer, in reuenge of the wrong offered to quene Emma by his sonne in law Harold, king Hardicnute did cause Alfricke archbishop of Dorke and earle Godwine, with other noble men to go to Westminster, and there to take vp the bodie of the same Harold, and withall appointed, that the head thereof should be striken off, and the trunk of it cast into the river of Thames. Which afterwards being found by fishers, was taken vp and buried in the churchyard of S. Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouernement of things to the hands of his mother Emma, and of Godwine that was erle of Kent. He leuied a fore tribute of his subiects here in England to pay the souldiers and mariners of his name, as first 21 thousand pounds, & 99 pounds, and afterward vnto 22 ships there was a payment made of a 11 thousand and 48 pounds. So euerie mariner of his name he caused a payment of 8 marks to be made, and to euerie master 12 marks. About the payment of this monie great grudge grew amongst the people, insomuch that two of his seruants, which were appointed collectors in the citie of Worcester, the one named Feader, and the other Tursane, were there slaine. In reuenge of which contempt a great part of the countrie with the citie was burnt, and the goods of the citizens put to the spoyle by such power of lords and men of warre as the king had sent against them.

Shortlie after, Edward king Hardicnutes brother came forth of Normandie to visit him and his mother quene Emma, of whome he was most iustly and honorablie welcomed and interteined, and shortlie after made returne backe againe. It should appeare by some writers, that after his coming ouer out of Normandie he remained still in the realme so that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardicnute died, but here in England: although other make other report, as after shall bee shewed. Also (as before ye haue heard) some writers seeme to meane, that the elder brother Alfred came ouer at the same time. But suerlie they are therein deceived: for it was knowne well inough how tenderlie king Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers side, so that there was not anie of the lords in his daies, that durst attempt anie such iniurie against them. True it is, that as well earle Godwine, as the bishop of Worcester (that was also put in blame and suspected for the apprehending and making away of Alfred, as before ye haue heard) were charged by Hardicnute as culpable in that matter, insomuch that the said bishop was expelled out of his see by Hardicnute: and after twelue moneths space was restored, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gaue by waie of amends.

Earle Godwine was also put to his purgation, by taking an oth that he was not guiltie. Which oth was the better allowed, by reason of such a present as he gaue to the king for the redawning of his fauour and good will, that is to say, a ship with a sterne of gold, containing therein 80 souldiers, wearing on

each of their armes two bracelets of gold of 16 ounces weight, a triple habergeon gault on their bodies, with gault burgenets on their heads, a sword with gault hilts girded to their waistes, a battell-are after the maner of the Danes on their left shoulder, a target with bosses and mails gault in their left hand, a dart in their right hand: and thus to conclude, they were furnished at all points with armes and weapon accordinglie. It hath bene said, that earle Godwine minded to marie his daughter to one of these brethren, and perceiving that the elder brother Alfred would dissaue to haue hir, thought good to dispatch him, that the other taking hir to wife, he might be next heire to the crowne, and so at length inioy it, as afterwards came to passe.

Also about that time, when the linage of the kings of England was in maner extinct, the English people were much carefull (as hath bene said) about the succession of those that should inioie the crowne. Whereupon as one Brightwold a monk of Glasterburie, that was afterward bishop of Winchester, or (as some haue written) of Worcester, studied oftentimes thereon: it chanced that he dreamed one night as he slept in his bed, that he saw saint Peter consecrate & annoint Edward the sonne of Egbert (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of England. And as he thought, he did demand of saint Peter, who should succede the said Edward: Wherevnto answer was made by the apostle: Haue thou no care for such matters, for the kingdome of England is Gods kingdome. Which suerlie in god earneest may appeare by manie great arguments to be full true vnto such as shall well consider the state of this realme from time to time, how there hath bene euer gouernours raised vp to mainteine the maiestie of the kingdome, and to reduce the same to the former dignitie, when by anie infortunate mishap it hath bene brought in danger.

But to returne now to king Hardicnute, after he had reigned two yeres lacking 10 daies, as he sat at the table in a great feast holden at Lambeth, he fell downe suddenlie with the pot in his hand, and so died not without some suspicion of poison. This chanced on the 8 of June at Lambeth aforesaid, where, on the same day a marriage was solemnized betwene the ladie Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Elgot Clappa, and a Danish lord also called Canute Hardan. His bodie was buried at Winchester besides his fathers. He was of nature verie courteous, gentle and liberrall, speciallie in keeping good chere in his house, so that he would haue his table covered foure times a day, & furnished with great plentie of meates and drinks, wishing that his seruants and all strangers that came to his palace, might rather leaue than want. It hath bene commonlie told, that Englishmen learned of him their excellent gouernandizing & vnumeasurable filling of their panches with meates and drinks, whereby they forgot the vertuous vse of sobrietie, so much necessarie to all estates and degrees, so profitable for all commonwealthes, and so commendable both in the sight of God, and all good men.

In this Hardicnute ceased the rule of the Danes within this land, with the persecution which they had executed against the English nation, for the space of 250 yeres & more, that is to say, euer since the tenth yere of Bithrike the king of Westsaxons, at what time they first began to inuade the English coasts. Howbeit (after others) they should seeme to haue ruled here but 207, reckoning from their bringing in by the Welshmen in despite of the Saxons, at which time they first began to inhabit here, which was 835 of Christ, & 87 after the coming of the Saxons, and 35 more complet of the reigne of Egbert.

A.ij.

But

Polydor.

The death of  
H. Hardicnute  
Sim. Dunel.  
Marth. West.  
1042

H. Hardicnute  
his conditions  
and liberallie  
in housekeep-  
ing.

Hen. Hunt.

Of whom the  
Englishmen  
learned excel-  
lent keeping.

The end of  
the Danish  
rulers.

Some En-  
glishes.

The bodie of  
king Harold  
taken vp, and  
thereon into  
a barge.

S. Clement  
Danes.

Indite  
rulers.  
H. Hunt.

Simon Dun.  
Will. Malin.  
Marth. West.  
Sim. Dun.

Marth. West.  
Ran. Hig.  
Marth. Hunt.

Polydor.

The bishop  
of Worcester  
was for  
making away  
of Alfred.

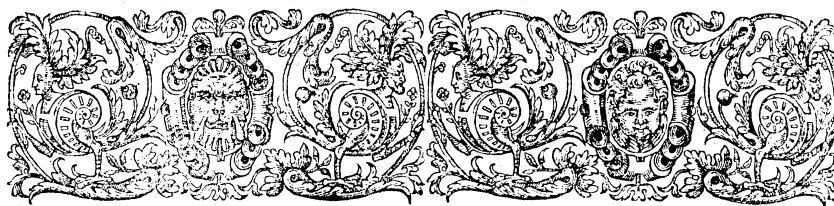
Earle God-  
wine executed  
at Lambeth.

The gift  
of earle  
Godwine  
to the king.

But to let this peece of curiositie passe, this land felt that they had a time of arriuall, a time of inuading, a time of ouerrunning, and a time of ouerruling the inhabitants of this maine continent. Whereof manifest proofes are at this day remaining in sundrie places, sundrie ruines, and wailes committed by them; vpon the which whensoever a man of a relenting spirit casteth his eye, he can not but enter into a dolefull consideration of former miseries, and lamenting the defacements of this Ile by

the crueltie of the bloudthirstie enimie, cannot but wish (if he haue but *Minimam misericordie guttam* quae maior est spatio oceano, as one saith) and earnest desire in his heart that the like may neuer light vpon this land, but may be auerted and turned away from all christian kingdomes, through his mercie, whose wrath by sinne being set on fire, is like a consuming flame; and the sword of whose vengeance being sharpened with the whetstone of mens wickednesse, shall hew them in peeces as wood for the fornaie.

*Thus farre the tumultuous and tyrannicall regiment of the Danes, inferring fulnesse of afflictions to the English people, wherewith likewise the seventh booke is shut vp.*



## THE EIGHT BOOKE of the Historie of England.

Edward the third of that name is chosen king of England by a generall consent, ambassadours are sent to attend him homewardes to his kingdome, and to informe him of his election, William duke of Normandie accompanieth him, Edward is crowned king, the subtil ambition or ambitious subtiltie of earle Goodwine in preferring Edward to the crowne and betraying Alfrede; the Danes expelled and rid out of this land by decree; whether earle Goodwine was guiltie of Alfrede's death, king Edward marieth the said earles daughter, he forbeareth to haue carnall knowledge with hir, and why? he vieth his mother queene Emma verie hardlie, accusations brought against hir, she is dispossessed of hir goods, and imprisoned for suffering bishop Alwine to haue the vse of hir bodie, she purgeth and cleareth hir selfe after a strange sort, hir couetousnesse: mothers are taught (by hir example) to loue their children with equalitie: hir liberall deuotion to Winchester church cleared hir from infamie of couetousnesse, king Edward loued hir after hir purgation, why Robert archbishop of Canturburie fled out of England into Normandie.

### The first Chapter.

Edward.  
Hen. Hunt.

Polydor,



Immediatlie vpon the death of Harthknought, and before his corps was committed to buriall, his halfe brother Edward, sonne of king Egelred begotten of queene Emma, was chosen to be King of England, by the generall consent of all the nobles and commons of the realme. Therevpon were ambassadours sent with all speed into Normandie, to signifie vnto him

his election, and to bring him from thence into England in deliuering pledges for more assurance, that no fraud nor deceit was ment of the Englishmen, but that vpon his comming thither, he should receiue the crowne without all contradiation. Edward then aided by his cosine William duke of Normandie, toke the sea, & with a small companie of Normans came into England, where he was receiued with great ioy as king of the realme, & immediatlie after was crowned at Winchester by Edmunde then archbishop of Canturburie, on Easter day in the yeare of our Lord 1043, which fell also about the fourth yeare of the emperor Henrie the third, surnamed Pilger, in the 12 yeare of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and about the third yeare of Macbeth king of Scotland.

This Edward the third of that name before the conquest, was of nature more meete and simple than apt for the gouernement of the realme, & therefore did earle Goodwine not onelie seeke the destruction of his elder brother Alfrede, but holpe all that he might to aduance this Edward to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome he knew to be soft, gentle, and easie to be perswaded. But whatsoeuer writers do report hereof, sure it is, that Edward was the elder brother, and not Alfrede: so that if earle Goodwine did shew his furtherance by his pretended cloake of offering his friendship vnto Alfrede to betray him, he did it by king Harolds commandement, and yet it may be that he meant to haue usurped the crowne to him selfe, if each point had answered his expectation in the sequele of things, as he hoped they would; and therefore had not passed if both the brethren had bene in heauen. But yet when the world framed contrarie (peraduenture) to his purpose; he did his best to aduance Edward, trusting to beare no small rule vnder him, being knowen to be a man more applicable to be gouerned by other than to trust to his owne wit: and so chiefe by the assistance of earle Goodwine

Hen. Hunt.  
Will. Hunt.  
The third of  
April.  
1043

wine (whose authentic; as appeareth, was not small within the realme of England in those daies) Edward came to attaine the crowne; whereunto the earle of Chester Leofrike also shewed all the furtherance that in him laie.

Some write (which seemeth also to be confirmed by the Danish chronicles) that king Harolknought in his life time had received this Edward into his court, and retained him still in the same in most honorable wise. But for that it may appeare in the abstract of the Danish chronicles, what their writers had of this matter recorded, we do here passe over, referring those that be desirous to know the diversitie of our writers and theirs, unto the same chronicles, where they may find it more at large expressed. This in no wise is to be left unremined, that immediately after the death of Harolknought, it was not onlie decreed & agreed upon by the great lords & nobles of the realme, that no Dane from thenceforth should reigne over them, but also all men of warre and souldiers of the Danes, which laie within any citie or castell in garrison within the realme of England, were then expelled and put out or rather slaine (as the Danish writers dothe hearse.) Amongst other that were banished, the ladie Gomild neere to king Swaine by his sister, was one, being as then a widow, and with hir two of hir sonnes, which she had then living; Hemming and Turkill were also caused to avoid. Some write that Alfrede the brother of king Edward, came not into the realme till after the death of Harolknought, and that he did helpe to expell the Danes, which being done, he was slaine by earle Godwine and other of his complices. But how this may stand, considering the circumstances of the time, with such things as are written by divers authors hereof, it may well be doubted. Nevertheless, whether earle Godwine was guiltie to the death of Alfrede, either at this time, or before, certaine it is, that he so cleared himselfe of that crime unto king Edward the brother of Alfrede, that there was none so highlie in favour with him as earle Godwine was, in so much that king Edward married the ladie Editha, the daughter of earle Godwine, begotten of his wife Thira that was sister to king Harolknought, and not of his second wife, as some have written. Howbeit, king Edward never had to do with hir in fleshlie wise. But whether he abstained because he had hapilie vowed chastitie, either of impotencie of nature, or for a private hate that he bare to hir kin, men doubted. For it was thought, that he esteemed not earle Godwine so greatlie in his heart, as he outwardlie made shew to do, but rather for feare of his puissance dissembled with him, least he should otherwise put him selfe in danger both of losse of life and kingdome.

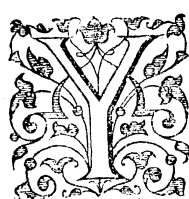
Howsoever it was, he used his counsell in ordering of things concerning the state of the common wealth, and namelie in the hard handling of his mother queene Emma, against whom divers accusations were brought and alleged: as first, for that she consented to marrie with Knute, the public enemy of the realme: againe, for that she did nothing aid or succour hir sons while they lived in exile, but that waste was contrived to make them away; for which cause she was despoiled of all hir goods. And because she was defamed to be naught of hir bodie with Alwine or Adwine bishop of Winchester, both she and the same bishop were committed to prison within the citie of Winchester (as some write.) Howbeit others affirme, that she was straitlie kept in the abbie of Warlmell, till by way of purging hir selfe, after a marvellous manner, in passing barefooted over certaine hot shares or plough-irons, according to the law *ordalium*, she cleared hir

selfe (as the world toke it) and was restored to hir first estate and dignitie.

Hir excessive covetousnesse, without regard had to the poore, caused hir also to be evill reported of. Againe, for that she ever shewed hir selfe to be more naturall to the issue which she had by hir second husband Knute, than to hir children which she had by hir first husband king Egeltred (as if were declaring how she was affected toward the fathers, by the love borne to the children) she lost a great peece of good will at the hands of hir sonnes Alfrede and Edward: so that now the said Edward intoteng the realme, was easilie induced to thinke evill of hir, and thereupon used hir the more uncurteouslie. But hir great liberalitie imploied on the church of Winchester, which she furnished with marvellous rich jewels and ornaments, won hir great commendation in the world, and excused hir partlie in the sight of manie, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate filling of hir coffers by all waies and means she could devise. Now when she had purged hir selfe, as before is mentioned, hir sonne king Edward had hir ever after in great honor and reverence. And where as Robert archbishop of Canturburie had bene soe against hir, he was so much abashed now at the matter, that he fled into Normandie, where he was borne. But it should seeme by that which after that he said in the next chapter, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but because he counselled the king to banish earle Godwine, and also to use the Englishmen more straitlie than reason was he should.

Why Robert archbishop of Canturburie (*queene Emmas beaue friend*) fled out of England, the Normans first entrance into this countrie, dearth by tempests, earle Goodwines sonne banished out of this land, he returneth in hope of the kings favour, killeth his cosen earle Beorne for his good will and forwardnes to set him in credit againe, his flight into Flanders, his returne into England, the king is pacified with him; certaine Danish rousers arrive at Sandwich, spoile the coast, enrich themselves with the spoiles, make sale of their gettings, and returne to their countrie; the Welshmen with their princes rebelling are subdued, king Edward keepeth the seas on Sandwich side in aid of Baldwin earle of Bullongne and the townesmen, earle Goodwine fauoureth the Kentishmen against the Bullongners, why he refuseth to punish the Canturburie men at the kings commandement for breaking the kings peace; he setteth the king in a furie, his suborned excuse to shift off his comming to the assemblie of lords conuented about the foresaid broile; earle Goodwine bandeth himselfe against the king, he would haue the strangers deliuered into his hands, his request is denied; a battell readie to haue bene fought betweene him and the king, the tumult is pacified and put to a parlement, earle Goodwines retinue forsake him; he, his sonnes, and their waies take their flight beyond the seas.

## The second Chapter.



**Y**e must understand, that Robert archbishop of Canturburie brought diuers Normans ouer with him, which in time of his banishment had shewed him great friendship, wherefore he now sought to recompense them. Amongst other, the forenamed Robert of Canturburie was one, who before his comming ouer was a monke in the abbie of Cemeticum in Normandie, and being by the king first advanced to gouerne the see of London, was after made archbishop of Canturburie, and bare great rule vnder the king, so that he could not avoid the en-

Robert archbishop of Canturburie, Frenchmen or Normans first entered into England

Edward  
Malm.

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

Edward  
Danes expelled

1047  
A great derry.  
Ran. Higd.

Swaine God-  
wine's sonne  
banished.  
Edgiva ab-  
bess of Le-  
offe.

This Swaine  
was the sonne  
of Gillan a  
Dane, uncle to  
this Swaine  
by his mother,  
the sister of St.  
Swaine.  
H. Hunt.

H. Hunt.

The Danes  
spoil Sandwich.

Wife's Gril-  
lin princes of  
Wales.

1049  
Simon Dun.

Hermanus.  
Contractus.  
La. Meir.

Simon Dun.

Fabian.  
1051  
March. West.

nie of diuerse noble men, and speciallie of earle Godwine, as shall appere. About the thirde yere of king Edwards reigne, Wgot Clappa was banished the realme. And in the yere following, that is to say, in the yere 1047, there fell a maruellous great snow, covering the ground from the beginning of January untill the 17 day of March. Besides this, there hapned the same yere such tempest and lightnings, that the eigne upon the earth was burnt up and blasted: by reason whereof, there followed a great dearth in England, and also death of men and cat-tell.

About this time Swaine the sonne of earle Godwine was banished the land, and fled into Flanders. This Swaine kept Cogtwa, the abbess of the monasterie of Leoffe, and forsaking his wife, went to haue married the foresaid abbess. Within a certeine time after his banishment, he returned into England, in hope to purchase the kings peace by his fathers meanes and other his friends. But upon some malicious pretense, he due his cousin earle Beorne, who was about to labour to the king for his pardon, and so then fled againe into Flanders, till at length Altered the archbishop of Yorke obtained his pardon, and found meanes to reconcile him to the kings fauour.

In the meane time, about the first yere of king Edwards reigne, certeine pirates of the Danes arrived in Sandwich haven, and entring the land, wasted and spoiled all about the coast. There be that write, that the Danes had at that time to their leaders two capteins, the one named Lother, and the other Iriling. After they had bene at Sandwich, and brought from thence great riches of gold and silver, they coasted about vnto the side of Essex, and there spoiling the countrie, went backe to the sea, and sailing into Flanders, made sale of their spoiles and boties there, and so returned to their countries. After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chanced no warres, neither foreyn nor ciuill, but that the same was either with small slaughter luckilie ended, or else without anie notable aduantage changed into peace. The Welshmen in deed with their princes Rife and Griffin wrought some trouble, but still they were subdued, and in the end both the said Rife and Griffin were brought vnto confusion: although in the meane time they did much hurt, and namelie Griffin, who with aid of some Irishmen, with whom he was allied, about this time entred into the Seuerne sea, and took preies about the riuer of Wye: and after returned without anie battell to him offered.

About the same time, to wit, in the yere 1049, the emperor Henrie the third made warres against Baldwin earle of Flanders, and for that he wished to haue the sea stopped, that the said earle should not escape by flight that waie south, he sent to king Edward, willing him to keepe the sea with some number of ships. King Edward furnishing a naue, lay with the same at Sandwich, and so kept the seas on that side, till the emperor had his will of the earle. At the same time, Swaine, sonne of earle Godwine came into the realme, and traitorously due his cousin Beorne (as before is said) the which travelled to agree him with the king. Also Gospat Clappa, who had left his wife at Buges in Flanders, coming amongst other of the Danish pirates, which had robbed in the coasts of Kent & Essex, as before ye haue heard, receiued his wife, and departed backe into Denmarke with six ships, leauing the residue, being 23 behind him.

About the tenth yere of king Edwards reigne, Eustace earle of Bullongne, that was father vnto the valiant Godfrey of Bullongne, & Baldwin, both

afterward kings of Hierusalem, came ouer into England in the moneth of September, to visit his brother in law king Edward, whose sister named Goba, he had married, she then being the widow of Sualter de Maunt. He found the king at Glocester, and being there iustlicie receiued, after he had once dispatched such matters for the which he chiefe came, he took leaue, and returned homeward. But at Cantarburie one of his herbingers, dealing roughlie with one of the citizens about a lodging, which he sought to haue rather by force than by intreatance, occasioned his owne death. Whereof when the erle was aduertised, he hastid thither to reuenge the slaughter of his seruant, and due both that citizen which had killed his man, and eightene others.

The citizens here with in a great furie, got them to armor, and set upon the earle and his retinue, of whom they due twentie persons out of hand, & wounded a great number of the residue, so that the earle scarce might escape with one or two of his men from the fraie, & with all speed returned backe to the king, presenting grauous information against them of Cantarburie, for their cruell bling of him, not onlie in sleaing of his seruants, but also in putting him in danger of his life. The king crediting the earle, was highlie offended against the citizens, and with all speed sending for earle Godwine, declared vnto him in grauous wise, the rebellious act of them of Cantarburie, which were vnder his iurisdiction.

The earle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke wit, did perceiue that the matter was made a great deale worse at the first in the beginning, than of likelihood it would proue in the end, thought it reason therefore that first the answer of the Kentishmen should be heard, before anie sentence were giuen against them. Whereupon, although the king commanded him forthwith to go with an armie into Kent, and to punish them of Cantarburie in most rigorous maner, yet he would not be too hastie, but refused to execute the kings commandement, both for that he bare a peece of grudge in his mind, that the king should fauour strangers so highlie as he did; and againe, because here by he should seme to doe pleasure to his countreimen, in taking vpon him to defend their cause against the rough accusations of such as had accused them. Wherefore he declared to the king that it should be conuenient to haue the supposed offenders first called afore him, and if they were able to excuse themselves, then to be suffered to depart without further veration: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, both as well in satisfieng the king, whose peace they had broken, as also the earle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Godwine departed thus from the king, leauing him in a great furie: howbeit he passed little thereof, supposing it would not long continue. But the king called a great assemble of his lords together at Glocester, that the matter might be more depelie considered. Sitward earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike earle of Chester, with Rase earle of Hereford, the kings nephue by his sister Goba, and all other the noble men of the realme, onlie earle Godwine and his sonnes ment not to come there, except they might bring with them a great power of armed men, and so remained at Beuerfane, with such bands as they had leauied, vnder a colour to resist the Welshmen, whom they hated absoad to be readie to inuade the marches about Hereford. But the Welshmen presenting that banner, signified to the king that no such matter was ment on their parties, but that earle Godwine and his sonnes with their complices went about to moue a commotion against him. Whereupon a rumor was raised in the court, that the kings power should shortly march forth

The earle  
Flanders  
commotion  
England.  
Ran. Higd.  
Will. Mair.  
Goba sister  
of Edward.

Will. Mair.

Douer. West.

A fraie in  
Cantarburie  
between the  
earle of Bul-  
longne and the  
citizens.

The earle  
complained  
to the king.

Earle God-  
wine offend  
with the king  
for fauouring  
strangers.

A commotion  
led at Glo-  
cester.

Sitward earle  
of Northum-  
berland, Rase  
earle of  
Chester,  
Rase earle  
of Hereford,  
Will. Mair.

forth to assaile earle Godwine in that place where he was lodged. Whereupon the same earle prepared himselfe, and sent to his friends, willing to sticke to this quarrell, and if the king should go about to force them, then to withstand him, rather than to yield and suffer themselves to be troden under foot by strangers. Godwine in this meane time had got together a great power of his countries of Kent, Southerie, and other of the west parts. Swaine likewise had assembled much people out of his countries of Barke-shire, Dorsetshire, Summerfetshire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire. And Harold was also come to them with a great multitude, which he had leued in Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, & Huntingdonshire.

Earle Godwine meaneth to defend him selfe against the king. Swaine. Harold. North. West. Swain Dun. Harold.

Harold Dun.

On the other part, the earles that were with the king, Leofrike, Siward, and Kase, raised all the power which they might make, and the same approaching to Gloucester, the king thought himselfe in more surterie than before, in so much that whereas earle Godwine (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Gloucestershire) had sent unto the king, requiring that the earle of Bullongne, with the other Frenchmen and also the Normans which held the castell of Dover, might be deliuered unto him. The king, though at the first he stood in great doubt what to doe, yet hearing now that an armie of his friends was coming, made answer to the messengers which Godwine had sent, that he would not deliuer a man of those whome Godwine required, and herewith the said messengers being departed, the kings armie entered into Gloucester, and such ready god wils appeared in them all to fight with the aduersaries, that if the king would haue permitted, they would forthwith haue gone out and given battell to the enemies.

Thus the matter was at point to haue put the realme in hazard not onlie of a field, but of bitter raine that might thereof haue ensued: for what on the one part and the other, there were assembled the chiefest lords and most able personages of the land. But by the wisdom and good aduise of earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a time, and order taken, that they should come to a parliament or communication at London, upon pledges giuen and receiued as well on the one part as the other. The king with a mightie armie of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and earle Godwine with his sonnes, and a great power of the Westsaxons, came into Southwarke, but perceiving that manie of his companie staid awaie and slipt from him, he durst not abide anie longer to enter talke with the king, as it was couenanted, but in the night next ensuing fled awaie with all speed possible.

Some while, how an order was prescribed that Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine should depart the land as a banished man to qualifie the kings wrath, and that Godwine and one other of his sons, that is to say, Harold should come to an other assembly to be holden at London, accompanied with seruants onlie, & to resigne all his force of knights, gentlemen and souldiers vnto the kings guiding and government. But when this last article pleased nothing earle Godwine, and that he perceived how his force began to decline, so as he should not be able to match the kings power, he fled the realme, and so likewise did his sonnes. He himselfe with his sonnes Swanus, Tostie, and Girth, sailed into Flanders: and Harold with his brother Leofwine gat ships at Wilsob, and passed into Ireland. Githa the wife of Godwine, and Judith the wife of Tostie, the daughter of Swadwine earle of Flanders went ouer also with their husbands.

do not ing ng

ed: co: arle me: col: b. mch

Will. Malm. Swaine eld sonne to Godwine banished.

Earle Godwine fled the realme.

Goodwine and his sonnes are proclaimed outlawes, their lands are giuen from them, king Edward putteth awaie the queene his wife who was earle Goodwines daughter, she cleareth hir selfe at the houre of hir death from suspicion of incontinencie and lewdnesse of life, why king Edward forbore to haue fleshlie pleasure with hir, earle Godwine and his sonnes take preies on the coasts of Kent and Suffex; Griffin king of Wales destroyeth a great part of Herefordshire, and giueth his incounterers the ouerthrow; Harold and Leofwine two brethren inuade Dorset and Summerfetshires, they are resisted, but yet preuaile, they coast about the point of Cornwall and ioine with their father Godwine, king Edward maketh our threescore armed ships against them, a thicke mist separateth both sides being readie to grapple and fight, a pacification betweene the king and earle Godwine, he is restored to his lands and libertie, he was well friended, counterpledges of agreement interchangable deliuered; Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine a notable rebell and pirat, his troubled conscience, his wicked life and wretched death.

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### The third Chapter.

The king hauing perfect knowledge, that earle Godwine had refused to come to the court in such order as he had prescribed him, and that he was departed the realme with his sonnes: he proclaimed them outlawes, and gaue the lands of Harold vnto Algar, the sonne of earle Leofrike, who guided the same berie worthilie, and resigned them againe without grudging vnto the same Harold when he was returned out of exile. Also vnto earle Goddo were giuen the countie of Devonshire and Summerfetshire.

Godwine and his sonnes proclaimed outlawes.

Moreover, about the same time the king put his wife queene Editha from him, and appointed hir to steric keeping in the abbeye of Marwell. This Editha was a noble gentlewoman, well learned, and expert in all sciences, yet hir good name was stained somewhat, as though she had not liued so continentlie as was to be wished, both in hir husbands life time, and after his decesse. But yet at the houre of hir death (which chanced in the daies of William Conqueror) she cleared hir selfe, in taking it vpon the charge of hir soule, that she had euer liued in perfect chastitie: for king Edward (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in anie actuall manner. By this steric dealing with the queene that was daughter to earle Godwine, now in time of hir fathers exile, it hath seemed to manie, that king Edward forbore to deale with hir in carnall wise, more for hatred of hir kin, than for anie other respect. But to proceed.

The king put awaie his wife Editha.

In the second yeere of Godwines banishment, both he and his sonnes hauing provided themselves of ships and men of warre conuenient for the purpose, came vpon the coasts of England, and after the manner of reuers, to be preies where as they espied aduantage, namelie on the coasts of Kent and Suffex. In the meane time also Griffin the 11. of Wales destroyed a great part of Herefordshire, against whom the power of that countrie, & also manie Normans that lay in garrison within the castell of Hereford, coming to giue battell, were ouerthrowne on the same day, in the which about two and twentie yeeres before, or (as some copies haue) thirtene yeeres, the Westsaxons had slaine Edwine, the brother of earle Leofrike. Shortly after, earle Harold and his brother Leofwine returning out of Ireland, entered into the Seuerne sea, landing on the coasts of Summerfetshire and Dorsetshire, where falling to spoile, they were incountred by a power assembled out of the

1052 Hen. Hunt.

Griffin king of Wales destroyed Herefordshire.

Harold inuaded the shires of Dorset and Summerfet.



the counties of Devonshire and Summerfetshire: but Harold put his aduerfaries to flight, and flic thirtie gentlemen of honoz, or thanes (as they cal led them) with a great number of others. When Ha rold and his brethren, returning with their preie and bottie to their fhips, and coafting about the point of Cornwall, came and ioined with their father & their other brethren, then foiozning in the Ile of Wight.

Simon Dun.

King Edward to withftand their malice, had rig ged and furnifhed forth firtie fhips of warre, with the which he himfelfe went to the water, not ficking to lie aboard at that feafon, although he had appoi nted for capteines and admirals two earles that were his cofins, Edo and Kafe, who had charge of the whole armie. Kafe was his nephue, as fonne to his fifter Goda by hir firft husband Gualter de Maunt. But although they were knowne to be fu ficient men for the ordering of fuch bufineffe, yet he thought the neceffitie to be fuch, as his perfon could not be prefentlie fpared. Therefore he was diligent in forefeeing of things by good aduife, although age would not giue him leaue to execute the fame by his owne hand and force of bodie. But as the nauies on both parts were readie to haue ioined, they were fe uered by reafon of a thicke mift that then rofe, wher by their furious rage was reftreined for that time: and immediatlie therevpon, Godwine and his com plices were forced by a contrarie wind, to returne to the places from whence they came. Shortly after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and earle Godwine reftored home, and obtained againe both the kings fauour, and all his former liuings: for he was fuch an eloquent & wife man, that he cleted and purged himfelfe of all fuch crimes and accusations, as in anie fort had bene laid againft him. Thus haue fome written concerning this agreement betwixt king Edward and erle Godwine, where other make fome what larger report thereof, as thus.

At the fame time that the two fonnies of erle God wine Harold and Eofwine came forth of Ireland, and invaded the weft countrie, king Edward rig ged forth fortie fhips, the which thoughtlie furnifhed with men, munitiion, and vittels, he fent vnto Sand wich, commanding the capteines there to wait for the coming of erle Godwine, whom he vnderftood to be in a readineffe to returne into England: but notwithstanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, erle Godwine fecretlie with a few fhips which he had got together, arriued in Kent; and fending forth his letters and meffengers abroad to the citizens of Cantarburie, to them of Suffe, Southerie, & others, required aid of them, who with one confent promitted to liue and die with him.

The capteines of the nauie at Sandwich aduer tised hereof, made towards the place where they thought to haue found earle Godwine: but he being warned of their coming, efaped by flight, and got him out of their danger, wherevpon they withdrew to Sandwich, and after returned to London. Earle Godwine aduertised thereof, failed to the Ile of Wight, and waited by and downe thofe feas, till his fonnies Harold and Eofwine came and ioined their nauie with his, and ceaffing from fpoile, onlie fought to recouer vittels to ferue their turne. And increfing their power by fuch aid as they might any where procure, at length they came to Sandwich, wherof king Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, he fent abroad to raife all the power he might make. But they that were appointed to come vnto him, lin gred time, in which meane while earle Godwine coming into the Thames, & fo by the riuer, arriued in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the crosse in September, being monday, and their ftat ing for the tide, folicted the Londoners, fo that he

It feemeth  
that earle  
Godwine  
was well  
friended.

obtained of them what he could defire.

Afterwards, without difturbance, he paffed by the riuer with the tide through the fourth arch of the bridge, & at the fame instant, a mightie armie which he had by land, muftered in the fields on that fourth fide the fame riuer, and herewith his nauie made to wards the north fide of the riuer, as if they ment to inclofe the kings nauie, for the king had alfo a nauie & an armie by land: but yet fith there were few ei ther on the one part or the other, that were able to do anie great feat except Englifhmen, they were both to fight one againft another, wherevpon the wifer fort on both fides fought meanes to make an atone ment: and fo at length by their diligent trauell, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being difmif fed on both parts, earle Godwine was reftored to his former dignitie. Wherevpon were pledges deli uered on his behalfe, that is to fay, Willnotus one of his fonnies, and Hacin the fonne of Swannus the el dest fonne of Godwine. Thefe two pledges were fent vnto William duke of Normandie, to be kept with him for more affurance of Godwines loialtie.

Some write that Swannus the eldest fonne of Godwine was not reconciled to the kings fauour at this time; but whether he was or not, this is repo ted of him for a truth, that after he had attempted fundrie rebellions againft king Edward, he laftlie alfo rebelled againft his father Godwine, and his brother Harold, and became a pirate, difhonouring with fuch manifold robberies as he made on the feas, the noble progenie whereof he was defcended. Finally vpon remoufe of confcience (as hath bene thought) for murdering of his cofine (or as fome fay his brother) erle Wearne, he went on pilgrimage to Hierufalem, and died by the way of cold which he caught in returning homeward (as fome write) in Aicia: but others affirme, that he fell into the hands of Saracens that were robbers by the high waies, and fo was murdered of them.

Ran. Hig.  
Maur. W.  
Simon Dun.  
Will. Maun.

Ran. Hig.  
Will. Maun.

At what time William duke of Nor mandie came ouer into England, king Ed ward promifeth to make him his heire to the kingdom and crowne, the death of queene Emma, earle Godwine being growne in fauour againe feeketh new reuenges of old grudges, caufing archbifhop Robert and certeine noble Normans his aduerfaries to be banifhed; Stigand intrudeth himfelfe into archbifhop Roberts fee, his fi monie and lacke of learning; what maner of men were thought meet to be made bifhops in thofe daies, king Edward begin neth to provide for the good and prosperous ftate of his king dome, his confideration of lawes made in his predeceffours times and abufed; the lawes of S. Edward vfuallie called the common lawes, how, whereof, and wherevpon inftituted; the death of earle Godwine being fudden (as fome fay) or natu rall (as others report) his vertues and vices, his behauiour and his fonnies vpon prefumption and will in the time of their authorities; his two wiues and children; the fudden and dreadfull death of his mother; hir felling of the beautifull youth male and female of this land to the Danifh people.

### The fourth Chapter.

**H**E forefaide William duke of Normandie (that af ter conquered this land) du ring the time of Godwines outlatzie, came ouer in to this land with a faire retinue of men, and was ioftallie receiued of the king, and had great chare. Now after he had fariied a feafon, he re turned into his countrie, not without great gifts of iewels and other things, which the king moft libe rallie

William  
duke of  
Normandie  
conquered  
this land  
during the  
time of  
Godwines  
outlatzie

Polydor.  
Edward  
promised to  
make William

callie bestowed upon him. And (as some write) the king promised him at that time, to make him his heire to the realme of England, if he chanced to die without issue. & shortly after, or rather somewhat before, queene Emma the kings mother died, and was buried at Winchester.

The archb-  
shop of Can-  
turburie  
banished.

After that earle Godwine was restored to the kings favour, because he knew that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie had bene the chiefe procurer of the kings euill will towards him, he found means to weare him out of credit, and diuers other specially of the Romans, bearing the world in hand, that they had sought to trouble the state of the realme, & to set variance betwixt the king and the lords of the English nation: whereas the Romans againe alledged, that earle Godwine and his sonnes abused the kings soft and gentle nature, & would not sticke to least and mocke at his courteous and mild proceedings. But howsoever the matter went, archbishop Robert was glad to depart out of the realme, and going to Rome, made complaint in the court there, of the iniuries that were offered him: but in returning through Normandie, he died in the abbey of Cemetium, where he had bene monke before his coming into England.

Romans  
banished the  
realme.

Wherefore others were compelled to forsake the realme at the same time, both spirituall men and temporall, as William bishop of London, and Alfe bishop of Lincolne. Osberne named Pentecost, and his companion Hugh, were constrained to surrender their castles, and by licence of earle Leofrike withdrew thorough his countrie into Scotland, where, of king Macbeth they were honorablie receiued. These were Romans: for (as partly ye haue heard) king Edward brought with him no small number of that nation, when he came from thence to receive the crowne, and by them he was altogether ruled, to the great offending of his owne naturall subiects the Englishmen, namely earle Godwine and his sonnes, who in those daies for their great possessions and large reuenues, were had in no small reputation with the English people.

Edward  
archbishop of  
Canturburie.

After that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed the realme, as before ye haue heard, Stigand was made archbishop of Canturburie, or rather thrust himselfe into that dignitie, not being lawfullie called, in like manner as he had done at Winchester: for whereas he was first bishop of Exeterboorne, he left that church, and took upon him the bishopricke of Winchester by force, and now attaining to be archbishop of Canturburie, he kept both Winchester and Canturburie in his hand at one instant. This Stigand was greatly infamed for his courteous practices in sale of possessions appertaining to the church. He was nothing learned: but that want was a common fault amongst the bishops of that age, for it was openlie spoken in those daies, that he was meet onelie to be a bishop, which could vse the pompe of the world, voluptuous pleasures, rich raiment, and set himselfe forth with a holie retinue of gentlemen and seruants on horsebacke, for therein stood the countenance of a bishop, as the world then went; and not in studie how to haue the people fed with the word of life, to the saving of their soules.

Ran. Hig.  
Frian.  
Stigand in-  
famed of  
sinne.

what manner  
of men meet  
to be bishops  
in those daies.

Polydor.

King Edward now in the twelfth yeare of his reigne, hauing brought the state of the realme quite from troubles of warre both by sea and land, began to foresee as well for the welth of his subiects, as for himselfe, being naturallie inclined to wish well to all men. He therefore considered, how by the manifold lawes which had bene made by Brittaines, Englishmen and Danes within this land, occasion was ministered to manie, which measured all things

by respect of their owne private gaine and profit, to peruert iustice, and to vse wrongfull dealing in stead of right, clouding the same under some branch of the lawe nauhtilie misconstrued. Whereupon to auoid that mischiefe, he picked out a summe of that huge and unmeasurable masse and heape of lawes, such as were thought most indifferent and necessarie, & therewith ordeined a few, & those most wholesome, to be from thenceforth vsed: according to whose prescript, then might liue in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. These lawes were afterwards called the common lawes, and also saint Edward his lawes; so much esteemed of the Englishmen, that after the conquest, when the Romans oftentimes went about to abrogate the same, there chanced no small mutinies and rebellions for retaining of those lawes. But here is to be noted, that although they were called saint Edwards lawes, they were for the more part made by king Edgar; but now by king Edward restored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

The lawes of  
S. Edward,  
instituted.

About this time, earle Godwine died suddenly (as some haue recorded) as he sat at table with the king; and upon talke ministered of the death of Alfred the kings brother, to excuse himselfe, he took a peece of bread, and did cate it, saying: God let me neuer swallow this bread downe into my chest, but that I may presentlie be choked therewith, if euer I was touching or consenting vnto Alfreds death! and immediately therewith he fell downe stark dead. Other say, that he ended his life at Winchester, where being suddenly surprised with sickness, as he sat at the table with the king upon an Easter monday; yet belieued till the Thursday following, and then died. His earledome was giuen vnto his sonne Harold; and Harolds earledome, which was Oxford, was giuen vnto Algar the sonne of Leofrike.

1052  
or 1054  
Hector Boet.  
Polydor.  
Will. Malmes.  
Marth. West.

Ran. Hig.  
ex Mariano.

Simon Dun:  
this is the  
truest tale.

This Godwine, as he was a man of great power, wise, hardie, and politike; so was he ambitious, desirous to beare rule, and loth that anie other person should passe him in authoritie. But yet, whether all be true that writers report of his malicious practices to bring himselfe and his sonnes to the chiefe seat of gouernement in the kingdome, or that of hatred such slanders were raised of him, it may of some perhaps be doubted; because that in the daies of king Edward (which was a soft and gentle prince) he bare great rule and authoritie, and so might procure to himselfe euill report for euerie thing that chanced amisse: as oftentimes it cometh to passe in such cases, where those that haue great doings in the gouernement of the common wealth, are commonly euill spoken of, and that now and then with out their guilt. But truth it is, that Godwine being in authoritie both in the daies of king Edward and his predecessors, did manie things (as should appeare by writers) more by will than by law, and so likewise did his sonnes; vpon presumption of the great puissance that they and their father were of within the realme.

Hen. Hunt.

He had to wife Editha, the sister of king Cnut, of whome he begat three sonnes (as some write) that is to say, Harold, Biorn, & Tostie: also his daughter Editha, whome he found means to bestow in marriage vpon S. Edward, as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one son by Cnutes sister, the which in riding of a rough horse was thowen into the riuer of Thames, and so drowned. His mother also was stricken with a thunderbolt, & so perished most shrewdly (as is reported) for his nauhtie doings. She bled to buy great numbers of pong persons, and namely maids that were of anie excellent beautie and personage, whome she sent over into Denmarke, and there sold them to hir most aduantage.

Polydor.

Will. Malm.

vantage. After his deceasse (as the same authors record) Godwine married another woman, by whome he had issue six sonnes, Swainus or Swaine, Harold, Tostie or Tosto, Wilnot, Girth, and Leofrike; of whom further mention is & shall be made, as places conuenient shall serue thereto.

Edward earle of Northumberland discomfiteth Mackbeth the vsurper of the Scottish kingdome and placeth Malcolm in the same, a controuersie whether Siward were at this discomfiture or no; his stout words when he heard that one of his sonnes was slaine in the field, bishop Aldred is sent to fetch home Edward the sonne of K. Edmund Ironside into England; earle Algar being banished ioineeth with the Welshmen against the English and Normans, and getteth the victorie; Harold the son of earle Godwine putteth earle Algar & his retinue to their shifts by purloine, pacification betweene the generals of both armies, their hosts, Siward earle of Northumberland dieth; his giantlike stature, his courageous heart at the time of his deceasse, why Tostie one of Godwins sonnes succeeded him in the earledome.

### The fift Chapter.

Math. West.  
1054  
Hector Boet.



About the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne (as some write) or rather about the nineteenth or twentieth yeare, as should appeare by the Scottish writers, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland with a great power of horsemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Spackbeth that had vsurped the crowne of Scotland, and that done, placed Malcolme surnamed Camoir, the sonne of Duncane, sometime king of Scotland, in the gouernement of that realme, who afterward slue the said Spackbeth, and then reigned in quiet. Some of our English writers say, that this Malcolme was king of Cumberland, but other report him to be sonne to the king of Cumberland. But here is to be noted, that if Spackbeth reigned till the yeare 1061, and was then slaine by Malcolme, earle Siward was not at that battell; for as our writers do testifie, he died in the yeare 1055, which was in the yeare next after (as the same writers affirme) that he banquished Spackbeth in fight, and slue manie thousands of Scots, and all those Normans which (as ye haue heard) were withdrawen into Scotland, when they were driuen out of England.

It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to be sorrowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting stoutlie in the forefront of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioiced thereat, to heare that he died so manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as Henrie Hunt, saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conuere the land, whose hap was there to be slaine; and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forefront of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued it in the forefront; I reioice (saith he) even with all my heart, for I would not wish either to my sonne nor to my selfe any other kind of death.

Shortlie after, Aldred the bishop of Worcester

was sent vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward was desirous to see, meaning to ordeine him heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the same yeare after he came into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw; his bodie was buried at Winchester, or as an other saith in the church of S. Pauls in London.

About the same time is Edward by euill counsell (I wot not vpon what occasion, but as it is thought without cause) banished Algar the sonne of earle Leofrike: wherevpon he got him into Ireland, and there prouiding 18 ships of rowers, returned, & landing in Wales, ioined himselfe with Griffen the king or prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the borders about Hereford, of which place Kase was then earle, that was sonne vnto Goda the sister of K. Edward by his first husband Gualter de Maunt. This earle assembling an armie, came forth to giue battell to the enimies, appointing the Englishmen contrarie to their manner to fight on horsebacke, but being readie (on the two & twentieth of October) to giue the onset in a place not past two miles from Hereford, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and so the rest were discomfited, whome the aduersaries pursued, and slue to the number of 500, beside such as were hurt and escaped with life. Griffen and Algar hauing obtained this victorie, entered into the towne of Hereford, set the minster on fire, slue seven of the canons that stood to defend the doores or gates of the principall church, and finally spoiled and burned the towne miserablie.

The king aduertised hereof, gathered an armie, ouer the which Harold the sonne of earle Godwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, & staid not, till hauing passed through Stratelud, he came to the mountaines of Snowdon, where he pitched his field. The enimies durst not abide him, but got them into Southwales, whereof Harold being aduertised, left the more part of his armie in Northwales to resist the enimies there, & with the residue of his people came backe vnto Hereford, recouered the towne, and caused a great and mightie trench to be cast round about it, with an high rampire, and fenced it with gates and other fortifications. After this, he did so much, that comming to a communication with Griffen and Algar at a place called Welligelbage, a peace was concluded, and so the naute of earle Algar sailed about, and came to Chester, there to remaine, till the men of warre and mariners had their wages, while he went to the king, who pardoned his offense, & restored him to his earledome.

After this, in the verie same yeare, being the 15 of king Edwards reigne, as some writers affirme, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland died of the flux, of whom it is said, that when he perceived the houre of death to be nere, he caused him selfe to be put in armour, & set vp in his chaire, affirming that a knight and a man of honour ought to die in that sort, rather than lieng on a couch like a feeble and fainthearted creature: and sitting so upright in his chaire armed at all points, he ended his life, and was buried at Pothe. [A stout harted man, not unlike to that famous Romane remembered by Tullie in his Tusculane questions, who suffered the sawing of his leg from his bodie without shrinking, looking vpon the surgeon all the while, & hauing no part of his bodie bound for shrinking] The said Siward earle of Northumberland was a man of a giantlike stature, & thereto of a verie stout and hardie courage, & because his sonne Malcolme was but an infant, and as yet not out of his cradell, the earledome was giuen vnto earle Tostie one of Godwins sonnes.

Simon Dun.  
M West.

The walls  
men oblige  
the business  
gunt Eng  
Influence  
Normans

Stratford  
Snowdon

The count  
Hereford  
ruled by  
rola

The death  
of Siward  
earle of Northumberland  
Ran. H. 11

Edward the sonne of Edmund Iron-  
side is sent for to be made heire apparant to  
croune, his death, the decesse of Leofrike  
earle of Chester, the vertues and good deeds of  
him and his wife Gudwina, Couentre free from cu-  
rent and toll, churches in religious places builded and re-  
pared, Algar succedeth his father Leofrike in the earledome,  
he is accused of treason and banished, he recouereth his earle-  
dome by force of armes; Harold is sent with a power against  
10 the Conking of Wales; the countie wasted, and the people  
forced to yeeld, they renounce Griffin their king, kill him,  
and send his head to Harold, Griffins brethren rule Wales af-  
ter him by grant of king Edward, Harolds infortunate going  
into Normandie, the earle of Ponthieu taketh him pri-  
soner, and releaseth him at the request of William duke  
of Normandie, for whose use Harold sweareth to  
kepe possession of the realme of England,  
the duke promisseth him his daughter  
in mariage.

The sixt Chapter.

**N**ot long after, in the yeare  
1057, Aldred bishop of Wor-  
cester, was sent ouer into  
the emperour Henric the  
third, to fetch Edward the  
sonne of Edmund Ironside  
into England, whome king  
Edward was desirous to  
see, meaning to ordeine him  
heire apparant to the croune: but he died the same  
yeare, after that he was returned into England.  
This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie  
was buried at Westminster, or (as others say) in  
the church of S. Paule within London. The same  
yeare, that is to say, in the seuententh yeare or in  
the firstenth yeare of king Edwards reigne (as some  
write) Leofrike the noble earle of Chester, or Her-  
cia, that was sonne to duke Leofwine, departed  
this life in his owne towne of Bromelie on the last  
day of August, and was buried at Couentre in the  
abbie there which he had builded. This earle Leo-  
frike was a man of great honor, wise and discret in  
all his doings. His high wisdom and policie stood  
the realme in great stead whilest he liued.

He had a noble ladie to his wife named Gudwi-  
na, at whose earnest sute he made the citie of Couen-  
trie free of all manner of toll, except hostles: and  
to haue that toll laid downe also, his foresaid wife  
rode naked through the middell of the towne with-  
out other couerture, saue onlie hir haire. Moreover,  
partlie moued by his owne deuotion, and partlie by  
the persuation of his wife, he builded or beneficiallie  
augmented and repared manie abbeies & churches,  
as the said abbie or priorie at Couentre, the ab-  
beies of Wenlocke, Worcester, Stone, Cne-  
sham, and Leof besides Hereford. Also he builded  
two churches within the citie of Chester, the one cal-  
led S. Johns, and the other S. Werburgh. The  
value of the iuwels & ornaments which he bestowd  
on the abbie church of Couentre, was inestimable.

After Leofrikes death, his sonne Algar was made  
earle, and intituled in all his lands and seignories.  
In the yeare following, to wit, 1058 the same Al-  
gar was accused againe (through malice of some en-  
vious persons) of treason, so that he was exiled the  
land, whereupon he repaired againe unto his old  
friend Griffin prince of Northwales, of whome he  
was iustillie receiued, & shortly after by his aid, &  
also by the power of a number of ships that by chance  
arrived in those parts at that selfe same season be-  
looked for out of Northwale, the said Algar recouered  
his earledome by force, as some haue written. King  
Edward about the twentieth yeare of his reigne, as

then remaining at Gloucester, appointed earle Ha-  
rold to invade the dominions of Griffin king of  
Wales. Harold taking with him a power of hostle-  
men, made speed, and came to Rutland, and there  
burned Griffins palace, and also his ships, and then  
about spidient returned againe into England.

After this, about the Rogation weeke, Harold es-  
sones by the kings commandement went against  
the Welshmen, and taking the sea, sailed by Bar-  
flew, round about the coast, compassing in maner  
all Wales. His brother Tosie that was earle of  
Northumberland, met him by appointment with an  
host of hostemen, and so joining together, they de-  
stroyed the countie of Wales in such sort, that the  
Welshmen were compelled to submit themselves,  
to deliuer hostages, and conditioned to paie the an-  
cient tribute which before time they had paid. And  
moreouer, they renounced their prince the forena-  
med Griffin, so that he remained as a banished per-  
son: and finally, about the fifth day of August, they  
slew him, and sent his head to earle Harold. After-  
wards king Edward granted the rule of Wales  
unto Blengent or Blethgent, & Ruall, Griffins two  
brethren, which did homage unto him for the same,  
and had serued vnder Harold against their brother  
the foresaid Griffin. There be which write, that not  
onelie Griffin, but also another of his brethren cal-  
led Rice, was brought to his death by the man-  
full meanes and politike order of earle Harold, & all  
the savage people of Wales reduced into the forme  
of good order vnder the subiection of king Edward.

Shortly after, earle Harold chanced to passe ouer  
into Normandie, whether of hap or of purpose it is  
hard to define, writers doe varie so much in report  
thereof. Some write that he made earnest sute to  
king Edward, to haue licence to go ouer to see his  
brother Wilnot, and his nephew Hacune, which (as  
ye haue heard) were deliuered as pledges to king  
Edward, & sent into Normandie to remaine there  
with duke William, and at length with much adoe,  
got leaue: but yet he was told aforehand of the king,  
that he would repent his iournie, and do the thing  
that should be prejudiciall to the realme. Other  
write that Harold lieng at his manor of Bosham,

went aboard one day into his fishers boat or craier,  
and caused the same to lanch forth to the sea for his  
pleasure: but by misfortune at the same time, a con-  
trarie wind suddenlie came about, and droue the ves-  
sell on land into France vpon the coast of Ponthieu,  
where he was taken by the countie people, & presen-  
ted to the earle of Ponthieu named Guie or Guido,  
who kept him as prisoner, meaning to put him to  
a greivous ransom. But Harold remembering him-  
selfe of a wile, dispatched a messenger forth with all  
speed unto William duke of Normandie, signi-  
fying unto him, that he being sent from king Ed-  
ward to confirme such articles, as other meane men  
that had bene sent unto him afore had talked of, by  
chance he was fallen into the hands of the earle of  
Ponthieu, and kept as prisoner against all order of  
law, reason, or humanitie. Duke William thus  
informed by the messenger, sent to the earle of Pon-  
thieu, requirring him to set earle Harold at libertie,  
that he might repaire to him according to his com-  
mission. The earle of Ponthieu to his libertie, but also  
did not onelie restore Harold to his libertie, but also  
brought him into Normandie, and presented him  
there to the duke, of whome he was most iustillie  
receiued.

There be that agree partlie with this report, and  
partlie varie: for they write, that earle Harold toke  
the sea vpon purpose to haue sailed into Flanders,  
and that by force of wind he was drien to the coast  
of Ponthieu, and so after came into Normandie in  
his maner

Wales delin-  
ed and harried  
by the Eng-  
lishmen.  
The Welsh-  
men agree to  
pay their ac-  
customed tri-  
bute.

1064  
Wil. Malm.  
Simon. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Harold goeth  
ouer into  
Normandie.  
Polydor.

Edmerus.

Mat. West.  
Wil. Malm.

Harold is pre-  
sented to Wil-  
liam duke of  
Normandie.  
Hen. Hunt.

Edward the  
outlaw depar-  
ted this life.

1057  
Leofrike earle  
of Chester de-  
parted this  
life.  
Rim. Higd.  
Mat. West.

Couentre  
made free of  
toll and cus-  
tome.

Churches in  
Chester builded.

Hen. Hunt.  
Algar earle of  
Chester cre-  
ted.

1058

Simon. Dun.

1062  
Simon. Dun.  
Mat. West.

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Ind.  
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p. 192

seeke  
ward  
of  
seriant  
Higd.

Harold was  
highly soci-  
conce of duke  
William.

Math. West.  
Duke William  
promised to  
Harold his  
daughter in  
marriage.

maner as before is mentioned. But by what means  
or occasion soever he came thither, certaine it is, that  
he was iustly receiued, and had great chere made  
him by the said duke William, who at that time  
was readie to make a iourne against the Britains,  
and toke earle Harold with him to haue his compa-  
nie in armes in that iourne, that he might haue the  
better triall of his ballancie. Earle Harold behaued  
himselfe so, that he shewed good proofe both of his  
wisdom and politic, and also of his forwardnesse to  
execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuised,  
so that duke William had him in high fauour, and  
(as it hath bene said) earle Harold (to procure him  
more friendship at the dukes hands) declared vnto  
him, that king Edward had ordeined him his heire  
if he died without issue, and that he would not faile  
to keepe the realme of England to the dukes use, ac-  
cording to that ordinance, if k. Edward died with-  
out issue. And to performe this promise, he receiued  
a corporall oth, whether willingly to win the more  
credit, or forced thereto by duke William, and  
report it diuerse. At the same time, duke William  
promised vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom  
Harold couenanted in like maner to take to wife.

Harold at his returne into England re-  
porteth to K. Edward what he had doone  
beyond the seas, and what the king said vnto  
him in that behalfe, who foresaw the comming of  
the Normans into this land to conquer it; when and  
why king Edward promised to make duke William his heire,  
(wherein note his subtiltie) dissention betwixt Harold and To-  
stie two brethren the sonnes of earle Godwine, their vnnatu-  
rall and cruell dealing one with another, speciallie of the ab-  
hominable and merles murders committed by Tostie, a-  
gainst whome the Northumbers rebell vpon diuerse occasi-  
ons, and reward him with answerable reuengement; Harold is  
sent against them, but preuaileth not; they offer to returne  
home if they might haue a new gouernor; they renounce To-  
stie and require Marchar in his roome, Tostie displeased get-  
teth him into Flanders; king Edward dieth, his manners and  
disposition note-worthy, his charitie and deuotion, the ver-  
tue of curing the maladie called the kings euill deriued from  
him to the succeeding kings of this land, he was warned of his  
death by a ring, he is canonized for a saint, the last words that  
he spake on his death-bed, wherein he vttered to the standers  
by a vision, prophesying that England should be inhabited  
with strangers, a description of the kings person, of a blasfing  
starre fore-telling his death, the progenie of the West-  
saxon kings, how long they continued, the names  
of their predecessors and successors; whence  
the first kings of seven kingdoms of  
Germanie had their pede-  
gree, &c.

### The seventh Chapter.

Polydor.

**N**OW when Harold should  
returne into England, duke  
William deliuered him his  
nephew Hacune, but kept his  
brother Wilnote with him  
still as a pledge. Then went  
earle Harold into England,  
and declared vnto king Ed-  
ward what he had done, who

“ said vnto him: Did not I tell thee that thou wouldest  
“ do the thing whereof thou shouldest repent thee, and  
“ procure a mischief to follow vnto thy countrie? But  
“ God of his mercie turne that euill hap from this  
“ realme, or at the least, if it be his pleasure, that it must  
“ needs come to passe, yet to state it till after my daies!  
“ Some by Harolds purposed going ouer into Nor-  
“ mandie, doe gather, that king Edward foresaw the  
“ comming of the Normans; and that he meant no-  
“ thing lesse, than to performe the promise made vnto  
“ duke William, as to adopt him his heire, which pro-  
“ mise should seeme to be made in time of his banish-

when the pro-  
mise was  
made by king  
Edward to

ment, when he stood in need of his friendship; as the  
maner of men in such cases is, to promise much, helpe  
so euer they intend to fulfill. But rather it maie be  
thought, that king Edward had made no such pro-  
mise at all, but perceiued the ambitious desire of  
duke William, and therefore would not that any oc-  
casion should be ministred vnto him to take hold of.  
Therefore, he was loth that Harold should go o-  
uer vnto him, least that might happen, which hap-  
ned in deed.

In the foure and thirtieth and last yere of king  
Edward his reigne, or therabout, there fell variance  
betwixt the two brethren, earle Harold and earle  
Tostie at Windsor, where the court then lay, in so  
much that earle Harold caught Tostie by the haire  
of the head in the kings presence, and strooke him.  
Whereupon, Tostie departing from the court in great  
anger, came to Hereford in the marches of Wales,  
where Harolds seruants were preparing for the  
kings comming to their masters house, which ser-  
uants he toke and slue, chopping them in peeces, and  
threw into this hogthead of wine a leg, into that bar-  
rell of sider an arme, into this vessel of ale an head:  
and so into the lomes of mch and tubs of bryne and  
other liquoz he besolued the parts of the dead carcasses  
of his brothers seruants, sending the king word  
that he had prouided at his brothers manor, against  
his coming, good plentie of sowse & powdered meat,  
whatsoeuer he should find beside.

The rumoz of this cruell deed sprang ouer all the  
realme, whereupon the Northumbers, whome he had  
gouerned for the space of ten yeres verie cruellie,  
toke occasion to rebell against him, and slue his ser-  
uants both Englishmen and Danes, spoiled his hou-  
ses, and toke awaie his horses, his armour, and all  
other his goods and household stuffe. The chiefest cause  
(as is remembred by some writers) that moued the  
Northumbers thus to rise and rebell against Tostie,  
was for the detestable murder of certeine gentle-  
men of their countrie, seruants vnto Gospatrike,  
whom the quene in behalfe of hir brother had caused  
to be slaine in the court by treason, in the fourth night  
of Christmas last past, and also in reuenge of other  
noblemen, which in the last yere Tostie himselfe had  
commanded to be murdered in his owne chamber  
at Poike, whither he had allured them to come vnder  
colour of concluding a peace with them. Also the  
greuous payments, wherewith he charged the people  
of that countrie, set them in a great rage against  
him.

But the king aduertised hereof, liked not their  
doings, for that they had done it without comman-  
dement or commission, and therefore sent earle Ha-  
rold with an armie to chastise them, but they were  
strong enough to withstand him, as those which were  
assembled in armour together with the people of  
Lincolneshire, Nottinghamshire, and Warbithire,  
and hauing with them Marcharus or Marcharus, the  
sonne of earle Algar, were come as farre as North-  
hampton, doing much hurt in the parts therabouts.  
Howbeit to haue the kings peace, they offered to re-  
turne home, so that they might haue an other earle  
appointed them, for that they plainlie protested, that  
they being freemen, bozne and byed out of bondage,  
might not suffer any cruell gouernoz to rule ouer  
them, being taught by their ancestors, either to lue  
in libertie, or to die in defense thereof. If therefore it  
might please the king to assigne Marcharus the son  
of earle Algar to be their ruler, he should see how obe-  
dient subjects they would proue & shew themselves  
to be, when they should be byed after a reasonable  
and courteous manner. All things considered, their  
request seemed reasonable, or at least it was thought  
necessarie that it should be granted. And so was  
Marcharus

maner  
of men  
in such  
cases is,  
to promise  
much, helpe  
so euer they  
intend to  
fulfill.

Hen. 1.  
Math. West.  
Folow-  
ing the  
story.

The cruell  
dealing of  
earle Tostie

The North-  
umbers re-  
bell against  
Tostie the  
earle.

Will. Mal.



under the Saxons.

Archbishop  
of York  
and  
Bishop  
of London

in Edward  
the first  
year

in Edward  
the first  
year

in Edward  
the first  
year

in Edward  
the first  
year

in Edward  
the first  
year

in Edward  
the first  
year

Archbishop of York made earle of Northumberland. Loffie in great displeasure with his wife and children sailed ouer into fflanders, and there remained till after the deccasse of king Edward.

Finally, after that this courteous prince king Edward had reigned thre and twentie yeres, seven months and eed daies, he departed this life at London the fourth of Januare, and was buried in the church of Westminster, which he had in his life time royally repaired, after such a statelie sort as few churches in those daies were like thereto within this realme, so that after wards the same was a paterne for eger to be built after the same forme. This Edward was a prince of such a vertuous disposition of mind, that his fame of holinesse sprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and shedding of blood, in so much that when he lived as a banished man in Normandie, he had this saying oftentimes in his mouth, that he had rather live a private life for ever, than to obtaine the kingdome by the slaughter and death of anie man. He could not abide to have the people oppressed with tributes or exactions, in so much that he caused the payment called Danegilt (which had continued for the space almost of forty yeres) to cease. It hath bene said, that when the collectors of this monie, or some other subsidie, had got an huge quantitie of treasure together, they brought it unto him, and laid it altogether upon an heape, so to delight his eyes: but he declaring that he saw a diuell plateng and fetching gambols about that heape of monie, commanded that it should be had away, and restored againe to them of whom it was leauied.

In diet and apparell he was spare and nothing sumptuous: and although on high feasts he ware rich apparell, as became the maiestie of his roiall personage: yet he shewed no proud nor loffie countenance, rather praising God for his bountifull goodness towards him extended, than esteeming herein the vaine pompe of the world. The pleasure that he tooke chieflie in this world for refreshing of his wits, consisted onlie in hawking and hunting, which exercises he daile vsed, after he had first bene in the church at diuine seruice. In other things he seemed wholie giuen to a deuout trade of life, charitable to the poore, and verie liberall, namelie to hospitals and houses of religion in the parties of beyond the sea, wishing ever that the monks and religious persons of his realme would haue folloied the vertue and holinesse of life vsed amongst them of forren parties. As hath bene thought he was inspired with the gift of prophetic, and also to haue had the gift of healing infirmities and diseases. He vsed to helpe those that were bered with the disease, commonlie called the kings euill, and lest that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his successors the kings of this realme.

He was warned (as hath bene reported) of his death certeine daies before he died, by a ring that was brought him by certeine pilgrims coming from Hierusalem, which ring he had secretlie giuen to a poore man that asked his charitie in the name of God and saint John the Euangelist. But to conclude, such was the opinion conceiued of his holinesse of life, that shortly after his deccasse, he was canonized amongst the number of saints, and named Edward the Confessor. Whilest he lay sicke of that sickness, wherof at length he died, after he had remained for two daies speechlesse, the third day after when he had laine for a time in a slumber of soft sleepe, at the time of his waking, he fetched a deepe sigh, and thus said; Oh Lord God almightie, if this be not a vaine fantastical illusion, but a true vision which I haue bene, grant me space to utter the same. And he said that it was here present, or elsie not. And

herewith hauing his speech perfect, he declared how he had seene two monks stand by him as he thought, whome in his youth he knew in Normandie to haue liued godlie, and died chistianlie. These monks (said he) professing to me that they were the messengers of God, spake these words; Because the chiefe gouernors of England, the bishops and abbats, are not the ministers of God, but the diuels, the almightie God hath deliuered this kingdome for one yere and a day into the hands of the enemie, and wicked spirits shall walke abroad through the whole land. And when I made answer that I would declare these things to the people, and promised on their behalfe, that they should do penance in following the example of the Penitentes: they said againe, that it would not be, for neither should the people repent, nor God take enie pittie vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an end of these miseries said I? Then said they; When a grene tree is cut in sunder in the middle, and the part cut off is caried thre acres bredth from the stocke, and returning againe to the stocke, shall ioine therewith, and begin to bud & beare fruit after the former maner, by reason of the sap reueling the accustomed nourishment; then (I say) may there be hope that such euils shall cease and diminish. With which words of the king, though some other that stood by were brought in feare, yet archbishop Stigand made but a least thereof, saying, that the old man rauid now in his sicknesse, as men of great yeres be to doe. Nevertheless the truth of this prophesie afterwards too plainlie appeared, when England became the habitation of new strangers, in such wise, that there was neither gouernor, bishop, nor abbat remaining therein of the English nation. But now to make an end with king Edward, he was of person comelie, & of an indifferent stature, of white haire, both head and beard, of face ruddie, and in all parts of his bodie faire skinned, with due state and proportion of lims as was thereto conuenient. In the yere before the death of king Edward, a blasing starre appeared, the which when a monk of Malinesburie named Gilmer beheld, he uttered these words (as it were by way of prophesying); Thou art come (saith he) thou art come, much to be lamented of manie a mother: it is long agoone sith I saw thee, but now I doe behold thee the more terrible, threatening destruction to this countrey by thy dreadfull appearance. In the person of king Edward ceased by his death the noble progenie of the Westsaxon kings, which had continued from the first yere of the reigne of Cerbice or Cerdictus, the space of 547 yeres complet. And from Egbert 266 yeres.

Moreover, sith the progenie of the Saxon kings seemeth wholie to take end with this Edward surnamed the Confessor, or the third of that name before the conquest, we haue thought good for the better helpe of memorie to referre the reader to a catalog of the names as well of those that reigned among the Westsaxons (who at length, as ye haue heard, obtained the whole monarchie) as also of them which ruled in the other seven kingdomes before the same were united vnto the said kingdome of the Westsaxons, which catalog you shall find in the description of Britaine, pag. 17, 18, 19.

Here is to be remembered, that as partlie before is expressed, we find in some old writers, how the first kings of seven kingdomes of the Germane nation that bare rule in this Ile, fetched their pedigree from one Woden, who begat of ffrea his wife seven sonnes, that is to say, 1 Wecta, of whom came the kings of Kent, 2 ffehelgeta, or ffehtregeath, from whom the kings of Mercia descended, 3 Balday, of whose race the kings of the Westsaxons had their

Matt. West.

Rij.

originall,

original, 4 Welandagus, ancestor to the kings of Wernicia, and the Northumbers, 5 Wilegodach or Wilegodagus, from whence came the kings of Deira, 6 Casfer, from whence proceeded the kings of the East Angles, 7 Pascaud alias Saruad, of whence the kings of the East Saxons had their beginning. And here you must note, that although the kings of the eight kingdom, that is, of the South Saxons or Sussex, were descended of the same people, yet were they not of the same line. By other it should seeme, that Woden had but five sonnes: as Metta, great grandfather to Hengist; Wilepedeg, ancestor to the kings of the East Angles; Nidlac, from whence proceeded the kings of Mercia; Saruad, from whom the kings of Essex came; and Welandag, of whose generation proceeded the kings of the South Saxons, West Saxons, and the Northumbers. Moreover, there be that bring the genealogie from Pœ or Poah, the sonne of Lamech, which Pœ was the 9 in descent from Adam, and Woden the 15 from Pœ, as you shall find in the historie of England, lib. 6. pag. 141. col. 2. Pœ was the father to Sem the father of Wedwi, the father of Wlala, the father of Hatria or Hathra, the father of Hermod, the father of Heremod, the father of Sreaf or Sreaf, the father of Seldoa or Seclodua, the father of Wcatu or Wcatu, the father of Wreathwyl alias Ladwa or Leathwyl, the father of Geta, reputed for a god among the gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwise Godolph, the father of Fritwolfe otherwise Fritun, the father of Frcolaf alias Frcolater, the father of Fretwold or Fritderwald, the father of the aforesaid Woden or Wthen.

Simon Dun.  
to Textor.

The peeres are in doubt to whome the rule of the land should be committed, why they durst not that Edgar Edeling should undertake it though he was interested to the same, how William duke of Normandie pretended a right to the crowne, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine crowned, proclaimed, and consecrated king; his subtil and adulatorie meanes to win the peoples fauour, duke William sendeth ambassadors to Harold to put him in mind of a promise passed to the said duke for his furtherance to obtaine the crowne; Harolds negative answer to the said ambassage, as also to the marieng of the dukes daughter which was Harolds owne voluntarie motion; he prouideth against the inuasions of the enimie as one doubting after-claps, a blasing starre of euendales continuance.

### The eight Chapter.

Harold.  
Edward departed this  
year An Christi  
1065, after the  
account of  
the church of  
England.  
Math. West.  
Polydor.

Edeling, that  
is, a noble  
man, and such  
one as is come  
of the kings  
blood.

**K**ING Edward being thus departed this life, the peeres of the land were in great doubt & perplexitie to whome they might best commit the roiall gouernement of the realme. For there was not anie among them that had iust title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge upon him. For although Edgar surnamed Edeling, the sonne of Edward the outlaw, that was sonne of Edmund Ironside, was at the same time latelie come into England, with his mother and sisters out of Hungarie where he was boare: yet for that he was but a child, & not of sufficient age to beare rule, they durst not as then commit the gouernement of the realme vnto him, least (as some haue thought) his tenderneffe of age might first breed a contempt of his person, and therewith minister occasion to ciuill discord, whereby a shipwrecke of the estate might ensue to the great annoie and present overthrow of such as then liued in the same. But what consideration soeuer they had in this behalfe, they ought not

to haue defrauded the young gentleman of his lawfull right to the crowne. For as we haue heard and sene, God, whose prouidence and mightie power is shewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feeble hath gouerned states and kingdomes oftentimes in as good quiet and princelie policie by a child, as by men of age and great discretion.

But to the purpose, beside the doubt which rested among the lords, how to bestow the crowne, the manifold and strange wonders, which were sene and heard in those daies, betokening (as men thought) some change to be at hand in the state of the realme, made the lords afraid, and namelie because they stood in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawfull heire appointed by king Edward, for that he was kin to him in the second and third degree. For Richard the first of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the second, and Emma; which Emma bare Edward by his husband Ethelred. Richard the second had also issue Richard the third, and Robert, which Robert by a concubine had issue William, surnamed the bassard, that was now duke of Normandie, and after the death of his cosine king Edward, made claime (as is said) to the crowne of England.

Whilist the lords were thus studieng and consulting what should be best for them to do in these doubts, Harold, the son of Godwine earle of Kent, proclaimed himselfe king of England: the people being not much offended therewith, because of the great confidence and opinion which they had latelie conceived of his valiancie. Some write (among whom Edmerus is one) how king Edward ordeined before his death, that Harold should succede him as heire to the crowne, and that thereupon the lords immediately after the said Edwards deceasse, crowned Harold for their king, and so he was consecrated by Aldred archbishop of Yorke, according to the custom and manner of the former kings, or (as other affirme) he set the crowne on his owne head without anie the accustomed ceremonies, in the yere after the birth of our sauour 1066, or in the yere of Christ 1065, after the account of the church of England (as before is noted.)

But how and whensoever he came to the seat roiall of this kingdom, certeine it is, that this Harold in the beginning of his reigne, considering with himselfe how and in what sort he had taken vpon him the rule of the kingdom, rather by intrusion than by anie lawfull right, studied by all meanes which way to win the peoples fauour, and omitted no occasion whereby he might shew anie token of bountious liberalitie, gentleness and courteous behauiour towards them. The grauous customes also and taxes which his predecessours had raised, he either abolished or diminished: the ordinarie wages of his seruants and men of warre he increased, and further shewed himselfe verie well hent to all vertue and godnesse, whereby he purchased no small fauour among such as were his subiects.

Whilist Harold went about thus to steale the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnto him sundrie ambassadors from William the bassard duke of Normandie, with commission to require him to remember his oth sometime made to the said William in the time of his exremitie, which was, that he the said Harold should aid him in the obtayning of the crowne of England, if king Edward should happen to die without issue. This couenant he made (as it is supposed) in king Edwards daies, when (by licence of the same Edward, or rather (as Edmerus writeth) against his will) he went ouer into Normandie to visit his brethren, which laie there

Duke of  
Normandie

Harold pro-  
claimed king  
of England

Edmerus.

Math. West.

Harold lar-  
deth to him  
the peoples  
hearts.  
Sim. Duncl.

An ambassa-  
dor from Nor-  
mandie

Harold's answer.

Amicus.

Matt. West.

Duke William's answer to king Harold.

Genevieve.

Wil. Malm.

Pol. H.

Rob. Hoved. Simon Dun.

as pledges. Harold at this present, Harold's answer to the said ambassadors was, that he would be ready to grant the duke in all that he could demand, so that he would not aske the realme, which already he had in his full possession. And further he declared unto them (as some write) that as for the oth which he had made in times past unto duke William, the same was but a constrained & no voluntarie oth, which in law is nothing; since thereby he took upon him to grant that which was not in his power to give, he being but a subject whilist king Edward was living. For if a promised both oth which a maid maketh concerning the bestowing of her bodie in her fathers house, without his consent, is made void; much more an oth by him made that was a subject, and under the rule of a king, without his sovereignty's consent, ought to be void and of no value. He alleged moreover, that as for him to take an oth to deliver the inheritance of any realme without the general consent of the estates of the same, could not be other than a great piece of presumption, yea although he might haue iust title thereto; so it was an unreasonable request of the duke at this present to will him to renounce the kingdom, the government whereof he had already taken upon him, with so great fauor and good liking of all men.

Duke William having received this answer, and nothing liking thereof, sent once againe to Harold, requiring him then at the least, that he would take his daughter to wife, according to his former promise; in refusing whereof he could make no sound allegation, because it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his absolute power, both to grant and to performe. But Harold being of a stout courage, with proud countenance frowned upon the Norman ambassadors, and declared to them that his mind was nothing bent as then to yield thereto in any manner of wise. And so with other talke tending to the like effect he sent them away without any further answer. The daughter of duke William whom Harold should haue married, was named Adeliza, as Genevieve's faith, and with her (as the same author writeth) it was covenanted by duke William, that Harold should enjoy halfe the realme in name of his daughter. Wherby some write that this daughter of duke William was departed this life before the coming of these ambassadors, and that Harold thereupon thought himselfe discharged of the oth and covenants made to duke William, and therefore sent them away with such an backward answer.

But howsoever it was, after the departure of these ambassadors, king Harold (doubting what would ensue) caused his ships to be newlie rigged, his men of warre to be mustered, and speedily put in a readinesse, to the end that if any sudden inuasion should be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to resist them. About the same time also, and upon the 24 of Aprill (whilist Harold was making provision to withstand the Norman force) there appeared a blasing starre, which was seene not onely here in England, but also in other parts of the world, and continued the space of seven daies. This blasing starre might be a prediction of mischance imminent hanging ouer Harold's head; for they neuer appeare but as prognosticates of afterclaps. To be resolute in the instruction herein, do but peruse a treatise intituled; A doctrine generall of comets or blasing starres published by a bishop of Rhens in Latine, and set forth in English by Abraham Fleming upon the apparition of a blasing starre seene in the south-west, on the 10 of Nouember 1577, and dedicated to the right worshipfull sir William Cordell knight, then master of his maiesties rolles, &c.

Earle Tostie afflicted his brother Harold on sea and land, he taketh the repulse, and persuadeth Harfager king of Norweie to attempt the conquest of England against Harold, Harfager & Tostie with their powers arrive at Humber, they fight with the Northumbers under the conduct of Edwin and Marchar, and discomfit them; Harold leueth an armie against them, the rare valiantes of a Norwegian souldior; Harfager and Tostie slaine in battell; the Norwegians are foiled and fle; Harold's unequal and parciall diuiding of the spoile, he goeth to Yorke to reforme things amisse.

## The ninth Chapter.



Whilist Harold desirous to retaine, and verie loth to let go his usurped roialtie, had crackt his credit with the duke of Normandie, and by his lewd resolting from voluntarie promises ratified with solemn othes, had also kindled the fire of the dukes furie against him; it came to passe, that the proud and presumptuous man was (to begin withall) bared in his owne flesh, I meane his owne kindred. For Tostie the brother of king Harold (who in the daies of king Edward for his crueltie had bene chased out of the realme by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders, assembled a nauie of ships from diuers parts to the number of 60, with the which he arrived in the Ile of Wight, & there spoiled the countrey, and afterward sailing about by the coasts of Kent, he took sundrie prizes their also, and came at the last to Sandwich: so that Harold was now constrained to appoint the nauie which he had prepared against the Normans, to go against his brother earle Tostie. Whereof the said Tostie being aduertised, drew towards Lindsey in Lincolnshire, and there taking land did much hurt in the countrey, both with sword and fire, till at length Edwin earle of Mercia, and Marchar earle of Northumberland, aided with the kings name, chased him from thence, and caused him to flee into Scotland, not without some losse both of his men and ships.

This trouble was scarce quieted, but straightwaies another came in the necke thereof, farre more dangerous than the first. For Tostie, perceiving that he could get no aid in Scotland to make any account of, sailed forth into Norweie, and there persuaded Harold Harfager king of that realme, to saile with an armie into England, persuading him that by meanes of ciuill dissention lately kindled betwixt the king and his lords (which was not so) it should be an easie matter for him to make a conquest of the whole realme, and reigne ouer them as his predecessors had done before. Some authors affirm, that Harold king of Norweie took this enterprise in hand of his owne mind, and not by procurement of Tostie, saying, that Tostie meeting with him in Scotland, did persuade him to go forward in his purposed business, and that the said Harold Harfager with all convenient speed passed forth, & with a nauie of 300 saile entered into the riuer of Tyne, where after he had rested a few daies to refresh his people, earle Tostie came also with his power (according to an appointment which should be made betwene them.) They ad furthermore, that they sailed forth alongst the coast, till they arrived in the mouth of Humber, & then drawing vp against the streame of the riuer Ouse, they landed at length at a place called Richhall, from whence they set forward to invade

Tostie seeks to disquiet his brother. Matt. West. faith but 49.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. Sim. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Tostie repeller. Polydor. Ran. Higd.

Harold Harfager king of Norweie.

Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun. faith 500.

The Norwegians arrive in Humber.

Richhall. Hen. Hunt.

The English  
men discomfited.

This battell  
was fought  
on the cūen of  
S. Barthew  
the apostle, as  
saith St. Dun.

Wil. Malm.  
Hen. Hunt.  
Matt. West.

The Norwe-  
gians discom-  
fited.

The king of  
Norwaie and  
Tostie name.

This battell  
was fought on  
the 25 of Sep-  
tember as  
saith St. Dun.

Matth. West.

Simon Dun.

M. West.  
Unequall dis-  
maying of the  
spoile.

Wil. Malm.

made the countie, & more vnto Worke on the north  
side of the citie, they fought with the power of the  
Northumbers, which was led by the earls Godwine  
and Harchar (two brethren) and there discomfited  
and chased them into the citie, with great slaughter  
and bloodshed.

Harold king of England being advertised of this  
chance, made the more hast forward (for he was al-  
readie in the field with his armie, intending also to  
come towards his enemies so that vpon the first day  
after he came to Stamford bridge, finding there the  
said king Harfager and Tostie readie imbattelled,  
he first assailed those that kept the bridge, where (as  
some writers affirme) a Norwegian souldier with  
his are defended the passage, mauer the whole host  
of the Englishmen, and slue fortie of them or more  
with his are, & might not be ouercome, till an Eng-  
lishman went with a boat vnder the said bridge, and  
through an hole thereof thrust him vp into the bodie  
with his speare: yet Matt. West. saith that he was  
slaine with a dart which one of king Harold his ser-  
uants threw at him, & so ended his life. Which bridge  
being twone, the whole host of the Englishmen pas-  
sed ouer, and ioined with their enemies, and after a  
verie great and sore battell put them all to flight.

In this conflict Harold Harfager king of the  
Norwegians was slaine, & so was Tostie the king  
of England his brother, besides a great number of  
other, as well in the battell as in the chase: neither  
did the Englishmen escape all free, for the Norwe-  
gians fought it out a long time verie stoutlie, bea-  
ting downe and killing great numbers of such as  
assailed them with great courage and assurance. The  
residue of the Norwegians that were left to keepe  
their ships vnder the guiding of Olave sonne to the  
king of Norwaie, and Paule earle of Dykneie, af-  
ter they vnderstood by their fellows that escaped  
from the field, how the matter went with Harfager  
and Tostie, they hoised vp their sailes and directed  
their course home wards, bearing sorrowfull netues  
with them into their countie, of the losse of their  
king and ouerthrow of all his people. Some write,  
that the king of England permitted them franklie  
to depart with 20 ships, hauing first caused them to  
deliuer such hostages as they had received of the ci-  
tizens of Worke. Harold reioicing in that he had  
attained so glorious a victorie, and being now sur-  
pised with pride and conceitnesse together, he di-  
uided the spoile of the field nothing equallie, but to  
such as he fauored he distributed liberallie, and to  
other (though they had much better deserued) he gaue  
nothing at all, retaining still the best part of all to  
himselfe, by reason whereof he lost the fauor of ma-  
nie of his men, who for this his discourtesie, did not  
a little alienate their good willes from him. This  
done, he repaired to Worke, and there staid for a  
time to reforme the disordered state of the countie,  
which by reason of these warres was greatlie out of  
frame.

But Harold being more presumptuous and sole  
hardie, than prudent and wise in his enterprize;  
bending all his force to redresse enormities in those  
quarters of Worke (much like vnto him, whom  
the Comediographer marketh for a foole, *Ea tantum  
quis ad pedes iacent contemplans, non autem ventura preui-  
dens*) neglected the kinglie care which he should haue  
had of other parts of his realme, from the which he  
had withdrawen himselfe, and (as it is likelie) had  
not left sufficientlie provided of a conuenient vice-  
gerent to gouerne the same by his warranted autho-  
ritie, and such fortifications as might repell and with-  
stand the enimie. Which want of foresight gaue oc-  
casion to the enimie to attempt an inuasion of the  
English coasts, as in the next chapt. shall be shewed.

William duke of Normandie prepa-  
reth to inuade England and to conquire it,

the earle of Flanders and the French king assist  
him, the number of his ships, his arriuall at Peuen-  
sey in Suffex, vpon what occasions he entred this  
realme; the pope liked well duke Williams attempt, why king  
Harold was hated of the whole court of Rome; why duke Wil-  
liam would not suffer his souldiers to wait the countie where  
they came; Harold goeth towards his enemies, why his vn-  
skilfull espials tooke the Normans (being old beaten souldi-  
ers) for priests; Girth dissuadeth his brother Harold  
from present encountering with the duke; where  
note the conscience that is to be had of an  
oath, and that perurie can not scape  
vnpunished.

## The tenth Chapter.



William duke of Norman-  
die hauing knowledge after  
what manner H. Harold was  
bused in the north parts of  
his realme, and understand-  
ing that the south parts  
thereof remained destitute  
of due prouision for necessa-  
rie defense, halsted with all diligence to make his  
purselance of men and ships, that he might vpon  
such a conuenient occasion set forward to inuade his  
enimie. And amongst other of his friends, vnto  
whome he laboured for aid, his father in law Bal-  
dwine earle of Flanders was one of the chiefest,  
who vpon promise of great summes of monie and  
other large offers made, did aid him with men, mu-  
nition, ships, and victuals, verie frelie. The French  
king also did as much for his part as laie in him to  
helpe forwards this so high an enterprize. Where-  
fore when all things were now in a readinesse, he  
came to the towne of S. Valerie, where he had as-  
sembled together an huge nauie of ships (to the num-  
ber (as some authors affirme) of three hundred saile;  
and when he had taried there a long time for a con-  
uenient wind, at length it came about euen as he  
himselfe desired. Then shipping his armie which con-  
sisted of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and  
Britains, with all expedition he toke the sea, and di-  
recting his course towards England, he finally lan-  
ded at a place in Suffex, ancientlie called Peuen-  
sey, on the 28 day of September, where he did let his  
men on land, & prouided all things necessarie to in-  
courage and refresh them.

At his going out of his ship vnto the shore, one of  
his feet slipped as he stepped forward, but the other  
stake fast in the sand: the which so some as one of  
his knights had espied, and seeing his hand where  
vpon he staid full of earth, when he rose, he spake  
aloud and said: Now sir duke, thou hast the soile of  
England fast in thy hand, & shalt of a duke yer long  
become a king. The duke hearing this tale, laugh-  
ed merilie thereat, and comming on land, by and by he  
made his proclamation, declaring vpon what occa-  
sions he had thus entered the realme.

The first and principall cause which he alleged, was  
for to chalenge his right, meaning the dominion of  
the land that to him was giuen and assigned (as he  
said) by his nephew king Edward late ruler of the  
same land.

The second was, to reuenge the death of his ne-  
phew Alured or Alfred the brother of the same king  
Edward, whome Godwine earle of Kent and his  
adherents had most cruellie murdered.

The third was to be reuenged of the wrong done  
vnto Robert archbishop of Cantuarburie, who (as he  
was informed) was exiled by the means and labo-  
r of

La Meir.  
Baldwine  
earle of Fla-  
nders aided  
duke Wil-  
liam to con-  
quer England.

Wil. Gunt.  
The chur-  
ches of Nor-  
mandie had  
596 ships.

Duke Wil-  
liam landed  
at Peuen-  
sey now Paim-  
sey.

Hen. Hunt.

of Harold in the daies of king Edward.  
Wherein we haue to note, that whether it were  
for displeasure that the pope had sometime conceiued  
for the wrong done to the archbishop, or at the onlie  
sute of duke William, certaine it is that the pope,  
as then named Alexander the second, favoured this  
enterprise of the duke, and in token thereof sent him  
a white banner, which he willed him to set vp in the  
decke of the ship, wherein he himselfe should saile.  
In deed (as writers report) the pope with his car-  
dinals, and all the whole court of Rome had king  
Harold euer in great hatred and disdain, because he  
had taken vpon him the crowne without their con-  
sent, or anie ecclesiasticall solemnitie or agreement  
of the bishops. And although the pope and his  
then the said cardinals dissembled the matter for  
the time; yet now beholding to what end his bold  
presumption was like to come, with frowning for-  
time they shewed themselves open aduersaries, in-  
cluding freightwaies to the stronger part, after the  
manner of couetous persons, or rather of the reed  
shaken with a sudden puffe of wind.

Duke William at his first landing at Beuen-  
sepe or Wemsey (whether you will) fortified a peece of  
ground with strong trenches, and leauing therein a  
competent number of men of warre to keepe the  
same, he sped him toward Hastings, and coming  
thither, he built an other fortresse there with all speed  
possible, without suffering his souldiers to rob or har-  
rie the countie adjoining, saing that it should be  
great follie for him to spoile that people, which per  
manie daies to come were like to be his subjects. Is  
Harold being as yet in the north parts, and hearing  
that duke William was thus landed in England,  
sped him southward, and gathering his people tog-  
ther out of the countie as he went forwards, at  
length came nere his enemies: and sending espials  
into their campe to vnderstand of what strength they  
were; the vnfaillfull messengers regarding smallie  
their charge, brought word againe of nothing else,  
but that all duke Williams souldiers were priests.  
For the Normans had at that time their vpper lips  
and cheekes shauen, whereas the Englishmen vsed  
to suffer the haire of their vpper lips to grow at  
length. But Harold answered, that they were not  
priests, but weather-beaten and hardie souldiers, and  
such as were like to abide well by their capteine.

In the meane season, Girth one of Harolds yon-  
ger brethren (considering that periuire is neuer left  
unpunished) aduised his brother not to aduenture  
himselfe at this present in the battell, for so much as  
he had bene sometime swoorne to duke William,  
but rather to suffer him and other of the nobilitie to  
incounter with the said duke, that were not bound  
to him by former oth, or otherwise: but Harold an-  
swered that he was free from anie such oth, and that  
in defense of his countie he would fight boldly with  
him as with his greatest enemy. Where (by the  
waie) would be noted the conscience which Girth a  
younger brother made of an oth, not concerning  
himselfe directly, but his elder brother Harold, who  
had swoorne the same; meaning nothing lesse than  
the performance thereof, as the sequelle of his doings  
to his discredit and vndoing euidentlie declared,  
which euents might seeme countable to him as due  
punishments and deserued plagues inflicted vpon  
him and others, for his sake; sith he made no re-  
ckoning of violating a vow ratified with an oth to a  
prince of no small puissance, who afterwards became  
a whip vnto him for his periuire; a sinne detested  
of the heathen, and whereof the poet notable speaketh,  
saing:

*Ah miser, & si quis primo periuirum celat,  
Sera tamen tacitis poena venit pedibus.*

After peace offered & refused on each  
side, both armies meete in the field, the or-  
der of the Englishmens attire & arae, the ma-  
ner how the Normans were placed to fight in bat-  
tell; the dissolute and drunken behavior of the En-  
glishmen the night before the encounter farre differing from  
the Normans deuout demeanour; duke Williams speech vpon  
occasion of wrong putting on his armour, the battell betwixt  
him and king Harold is valiantlie tried, the English by duke  
Williams pollicke stratagem are deceived, king Harold slaine,  
his armie put to flight and manie of them slaine after a long  
and bloody encounter, manie of the Normans pursuing the  
English ouerhastilie procure their owne death, they take the  
spoile of the English, the dead bodies of both armies are licen-  
ced to be buried; the differing reports of writers touching the  
manner of Harolds death, a description of his person, his ambi-  
tion did him much hurt and hinderance, the number that were  
slaine on both sides, his bodie buried at Waltham, nothing dis-  
praiseworthy in him but his ambitious mind, a view of his  
valiantnesse in a conflict against the VVellshmen, his rigorous  
or rather pitiless handling of them, his seuer law or decree  
touching their bounds, they are vnterlic subdued, and (by  
the kings leaue) the VVellshwomen marrie with the  
Englishmen, the Saxon line ceaseth, how long  
it lasted, and how long it was discon-  
nued by the inuasion of the  
Danes.

### The eleuenth Chapter.

**N**OW it fortuneth that both  
armies, as well the kings as  
the earles, being prepared to  
battell, diuerse offers were  
made on each side (before they  
fell to the conflict) for an in-  
tie to haue bene had betwixt  
the two princes: but when no  
conditions of agreement could take place, they forth-  
with prepared the miselues to trie the matter by dint  
of sword. And sith on the 14 day of October, being  
saturday, both hostes met in the field, at a place in  
Sussex not farre from Hastings, whereas the abbey  
of Battell was afterward builded. The Englishmen  
were all brought into one entire maine batell on foot,  
with huge ares in their hands, and paled a front with  
pauises, in such wise that it was thought vnpossible  
for the enemy to breake their arate. On the other  
side, the Normans were diuided into seuerall bat-  
tells, as first the footmen that were archers, and also  
those that bare gleiues and ares were placed in the  
forefront, and the horsemen diuided into wings  
stood on the sides in verie good order.

All the night before the battell, the Englishmen  
made great noise and slept not, but sang and fell to  
drinking and making of reuell & pastime, as though  
there had bene no account to be made of the next  
daies trauell. But the Normans behaued themselues  
warlike and soberlie, spending all that night in pray-  
er and confessing their sinnes vnto God; and in the  
morning earelie they receiued the communion be-  
fore they went forth to the battell. Some write, that  
when duke William should put on his armour to go  
to the field, the backe halfe of his curasses by chance  
was set on before by such as holpe to arme him: at  
which chance he took occasion of laughter, saing  
merrilie to them that stood by; No force, this is good  
lucke, for the estate of my dukedom shall be per-  
night changed into a kingdom. Beside this, he  
spake manie comfortable wordes vnto his men, to  
incourage them to the battell. Neither was Harold  
forgetfull in that point on his part. And so at conue-  
nient time when both armies were readie, they made  
forward each to incounter with other, on the foresaid  
fourteenth day of October, with great force and as-  
surance.

In the beginning of the battell, the arrowes flue  
abroad

William.  
The pope fa-  
uoured duke  
Williams en-  
terprize.

March. West.

Geneticeus.

Will. Malm.

March. West.

Normans  
brave spearmen,  
Will. Malm.  
Hen. Hunt.

Girth should  
not haue his  
brother king  
Harold fight  
himselfe.  
Geneticeus.

William.

Will. Malmes.

The order of  
the English-  
men.

March. West.

The arate of  
the Normans

Hen. Hunt.  
Will. Malmes.

Polydor.



The battell  
between king  
Harold and  
duke William  
is begun.

abroad freshlie on both sides, till they came to ioine at hand strokes, and then pressed each side upon his counterpart with swords, axes, and other hand weapons verie egerlie. Duke William commanded his horsemen to giue the charge on the breasts of his enimies battels: but the Englishmen keeping themselves close together without scattering, receiued their enimies upon the points of their weapons with such fiercenesse and in such stiffe order, that manie of the Normans horsemen were ouerthrowne without recouerie, and slaine at the first hunt. When duke William perceiued this inconuenience (as he that well and thoughtlie vnderstood the skilfull points of warre as well as the best) he gaue a signe to his men (according to an order appointed before hand upon anie such occasion) that they should giue backe, and make a countenance as though they did flee, which was quicklie done by the Normans, and with all they imbattelled their footmen in a new order, so that their horsemen thrust themselves on the wings, readie to rescue the footmen if their arraie should happen to be disturbed.

The policie of  
duke William  
to disorder his  
enimies.  
H. Hunt.  
Will. Malm.

By this wylie stratagem and policie of warre, the Englishmen were deceived: for they beholding the Normans somewhat thinking backe to bring themselves into the aboue said order, thought verelie that they had fled, and thereupon meaning to pursue them before they should recouer their ground, they brake their arraie, and began to follow the chase: whereupon the Normans (perceiuing now that all things came to passe as they desired) speedilie returned, and casting themselves together quicklie into arraie, began to charge them againe afresh, and so hauing them at that aduantage, they due them downe on euerie side. The Englishmen on the other part fought fore, and though their king was beaten downe among them and slaine, yet were they loth to flee or giue ouer: so sharpe was the battell, that duke William himselfe had three horses slaine vnder him that day, and not without great danger of his person.

Three fought  
ten battell.  
King Harold  
slaine.

Will. Malm.  
March. West.

Some of the Englishmen got them to the height of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themselves to win the hill of them, so that it was long yer the Normans could peneate, being oftentimes driven downe into the botome of the vallie beneath. At length the Englishmen, perceiuing themselves to be ouermatched and beaten downe on euerie side, and thereunto greatlie discouraged with slaughter of their king, began first to giue ground, and after to scatter and to run away, so that well was he that might then escape by flight. When they had fought the most part of all that saturday, the Normans followed the chase with such eger rathnesse, that a great number of them falling with their horses and armour into a blind ditch (shadowed with reed and sedges which grew therein) were smouldered and pressed to death, yer they could be succoured or get anie reliefe. The next day the Normans fell to gathering in the spoile of the field, burying also the dead bodies of their people that were slaine at the battell, giuing licence in semblable manner to the Englishmen to do the like. Of the death of Harold diuerse report diuerselie, in so much that Girald Cambrensis saith, that after king Harold had receiued manie wounds, and lost his left eie, he fled from the field vnto the citie of Westchester, and liued there long after, an holie life, as an anchorit in the cell of S. James, fast by S. Johns church, and there made a godlie end. But the sateng of Girald Cambren. in that point is not to be credited, because of the unlikelihood of the thing it selfe, and also generall consent of other writers, who affirme vniuersallie that he was killed in the battell, first being stricken thorough the left eie by the scull into the bryne with an arrow,

Chron. de bel.  
Jo. Wil. Geme.  
The Normans  
fall into  
a ditch.

Giral. Camb.

Will. Malm.  
Hen. Hunt.  
March. West.

whereupon falling from his horse to the ground, he was slaine in that place, after he had reigned nine moneths and nine daies, as Floriacensis doth report. He was a man of a comelie stature, and of a halutie courage, albeit that for his valiantie he was highlie renowned and honored of all men, yet through his pride and ambition he lost the hearts of manie. There were slaine in this battell, besides king Harold and his two brethren, Girth and Leofric, what on the one side and on the other, about twentie thousand men.

The bodie of king Harold being found among other slaine in the field, was buried at Waltham, within the monasterie of the holie crosse which he before had founded, and indownd to the behoofe of such canons as he had placed there, with faire possessions. Arelie (as some old writers haue reported) there was nothing in this man to be in anie wise disparaged, if his ambitious mind could haue borne staied from coueting the kingdome, and that he could haue bene contented to haue liued as a subiect. Among other manifest proofes of his high valiantie, this is remembered of him, that being sent against the Welshmen (as before is partly mentioned) knowing their readie nimblenesse in seruice, and how with their light armed men they were accustomed to annoy and distress those that should assaile them, he likewise (to match them) prepared light armed men for the purpose, & so being furnished with such bands of nimble men and light souldiers, entered upon the mountains of Snolodon, and there remained amongst the enimies for the space of two yeres. He fore assailed the Welsh nation, toke their kings, and sent their heads vnto the king, that sent him about his businesse, and proceeding in such rigorous manner as might moue the hearers to lament and pittie the case, he caused all the male kind that might be met with, to be miserable slaine: and so with the edge of his sword he brought the countrie to quiet, and with all made this lawe; that if anie Welshman from thenceforth should presume to passe the limits ouer Offas ditch with anie weapon about him, he should lose his right hand. To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this chieftaine, the Welshmen were then so fore brought vnder, that in manner the whole nation might seeme to faile, and to be almost vtterlie destroyed. And therefore by permission of the king of England, the women of Wales ioined themselves in marriage with Englishmen. Finallie, hereby the blood of the Saxons ceased to reigne in England after they had continued possession of the same, from the first comming of Hengist, which was about the yere of our Saviour 450, or 449, untill that present yere of king Harolds death, which chanced in the yere 1069. So that from the beginning of Hengist his reigne, vnto Harolds death, are reckoned 916 yeres, or (after some) 617, as by the supputation of the time will easilie appere. By all the which time there reigned kings of the Saxons bloud within this land, except that for the space of twentie yeres and somewhat more, the Danes had the dominion of the realme in their possession: for there are reckoned from the beginning of S. Swaines reigne (which was the first Dane that gouerned England) vnto the last yere of S. Hardicute (the last Dane that ruled here) 28 yeres, in which meane space Cgelred recouering the kingdome reigned 2 yeres, then after him his sonne Edmund Ironside continued in the rule one yere; so that the Danes had the whole possession of the land but 25 yeres in all. Touching this alteration, and others incident to this land, read a short aduertisement annexed (by waie of conclusion) to this historie, comprising a short summarie of the most notable conquests of this countrie

Floriac.  
Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunt.  
Polydor.  
The chronicles  
of Normandie  
haue of English  
men slaine  
6794, and of  
Normans  
6013.

Ex libris Poly-  
craticis, seu de  
magna consilio  
Ioh. Satrii.



trie one after an other, by distances of times succel-  
fuellie.

The rule of this realme by Gods pro-  
vidence allotted to duke William, his def-  
cent from Rollo the first duke of Normandie  
downwards to his particular linage, he was base  
begotten vpon the bodie of Arlete duke Roberts  
concubine, a pleasant speech of hirs to duke Robert on a time  
when he was to haue the vse of hir person, a conclusion in-  
troduatorie for the sequelle of the chronicle from  
the said duke of Normandies coronation,  
&c; with a summarie of the no-  
table conquests of  
this Island.

The twelfe Chapter.

**N**OW, for so much as it plea-  
sed God by his hid and secret  
iudgement so to dispose the  
realme of England, and in  
such wise, as that the gouer-  
nance therof should fall after  
this maner into the hands of  
William duke of Norman-  
die, I haue thought good before I enter further into  
this historie (being now come to the conquest of the  
realme, made by the fore said duke of Normandie) to  
set downe his pedigree, thereby to shew how he de-  
scended from the first duke of that countrie, who was  
named Rollo, and after by receiuing baptism called  
Robert.

The said Rollo or Rou, was sonne to a great lord  
in Denmarke called Guion, who hauing two sons,  
the said Rou and Courin, and being appointed to de-  
part the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other (ac-  
cording to the maner there vfed, in time when their  
people were increased to a greater number than the  
countrie was able to susteine) refused to obeye that  
order, and made warre there against the king, who  
yet in the end by practise found meanes to flic the  
foresaid Guion, and his sonne Courin; so that Rou or  
Rollo, hauing thus lost his father and brother, was  
compell'd to forsake the countrie, with all those that  
had hope his father to make warre against the king.  
Thus driuen to seeke aduentures, at length he be-  
came a chistian, and was created duke of Norman-  
die, by gift of Charles king of France, surnamed le  
Simple, whose daughter the ladie Gilla he also mar-  
ried: but the departing this life without issue, he mar-  
ried Poppe daughter to the earle of Westin and Bai-  
cul, whome he had kept as his wife before he was  
baptised, and had by hir a sonne named William  
Longespée, and a daughter named Gerlofa.

William Longespée or Longaspatha, had to  
wife the ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert earle of  
Sentis, by whome he had issue Richard the second  
of that name duke of Normandie, who married the la-  
die Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of  
Paris, of whome no issue proceeded: but after his de-  
cease, he married to his second wife a gentlewoman  
named Conno, daughter to a knight of the Danish  
line, by whom he had three sonnes, Richard that was  
after duke of Normandie, the third of that name,  
Robert and Spanger. He had also by hir three daugh-  
ters, Agnes otherwife called Emma, married first  
to Gelfred king of England, and after to k. Canute:  
Helleie, otherwife Alir, bestowed vpon Gelfrey  
earle of Brittain: and Matro coupled in marriage  
with Cudles earle of Charters and Blais. Richard  
the third of that name married Judith, sister to Gelf-  
rey earle of Brittain, by whome he had issue three  
sonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as ma-

nie daughters: Alir, married to Reignold earle of  
Burgogne, Celenor married to Balbwin earle of  
Flanders; and the third died young, being affianced  
to Alfonso king of Nauarre. Their mother decaid  
after she had bene married ten yeres, and then  
duke Richard married secondlie the ladie Estric, si-  
ster to Canute king of England and Denmarke,  
from whome he purchased to be diuorced, and then  
married a gentlewoman called Danie, by whome he  
had issue two sonnes, William earle of Arques, and  
Spanger archbishop of Rouen.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Nor-  
mandie, eldest sonne to Richard the third, died with-  
out issue, and then his brother Robert succeeded in  
the estate, which Robert begat vpon Arlete or Harle-  
uina daughter to a burgesse of Felais, William sur-  
named the bastard, after ward duke of Normandie,  
and by conquest king of England. Of whose father  
duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this plea-  
sant remembrance for a refection after the perusing  
of the former sad and sober discourses.

In the yere of Christ 1020, Robert, the second  
sonne of Richard the second duke of Normandie, and  
brother to Richard the third duke of that name there  
hauing with great honour and wisdom gouerned  
his dukedome seven yeres, for performance of a pe-  
nance that he had set to himselfe, appointed a pilgr-  
mage to Jerusalem; leaving behind him this Wil-  
liam a young prince, whome seven yeres before he  
had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom af-  
ter he held as his wife) with whose beautifull fauour,  
louelie grace and presence, at hir banishing on a time  
then as he was tenderlie touched, for familiar bitte-  
rance of his mind what he had further to say, would  
needs that night she should be his bedfellow, who else  
as wiuellie should haue lien alone: where when she  
was bestowed, thinking that if she should haue laid  
hir selfe naked, it might haue seemed not so maiderv-  
lie a part: so when the duke was about (as the maner  
is) to haue list vpon hir linnen, the in an humble mo-  
destie staid hir lords hand, and rent do lyne hir smocke  
asunder, from the collar to the verie skirt. Here  
at the duke all smiling did aske hir what thereby she  
meant: In great lowlines, with a feate question she  
answered againe: My lord, were it met that any part  
of my garments dependant about me downeward,  
should presume to be mountant to my souereigns  
mouth upward: Let your grace pardon me. He liked  
hir answer: and so and so forth for that time.

This duke before his voiage, calling at Ffiscam all  
his nobilitie vnto him, caused them to sweare fealtie  
vnto his young sonne William, whome he then at his  
iourne betooke vnto the gouernance of earle Gil-  
bert, and the defense of the gouernour vnto Henrie  
the French king. So Robert passing forth in his pil-  
grimage, he lued in euerie place and in all points a  
magnanimitie and honour of a right noble prince,  
and pleasant withall; who once in Zurie not well at  
ease, in a litter was borne toward Jerusalem vpon  
Saracens shoulders, & making with a subiect of his  
that was going home toward Normandie: Friend  
(quoth he) if my people at thy returne aske after me,  
tell them that thou saluest their lord carried to hea-  
uen by diuels. The Norman nobilitie during duke  
Roberts life, did their dutie to the young prince faith-  
fullie, but after they heard of his fathers death, they  
slackened apace, euerie one thisting for himselfe as  
he list, without anie regard either of oth or obedience  
toward the pupill their souereigne. Whereby not  
manie yeres after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by  
Kase the chilles cosine germane, was slaine; the  
dukedome anon, by murder and fighting among  
themselves was sore troubled in all parts. Thus  
much a little of duke Robert the father, and of  
prince

Wil. Malm.  
lib. 3. cap. 1.  
Ranulph. lib. 6.  
cap. 19.

Wil. Malm.  
lib. 3. cap. 1.  
Ranulph. lib. 6.  
cap. 19.

Ran. li. 6. ca. 19.

Wil. Malm. lib.  
3. cap. 1.  
Ran. lib.

Ran. lib.

Ran. lib.

Wil. Malm. idem.  
Ran. idem.

Yemall note  
that there  
was one Ri-  
chard duke of  
Normandie  
before Rollo.

prince William his sonne for part of his tender  
yeres.

A notable aduertisement touching the  
*summe of all the foresaid historie, wherein  
the foure great and notable conquests  
of this land are brieflie touched, be-  
ing a conclusion introductorie,  
as is said in the argument.*

Britaine in-  
habited by  
Brute.

1 Britaine  
conquered by  
the Romans.

2 Britaine  
conquered and  
ouercome by  
the Saxons.

**I**n the former part of this historie it is  
manifest to the heedfull reader, that (after  
the opinion of most writers) Brute did  
first inhabit this land, and called it then  
after his owne name, Britaine. in the yere after the  
creation of the world 2855, and in the yere before  
the incarnation of Christ 1108. ¶ Furthermore, the  
said land of Britaine was conquered by C. Julius  
Cesar, and made tributarie to the Romans in the  
50 yere before the natiuitie of Christ, and so con-  
tinued 487 yeres. So that the Britains reigned  
without tribute and vnder tribute, from Brute, un-  
till the fourth yere of the reigne of king Cadwalla-  
dar, which was in the yere of our Lord 686. And so  
the Britains had continuance of the gouernement  
of this land the space of 1794 yeres. Then was the  
realme of Britaine an heptarchie, that is, diuided in-  
to seuen kingdoms. And Britaine received the  
faith of Christ in the 7 yere of the reigne of king Lu-  
cius, which was in the 187 yere after the birth of  
Christ. ¶ Next after the Britains entered the Sax-  
ons, in the third yere of king Moxtiger; and in the  
yere of our Lord 450, and they gouerned untill the  
last yere of king Athelstane, which was in the yere  
of Christ 938. So that the time of the Saxons first  
entrance into this realme, and the time of their re-  
giment was the space of 487 yeres. ¶ Holobett, in  
the time of their gouernement, that is to say, in the  
9 yere of king Witricus, which was in the yere of

our Lord 887, the Danes entred into this land,  
spoiling and persecuting the people therein most grie-  
uouſlie. At the last, Sweno or Swaine the Dane ob-  
teined possession roiall, in the yere of Grace 1012,  
whose time of regiment lasted about thre yeres. Af-  
ter whom his sonne Canutus succeeded, and reigned  
19 yeres. After him Harold his sonne, who ruled  
thre yeres: and after him Hardicnute the sonne  
of Canutus, whose gouernement continued but thre  
yeres. This Hardicnute was the last king of the  
Danes, at which time the Danes were expelled and  
hunted out of the realme, which was in the yere of  
our Lord 1042. So that it may appeare by this collec-  
tion, that the Danes ruled as kings in this land by  
the space of 28 yeres. Hereby also it is euident, that  
from the time of the first entrance of the Danes in-  
to this realme, untill their last expulsion & riddance,  
was 255 yeres. ¶ Finally the Normans entred  
this land likewise, and conquered the same as before  
is exprest, in the yere of our Lord 1067, which is  
since, untill this present yere of our Lord 1585,  
drawing nere to the number of 600 and 20 yeres.

Now let these alterations of regiments be re-  
membred [touching the which read a notable an-  
ti-maduerſion in the description of Britaine, pag.  
28, 29] and teach vs that therein the iudgements of  
God reuealed themselves to speciall purposes. And  
what soeuer hath bene mentioned before, either con-  
cerning the subuersion of people, the desolation of  
provinces, the ouerthrow of nobles, the ruine of  
princes, and other lamentable accidents diuerslie  
happening vpon sundrie occasions: let vs (I say) as  
manie as will reape fruit by the reading of chroni-  
cles, imagine the matters which were so manie  
yeres past to be present, and applie the profit and  
commoditie of the same vnto our selues; knowing  
(as one wisely said) *Post sacram paginam chronica vniuersi  
veritatis typum gerere*, that next vnto the holie scrip-  
ture, chronicles doe carit credit. But now to the se-  
quele, and first to duke William of Normandie.

4 Britaine  
conquered by  
the Normans.

*Thus farre the historie of England from Noah and his sonnes, &c: to William duke of  
Normandie. Hereafter followeth a chronologicall continuation beginning at the  
first yeere of the said dukes reigne ouer this land, vntill the 25 yeere of the  
Queenes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, &c: whose daies God  
in mercie prolong (like the daies of heauen) in  
peace and prosperitie, &c.*

